THE

STATE OF THE POOR.

VOLUME I.

STATE OF THE BOOK

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THE

STATE OF THE POOR:

OR,

AN HISTORY

OF THE

LABOURING CLASSES IN ENGLAND,

FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE PRESENT PERIOD;

In which are particularly conſidered,

THEIR DOMESTIC ECONOMY,

WITH RESPECT TO

DIET, DRESS, FUEL, AND HABITATION;

And the various Plans which, from time to time, have been propoſed, and adopted, for the RELIEF of the POOR:

TOGETHER WITH

PAROCHIAL REPORTS

Relative to the Adminiſtration of Work-houſes, and Houſes of Induſtry; the State of Friendly Societies; and other Public Inſtitutions; in ſeveral Agricultural, Commercial, and Manufacturing, Diſtricts.

WITH A LARGE APPENDIX;

CONTAINING

A COMPARATIVE AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE PRICES OF LABOUR, OF PROVISIONS, AND OF OTHER COMMODITIES; AN ACCOUNT OF THE POOR IN SCOTLAND; AND MANY ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS ON SUBJECTS OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE.

BY SIR FREDERIC MORTON EDEN, BART.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. DAVIS,

For B. & J. WHITE, Fleet-ſtreet; G. G. & J. ROBINSON, Paternoſter-row; T. PAYNE, Mew's-gate; R. FAULDER, New Bond-ſtreet; T. EGERTON, Whitehall; J. DEBRETT, Piccadilly; and D. BREMNER, Strand.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

THE STATE OF THE POOR:

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OF THE

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FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE PRESENT PERIOD;

In which are particularly considered

THEIR DOMESTIC ECONOMY;

WITH RESPECT TO

DIET, DRESS, LIFE AND HABITATION.

A CONTINUATIVE AND CHRONOLOGICAL ABSTRACT OF THE LAWS IN FORCE OR FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE;

AND OF OTHER CONCURRENTLY: AN ACCOUNT OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE POOR'S RATE:

ORIGINAL DISSERTATIONS ON VARIOUS ECONOMICAL AND POLITICAL SUBJECTS.

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Agricultural, Commercial, and Miscellaneous Tables.

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M,DCC,XCVII.

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Omiſſions in Vol. I.

P. 68. To the Note on *Cadas*, add,—"*Caddis garters* occur in the Firſt Part of the Reign of King Henry IV.; and in ſome other Plays mentioned by Mr. Steevens, in his Note on the paſſage: he ſuppoſes *Caddis* to be coarſe *ferret*. *Caddiſſes* form part of Autolycus's wares in the Winter's Tale; and are ſuppoſed, by Mr. Malone, to have been a narrow *worſted galloon*. He ſays, he remembers, "when very young, "to have heard it enumerated by a pedlar among the articles of his "pack;" and that there "is a very narrow ſlight ſerge, of this name, "now made in France."

P. 191. After the laſt line of Text, add, "Theſe coaches and cara-"vans are deſtructive to the trade and manufactures of the kingdom, "and have impoveriſhed and ruined many thouſands of families, whoſe "ſubſiſtence depended upon the manufacturing of wool and leather, "two of the ſtaple commodities of the kingdom: for, before theſe "coaches were ſet up, travellers rode on horſeback, and men had "boots, ſpurs, ſaddles, bridles, ſaddle-cloths, and good riding ſuits, "coats and cloaks, ſtockings and hats; whereby the wool and leather "of the kingdom was conſumed, and the Poor people ſet at work, by "carding, combing, ſpinning, knitting, weaving, and fulling: and "your cloth-workers, drapers, taylors, ſaddlers, tanners, curriers, ſhoe-"makers, ſpurriers, lorimers, and felt-makers, had a good employ, "were full of work, got money, lived handſomely, and helped, with "their families, to conſume the proviſions and manufactures of the "kingdom: but, by means of theſe coaches, theſe trades, beſides many "others depending upon them, are become almoſt uſeleſs; and they, "with their families, reduced to great neceſſity; inſomuch that many "thouſands of them are caſt upon the pariſhes, wherein they dwell, "for a maintenance."

THE Reader is requeſted to correct the following *Errata* with his pen; as many of them materially affect the ſenſe of the paſſages in which they occur.

VOL. I.

Pref. page iii, line 6, *for* uſeful, *read* uſual.
25, 16, *for* mercer, as he, *r.* mercer: he.
69, 3, from bottom, *for* ſextus, *r.* ſecundus.
130, 3, *for* ſection, *r.* Statute, c. 3.
152, 14, *dele* 2; line 16, *for* 2s. *r.* 1s.; *for* 3, *read* 2; line 18, *for* 4, *read* 3; line 22, *for* 5, *read* 4; and line 29, *after* vs, *inſert* 5.
269, note, *after* Geo. *inſert* 3.
273, 11, *after* erected, *r.* in 1723.
283, 8, *for* they excited, *r.* it excited.
289, 8, from bottom, *for* certioriari, *r.* certiorari.
317, laſt line, *for* xii. *r.* xi.
345, 5, of note, *after* ſmall, *inſert* part of the.
357, 14, *for* they are, *r.* it is.
364, firſt line of note, *after* Act, *inſert* (22 Geo. 3. c. 64.)
367, 9, of note, *for* 1756, *r.* 1796; and in line 26, of ſame note, *after* year, *inſert* a ſemicolon.
416, 10, *for* men *r.* man.
417, 5, of note, *for* twelve, *r.* twenty.
421, 17, of note, *for* unjurious, *r.* injurious.
424, 11, from bottom, *for* has, *r.* have.
444, 4, from bottom, *for* are, *r.* is.
488, 5, from bottom, *for* ſind, *r.* find.
592, 14, and 16, *for* quart, *r.* ſexturium.

VOL. II.

Page 2, line 9, from bottom, *for* amounts, *r.* amount.
15, 12, *for* 410, *r.* 416.
35, 21, *for* Poor's Rate in 1794, *r.* Poor's Rate in 1794-5.
42, at the end of the page, add, *November*, 1795.
57, *prefix to Table*, St. Mary's Quarter.
70, 1, *for* coſt, *r.* coſts.
85, 7, *for* maintain, *r.* maintains.
114, 5, *for* gives, *r.* give.
133, Title, *for* Cheſhire, *r.* Derbyſhire.
222, 4, from bottom of Table, *for* 1776, *r.* 1726.
240, 5, from bottom, *after* framing, *eraſe* up.
271, 6, from bottom, *after* pound, *add*, in the pariſh of Abbey Church.
280, 4, *for* wages, *r.* labour.
314, 4, *for* either the, *r.* either of the.
385, 2, *for* inhabitants, *r.* families.
395, 2, of note, *after* couplet, *eraſe* the comma.
420, 5, *for* 1795, *r.* 1796.
435, 18, *for* houſe, are, *r.* houſe is.
439, 1, *for* nurſe, *r.* nurſed.
453, 2, *for* Thetford, *r.* Mitford.
522, 1, of note 3, *for* 1s. 6d. *r.* 18s. 6d.
529, the Table of aſſeſſments and diſburſements, is a line too low:—the ſum £155. 15. 8½ is for the year ending in 1784; and ſo on.
578, *for* theſe aſſeſſments were, *r.* the ſeveral aſſeſſments in the year were each.
609, 24, *for* nor, *r.* not.
626, 3, *for* on, *r.* of.
635, 2, of note, *for* were, *r.* was.
649, 2, *before* 53, *inſert* £.
666, 16, *for* following, *r.* preceding.

VOL. III.

899, laſt line, *for* £. 18. 412. *r.* £148. 128.

Page lxix, *for* £. 2. 3s. *r.* 2s. 3d.
lxx, line 20, *for* is, *r.* are.
lxxiii, under the year 1680, *for* wool the ſtone, *r.* wool the pound.
lxxviii, *put reference to note* 2, *after* a ſheep at 28lb. *in line preceding it.*
cxvii, *paged* cxvi.
ccxxxix, *for* Clopſhill, *r.* Clophill.
ccclii, line 11 from bottom, *for* 32,025, *r.* 32,009; l. 13, *for* 9234, *r.* 9238.

} APPENDIX.

*** In the Parochial Reports, the year, prefixed to the Baptiſms, and Poor's Rates, denotes, in the firſt inſtance, the year ending in December; and, in the laſt, the year ending at Eaſter in the year prefixed.

PREFACE.

BEFORE my Readers ſit down to the peruſal of the bulky Volumes now put into their hands, it ſeems incumbent on me to ſolicit their attention to a few prefatory remarks, on the plan of the following Work; and the means, by which that plan has been carried into execution.

The difficulties, which the labouring claſſes experienced, from the high price of grain, and of proviſions in general, as well as of cloathing and fuel, during the years 1794 and 1795, induced me, from motives both of benevolence and perſonal curioſity, to inveſtigate their condition in various parts of the kingdom. As I advanced in my enquiries, the ſubject became ſo intereſting, that I perſuaded myſelf the reſult would be acceptable to the Public, if I ſhould be able to lay before them accurate details reſpecting the preſent ſtate of the Labouring part of the community, as well as the actual Poor. To collect them, however, to any good purpoſe, (though to thoſe, who have given ſuch an undertaking but a ſuperficial conſideration, it may, perhaps, ſeem nothing more than the ſtating, clearly, plain and obvious matters of fact,) was by no means eaſy. Private opinion, and private paſſions, will, in ſpite of us all, too often interfere, and

bias and influence the moſt honeſt and intelligent minds, in their judgments reſpecting even matters of fact. Aware of this, I have, myſelf, actually viſited ſeveral pariſhes, and procured on the ſpot, (from perſons the moſt likely to ſupply uſeful information, and the leaſt likely to be miſinformed, or to miſlead,) the ſubſtance of ſeveral of the Reports recorded in the enſuing pages. But as it was impoſſible that an individual, (engaged in profeſſional avocations,) ſhould find leiſure, himſelf, to viſit as many diſtricts as were neceſſary to form a complete view of the ſubject, I was happy to find it in my power to prevail on a few reſpectable clergymen and others to favour me with many accurate, and, I truſt, valuable, communications. To other pariſhes and diſtricts, not thus acceſſible to me, I ſent a remarkably faithful and intelligent perſon; who has ſpent more than a year in travelling from place to place, for the expreſs purpoſe of obtaining exact information, agreeably to a ſet of Queries with which I furniſhed him: and that my object in inſtituting theſe enquiries, as well as the progreſs I have made in accompliſhing it, may be more obvious to the Reader, a copy of theſe Queries is here ſubjoined.

Pariſh of

Extent and population?

Number of houſes that pay the houſe or window-tax, diſtinguiſhing double tenements?

Number of houſes exempted?

Occupations of pariſhioners, whether in agriculture, commerce, or manufactures?

What manufactures?

Price of proviſions?

Wages

Wages of labour?

Rent of land, and land-tax on the net rental?

What ſects of religion?

Tithes, how taken?

Number of inns or ale-houſes?

Farms large or ſmall? What is the moſt ~~uſeful~~ tenure? Principal articles of cultivation?

Commons and waſte-lands?

Number of acres incloſed, (if eaſily obtainable,) in any of the laſt 40 years?

How are the Poor maintained; by farming them; in houſes of induſtry; or otherwiſe?

Houſes of induſtry, (if any,) their ſtate; numbers therein; annual mortality; diet; expences, and profit, ſince their eſtabliſhment?

Table of Diet in the Houſe of Induſtry or Poor-houſe.

	Breakfaſt.	Dinner.	Supper.
Sunday.			
Monday.			
Tueſday			
Wedneſday.			
Thurſday.			
Friday.			
Saturday.			

Table of Mortality annually.

	Births.		Burials.			
	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Year.	Obſervations.

A Table of Baptiſms, Burials, and Marriages, (diſtinguiſhing the Sex,) and of the Poor's Rates, (diſtinguiſhing the Net Sum expended on the Poor,) for the following Years, as far as they can be obtained from the Pariſh Books.

	Baptisms.		Burials.						
	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Marriages.	Poor's Rates.	Net Sum expended on the Poor.	Rate what in the Pound on the Net or Aſſeſſed Rental.	Obſervations.
1680									
1685									
1690									
1691									
1692									
1693									
1694									
1695									
1696									
1697									
1698									
1699									
1700									
1720									
1740									
1760									
1775									
&c.									

Number and ſtate of Friendly Societies?

How many of them have had their Rules confirmed by Magiſtrates?

Uſual diet of labourers?

Earnings and expences of a labourer's family for a year: diſtinguiſhing the number and ages of the family; and the price and quantity of their articles of conſumption?

Miſcellaneous obſervations [1].

As the ſcope of theſe topics of enquiry is confeſſedly limited, and drawn up on a much lower ſcale than the not very diſſimilar Queries, which Sir John Sinclair, with great judgment and pro-

[1] The Author will be happy to receive any further information on theſe matters, which any Gentleman may be pleaſed to communicate. The apprehenſion, only, that his Work was already too bulky, prevented him from inſerting many Parochial Reports, which he is poſſeſſed of, in this publication.

priety,

priety, ſaw fit to prefix to the uſeful Volumes of the Statiſtical Account of Scotland; or, the no leſs well executed, but infinitely larger compaſs, which Sir John Cullum allowed himſelf, in drawing up his account of a ſingle pariſh; it may not be deemed unneceſſary, here, briefly to ſtate ſome of the reaſons which induced me to inſiſt moſt on theſe particular Queries.

The greateſt improvement, of modern times, reſpecting the care of the Poor, or that, at leaſt, which ſeems to have been moſt generally aimed at, has been, taking the Parochial Poor out of the hands of overſeers and church-wardens, (who were ſuſpected to have neglected or abuſed the great truſt repoſed in them during the ſhort period of their continuing in office,) and *farming* them out to individuals. And the reduction of the Rates, which, it will appear, took place, in many inſtances, immediately on the introduction of this regulation, muſt be confeſſed to have been extraordinary, and ſuch as certainly is by no means fully accounted for by thoſe who content themſelves with ſummarily aſcribing it all to the exiſtence of former abuſes. Whatever was the cauſe, or whatever has been the effect, of this regulation, it appears to be now very generally, (and, in my eſtimation, very deſervedly,) falling into diſeſteem. Incorporated diſtricts, work-houſes, and houſes of induſtry, have, in many inſtances of the preceding plan, taken place; and theſe, too, in many places, at firſt, and for a while, ſucceeded to admiration. But theſe eſtabliſhments, alſo, now begin to experience the common fate of all the plans hitherto attempted for the introduction of any general, unexceptionable, and complete ſyſtem for the management of the Poor; and are no longer thought to anſwer the good ends expected from them. The public mind is once more afloat; and, like the dove ſent out from the ark, anxiouſly

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ſolicitous to find, if it be poſſible, amid the ſurrounding confuſion, ſome ſpot of permanent tranquillity, on which the nation may reſt. Theſe appeared, to me, to be ſtrong reaſons for laying ſo much ſtreſs, as I did, in my Queries, on theſe points. And I cannot help flattering myſelf, that there will appear, in the following Reports, many new and important facts, which may enable my Readers to form fair concluſions reſpecting the probable effects of any future regulations.

The *extent* and *population* of any particular diſtrict, together with the *number of houſes paying the houſe or window-tax, of double tenements*, and of ſuch alſo as are *exempted* on account of poverty, may, at firſt view, perhaps, ſeem to be more proper for a general Statiſtical Enquiry, than for a Work, the profeſſed object of which is, to inveſtigate the State of the labouring Poor, and Poor Laws. It is not, however, in points only which immediately affect the Poor, or inſtitutions framed for their benefit, that their caſe is to be conſidered: whatever, in any degree, directly or indirectly, affects them, is of moment in their hiſtory. And it is by no means a circumſtance of indifference to them, whether a country be well provided with dwellings; or whether it be populous, or but thinly inhabited. But it was not only becauſe the Poor were much concerned in the queſtion concerning the population of the kingdom, that I was induced to go ſo fully into it; but becauſe it alſo appeared to me, that many unfavourable, not to ſay miſchievous, inferences, had been deduced, from premiſes, either miſunderſtood, or miſrepreſented. Amid all the preſſures and calamities of the times, there is no reaſon to think that we have to deplore a declining population.

In tracing the cauſes which lead to poverty, and to the neceſſity of

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ſoliciting parochial relief, it is not merely a matter of curioſity, but of real moment, to aſcertain from what claſſes of ſociety Paupers moſt generally originate: and therefore it became an object with me, to learn, from authentic documents, what were the occupations of the people who were the immediate objects of this enquiry. And if it ſhall appear, as I think it clearly will, from a review of the following Reports, that Paupers, comparatively ſpeaking, are but rarely found among thoſe employed in agriculture, the Public are thus put in poſſeſſion of an important fact, from which they cannot but draw intereſting concluſions.

The *prices of proviſions* and of *labour* are ſo intimately connected with the circumſtances of the Poor, that no writer has ever thought of diſſociating them, and all regulations (in modern times at leaſt,) reſpecting them, have had in view, chiefly, if not ſolely, the convenience and comfort of the Poor. In fact, it is hardly poſſible to form any accurate judgment of the condition of the labouring claſſes, in any diſtrict of the kingdom, without firſt knowing what a labouring man can earn, and how much of the neceſſaries of life he can purchaſe by his earnings. Sundry particulars relative to theſe points, meriting very ſerious and general conſideration, are brought forward in various parts of this Work. It appears, for inſtance, that a labouring man in the county of Cumberland can, and does, earn nearly as much by his labour, as one in the ſame ſphere of life in Hertfordſhire; whilſt his expenditure, (more eſpecially in the articles of diet and apparel,) is comparatively inſignificant. From his ſuperior economical ſkill and care in culinary contrivances, he can often indulge himſelf in many ſavoury diſhes, (even of meat,) which the labourer of the South can ſcarcely ever afford:

and with regard to dreſs, it will ſuffice to remark, that, in uſing clogs inſtead of ſhoes, a Northern family ſaves, at leaſt, a guinea a year. The clogs, which will laſt two grown perſons and four children a twelvemonth, do not coſt more than 15s. or 16s.; whereas, in Hertfordſhire, it is not uncommon for a day-labourer, with a large family, to ſpend £3. a-year in ſhoes. And yet, with all his apparent ruſticity, the peaſant of the North is as intelligent, as ingenious, as virtuous and as uſeful a man, as his leſs provident neighbours; and lives too, as long, and as healthy, and, probably, far more contented and happy, than the South-country labourer, who is for ever receiving, and for ever wanting, aſſiſtance and charity.

The *rent of land* is a circumſtance bearing ſo directly on the two preceding Queries, (viz. the *price of proviſions*, and the *wages of labour*;) that it is hardly poſſible to judge of the latter, without knowing the former. Agriculture ſeems to reſt on two grand fundamental points; that is to ſay, on the land, which is neceſſarily the baſis of all agricultural operations, and the ſkill and induſtry, with which it is neceſſary to cultivate it, in order to render it productive. Now, if it be fit and reaſonable, (as it undoubtedly is,) that he, who contributes moſt, by his labour, to render the ſoil productive, ſhould receive a ſhare of it's produce, proportioned to his exertions, and the ſucceſs of them, it is no leſs fit, that he, who furniſhes the firſt and moſt eſſential means of agricultural induſtry, and without whoſe contributions there could be no exertions, and, of courſe, no ſubſiſtence, ſhould receive his proper ſhare and proportion of it's increaſe. Hence, theſe two objects muſt, and do, neceſſarily

neceſſarily go hand in hand: and it is, therefore, not unfair to preſume, that, as things, when left to themſelves, rarely miſs of finding their own proper level, in general, ſome fair proportion between capital and labour is obſerved. If the caſe be, as there ſeems to be unqueſtionable evidence it is, that labourers in manufactures, even ſuch as are deemed the moſt ordinary, earn much more than their fellow-labourers can hope for, from the moſt diligent, ſkilful, and even ſucceſsful, exertions of their talents in agriculture, the proper inference ſeems to be, not that labourers in huſbandry are hardly and unjuſtly treated by thoſe who employ them, but that it is the unavoidable reſult of that marked favour ſhewn to commerce in preference to the landed intereſt, which many ſuppoſe to have long prevailed in our national councils.

The Query reſpecting *Sects of Religion*, was not propoſed merely with the view of aſcertaining the ſtate of religion in the kingdom; a point of information, which, however important in itſelf, ſeems not to be within the province of a Work like this: but becauſe it ſeemed probable, that diſputes and diviſions muſt neceſſarily be unfavourable to induſtry and economy, by being unfavourable to the reciprocation of good offices, and the mutual diſpoſition to help, and to be helped, which Chriſtian Charity is naturally ſo well calculated to inſpire. It was propoſed, alſo, becauſe it has been not unplauſibly advanced by a writer, cited by Mr. Howlett, in his "Examination of Mr. Pitt's Speech," that the increaſe of our Poor's Rates is owing to the prodigious increaſe and growth of Methodiſm [1]. Be this as it may, I ſhall not venture to aſſert, what I have frequently

[1] The paſſage, as cited by Mr. Howlett, is as follows: "Of late years, there has been a "very general complaint, over every part of the kingdom, of the increaſe of the Pariſh

frequently heard contended, that the eſtabliſhment of many ſects in religion is inimical to the progreſs of induſtry. Still leſs do I think my very limited enquiries warrant me in obſerving, (what might, perhaps, appear to ſome neither an uncharitable, an harſh, or an unjuſt ſurmiſe,) that, as manufacturers more commonly become Paupers than labourers in huſbandry, and as they alſo are more commonly ſectarians, among other cauſes of ſo ſtriking a peculiarity, their religious differences are, probably, not the leaſt.

In various points of view, *tithes* are, and ever muſt be, objects of great moment: it is, therefore, but little to be wondered at, that they have lately engaged ſo conſiderable a ſhare of the public attention. It is no part of the deſign of this Work, to enter into any diſcuſſion concerning them, farther than as they are connected with, and relate to, it's immediate object, the prices of labour and proviſions, and the circumſtances of the labouring claſſes. On theſe, tithes certainly have ſome influence; though, poſſibly, a remote one. If, however, it ſhould be found, that the prejudices of the people againſt tithes, have, in ſeveral inſtances, diſcouraged the occupants of land from raiſing grain, ſuch a circumſtance cannot but affect our

"Poor. To what cauſe are we to aſcribe this increaſe? No cauſe whatever has a more "powerful influence than the increaſe of Methodiſts. This religion, in the firſt place, is a "heavy tax; and, in the ſecond, it encourages idleneſs; and both of theſe contribute to "make men poor, and to keep them in that ſtate. I would propoſe it then, as a ſubject of "enquiry, Have the Poor's Rates increaſed with the increaſe of *Methodiſm?* Perhaps, up-"on examination, they will be found to have kept pace with the progreſs of this religion: "and it would give this opinion ſome weight, if the Rates, in particular places, have cor-"reſponded with the prevalence of Methodiſm. A ſecond queſtion might be propoſed: "Have the Poor in Scotland, where this profeſſion has fewer votaries, increaſed with that "rapidity they have done in the Southern part of the iſland?" Review of the Policy, Doctrines, and Morals, of the Methodiſts, p. 50.

labourers,

labourers, in two very eſſential reſpects; as it muſt needs diminiſh the demand for labour, and, at the ſame time, in ſome degree enhance the price of bread. Thoſe who may be led to inveſtigate more fully the influence which tithes have upon agriculture, will do well to examine, what proportion of them is held by the clergy, and how much by impropriators; as that is, perhaps, the beſt means of aſcertaining what difference it makes to Labourers, and to the Poor; whether tithing-men be lay-men, or clerks; and whether tithes be taken in kind, or compounded for. For myſelf, I muſt confeſs, that, grateful as I am, along with the great maſs of my fellow-ſubjects, for the bleſſings of the Reformation, the transfer of tithes from the clergy to lay-impropriators is not that part of it which I contemplate with the moſt ſatisfaction. Admitting that lay-men may be not only as well diſpoſed, but as well qualified, to be almoners for the Poor, (which, undoubtedly, was one of the purpoſes for which tithes were firſt granted,) they rarely have the ſame opportunities. An impropriator may, without any blame, reſide out of the pariſh, of which, notwithſtanding his non-reſidence, (to uſe a Northern phraſe,) he *lifts* the tithe: whereas, the circumſtances muſt be ſtrong indeed, which juſtify the non-reſidence of a pariſh-prieſt. And it is certain, that, as, among all the members into which ſociety is divided, there is not one more reſpectable than a good pariſh-prieſt; ſo is there no ſituation, in which the Poor are, in all reſpects, better off, than they are in thoſe places, where they have the happineſs to have a ſenſible, benevolent, and pious paſtor, for their temporal, as well as their ſpiritual, guardian and guide[1].

Of

[1] The ill-will with which tithes are ſo often paid, and the doubts, difficulties, and confuſion, ſo frequently occurring, in the various modes of collecting them, cannot but be unfavourable

Of *ale-houſes*, and their influence on the circumſtances of the labouring claſſes, the Reader will find ſome particulars in the following pages. I muſt, however, expreſs my regret, that I have not been able to procure intelligence on this head, either ſo full, or ſo ſatisfactory, as I wiſhed for. Before I knew, by experience, the difficulty of obtaining any information, relative to parochial economy, which might be depended on, either for it's accuracy, or ſufficiency in other reſpects, I had flattered myſelf that I ſhould be able to obtain ſuch information as would ſhew what quantity of liquor, and of what ſorts, was conſumed in each pariſh. In this hope, however, I have been diſappointed. The exciſeman ſtates, that it is neither within his province, nor his competency, to anſwer the queſtion; and the victualler refuſes it, becauſe he has an evident intereſt in withholding ſuch intelligence.

So much has already been written on the queſtion reſpecting

unfavourable to any ſteady and ſettled ſyſtem of labour, induſtry, and economy. In the Hiſtory of Cumberland, now publiſhing, * it is recorded of the pariſh of Bromfield, that it is poſſible for five different tithing-men to have, each of them, a legal claim to tithe in one field. The caſe is ſtated to be thus:—The incumbent claims the great tithes of all the lands that were in cultivation at the Reformation; a lay-impropriator has the tithe of all thoſe lands in the diſtrict, which then lay waſte, but have ſince been improved: theſe, not many years ago, the impropriator ſold to two yeomen of the place, reſerving to himſelf the tithe, not only of all his own improved lands lying there, but alſo of all ſuch lands as were then unimproved, but ſhould hereafter be improved: ſome conſiderable portions of ſuch lands have ſince been incloſed, and improved; which, after ſeven years, will undoubtedly be liable to pay tithes: another perſon has a right to tithe hay, from lands under particular circumſtances, from a grant or agreement made during the Border Wars, in conſideration of his keeping a *light horſe*, to give alarm in caſe of an invaſion. Nothing can exceed the confuſion occaſioned by theſe different interfering claims.

* ii. 307.

the

the preferableneſs of *large or ſmall farms;* and ſuch a maſs of diſcordant reaſoning, and contradictory evidence, has been adduced on the occaſion; and the allegation has been ſo often repeated, that the labouring claſſes of the nation have been injured by the conſolidation of ſmall farms, that it became an object of ſome moment to aſcertain, in a general manner, (for in a Work which comprehends ſo much, more could not be attempted,) what was the uſual ſize of farms in different diſtricts of the kingdom. The profeſſed object of this Work is not ſo much to draw concluſions, either from facts or arguments, as, by putting the Public in poſſeſſion of ſuch facts as were attainable by one individual, to enable them to draw their own concluſions. Without the moſt diſtant idea, therefore, of giving, or appearing to give, any decided opinion as to this great queſtion, the Author truſts it will not be deemed foreign to his purpoſe, to remark, that, if large farms do, in fact, (as many, with an appearance of great ſtrength of argument, contend they do,) leſſen labour, and the expences of labour, and thence enable the cultivators of the earth to bring it's various produce to market at a cheaper rate, it ſeems decidedly to prove that they are of great national utility. For, to ſhorten labour, and to lower it's expences, is the great ſtimulus to all thoſe exertions of genius or ſkill, by which improvements are promoted. No wiſe man, therefore, will be inclined to countenance any meaſures, which tend to damp or diſcourage a ſpirit ſo neceſſary and uſeful. If, as to the inſtance in queſtion, the conſolidation of ſeveral ſmall farms into one, ſhould be found, (as it is natural to imagine it muſt, and as, indeed, it has been proved to do,) to bear hard on the owners of ſmall farms, and, perhaps, on cottagers and labourers, this is an evil to be lamented indeed,

indeed, but not of ſuch a magnitude as that it ſhould be ſuffered to counteract the greater good which may be expected to reſult from the improvement. At any rate, the inconveniences, and the diſtreſſes, thus produced, can be but temporary; whilſt the advantages to be expected from a contrary ſyſtem, are ſuch as promiſe to be permanent, as well as daily increaſing. The argument ſeems to ſtand exactly on the ſame footing that the mills and machines for ſpinning cotton do, or any other machines or contrivances calculated to leſſen labour. One of the immediate effects of all ſuch improvements, no doubt, is to throw many induſtrious individuals out of work; and thus to create diſtreſſes, which are ſometimes exceedingly calamitous. Still, however, as the only point of view, in which a nation can regard ſuch ſchemes of a reform, is to conſider how far they actually do or do not promote the general weal, by raiſing the largeſt quantity of proviſions, or materials for manufacture, at the leaſt coſt, their inconvenience to individuals will be ſoftened and mitigated, indeed, as far as it is practicable, but by no means be ſuffered to counteract any new plans of improvement, of great and real national utility. If this were not the proper line to purſue, it muſt be confeſſed, the Turks alone are right, in not ſuffering a printing-preſs to be introduced into their dominions, merely becauſe one of it's immediate effects would be, the depriving many thouſands of unoffending, induſtrious, hackney writers, of their uſual means of earning a livelihood; and all civilized Europe is in an error. It would, however, be not difficult to prove, that the Poor themſelves are materially intereſted in every improvement which tends to increaſe agricultural, or even manufacturing, produce. There is every reaſon to believe, that thoſe miſtaken poor

perſons,

perſons, in the neighbourhood of Mancheſter, and elſewhere, who, goaded on by the preſſure of a preſent evil, ſo vehemently oppoſed the introduction of ſpinning-jennies and cotton-mills, lived to be ſenſible of their error; and to enjoy many real comforts, from the failure of their own firſt raſh projects.

By aſcertaining the different *articles of cultivation*, moſt attended to in the different diſtricts of the kingdom, ſome judgment may be formed reſpecting the effects which any of the various ſchemes of huſbandry, (which have, from time to time, ſolicited the public attention,) produce on the general maſs of the people. It would be preſumption for a perſon reſiding in Lincolns-Inn-Fields to offer any thing like an agricultural report: I therefore purpoſely abſtain from minute details on farming. Some general information, however, reſpecting the courſe of huſbandry in various diſtricts, will be found in the following Reports; and there is reaſon to believe, from a fair compariſon of all the caſes of the kind, here brought forward, that this is one of the many things which is not likely to be bettered by legiſlative interference; and which, therefore, may be ſafely left to it's own unfettered exertions.

Something is likewiſe occaſionally ſaid concerning *tenures*; as they undoubtedly more or leſs influence the operations of agriculture, and the circumſtances of agricultural labourers.

Concerning the *rental of land*, and the *land tax*, I have given the beſt information, which it was in my power to collect. But—theſe are ſenſitive plants, which ſhrink from the hand of the political queriſt. Whilſt, however, an equalization of the land-tax is apprehended, it is, perhaps, not to be expected, that every country gentleman, (even in this enlightened age,) ſhould be ready to communicate

municate information, which may facilitate that great financial operation.

To perſons who have but tranſiently conſidered the intimate connexion ſubſiſting between each of the various parts that compoſe the whole of our complicated ſyſtem of political economy, the two Queries, reſpecting *commons and waſte-lands*, it is probable, may ſeem better calculated to engage the attention of the Board of Agriculture, than they can be for the diſcuſſion of an individual profeſſedly writing on the Poor Laws. On conſideration, however, it will be found, that even this topic of enquiry has an intimate bearing on the condition of the Poor. Admitting only, that it muſt and will have no ſlight effect on the general circumſtances of the kingdom, it cannot but materially affect all the labouring claſſes of ſociety; who, it will readily be owned, are a majority of the kingdom. But, in addition to this general effect, there is every reaſon to believe, that the exiſtence, or non-exiſtence, of commons and waſte-lands, has an immediate and intimate connexion with the circumſtances of the Poor. The firſt, and moſt direct effect of encloſing commons, and reclaiming waſtes, will be a demand for more labourers; and this demand, by being conſtant and permanent, will prevent no inconſiderable loſs to labourers, by loſt days; i. e. days and periods, in which many can find no work. Single days, and even half-days, thus rendered unproductive, may ſeem to be of little moment, when ſingly conſidered, or as they relate to individuals: but the aggregate of them, and their effect on the whole large body of agricultural labourers throughout the kingdom, is a ſerious amount. And the grievance is ſtill greater, as, like too many others, to which labourers are ſubjected, it affects thoſe chiefly, if not

ſolely, who are employed in agriculture. It is an inconvenience from which the mechanic and artiſan, if it be not their own fault, are exempted. Should this regulation be now adopted, work in abundance is cut out, for many years to come, for every working man in the kingdom; and thus all the miſchief, which is too naturally to be dreaded, as reſulting from the want of employment, combined with the want of neceſſaries, will be prevented. The beſt encouragement will thus be given to an increaſing population; it being one of the moſt natural and certain effects of plenty of work, to produce plenty of food; a circumſtance, which no leſs naturally and certainly promotes marriage and population.

If the number of our acres, which are already in cultivation, exceeds the number of our people, as no doubt is the caſe, it proves only, that, with all our farming knowledge, which is confeſſedly great, and highly honourable to the age we live in, we are ſtill very far from having attained the height of all agricultural perfection. I can eaſily conceive it poſſible for our poſterity, at no very diſtant period, to puſh improvements, in this way, far beyond any thing now known; and to render the whole kingdom a rich garden. If the encloſure of waſte-lands is facilitated, by a better Bill than was preſented to the Public laſt year, we ſhall have the merit of beginning a work of never-ending and ſtill-increaſing utility, as far as theſe epithets can be applicable to any thing that is merely ſublunary; of ſetting our children an example, worthy their imitation; and leaving them, at leaſt, one inſtance of our providence, for which they may bleſs our memory. And if, after all our improved policy and care, it muſt ſtill be our misfortune, as well as our reproach, to leave them plans and ſchemes of Poor Laws, coſtly beyond all calculation, and only a little reduced, we

ſhall have the conſolation, alſo, of having firſt put them in the way, and, at leaſt, leaving them in a capacity of being wholly annihilated.

When this Query was firſt propoſed, the Author was not without hopes, that he ſhould be able to obtain ſuch anſwers to it, as would decide the queſtion, how far commons and waſte-lands are, or are not, beneficial to the Poor. The Reader, who does him the honour to peruſe the following Reports, will ſee that, though he has not been wholly diſappointed, the event has not quite anſwered his (perhaps too ſanguine) expectations. In every diſtrict there exiſts a variety of complicated circumſtances, all of which contribute, more or leſs, to promote, or to check, improvement. It frequently requires a large experience, aided by much ſagacity, to trace, amid a multitude of cauſes, thoſe particular ones which contribute moſt to produce a numerous Poor. It was hardly to be expected, that all the perſons to whom it was proper he ſhould apply in ſuch a caſe, ſhould be able to give the information which was wanted; and it was natural to ſuppoſe, that ſome, who were not unable, might be unwilling. This queſtion, like moſt others, that can now be touched upon, has it's popular and it's unpopular ſides: and, where no immediate ſelf-intereſt, or other partial leaning, interferes to bias the judgment, a good-natured man cannot but wiſh to think with the multitude; ſtunned, as his ears muſt daily be, with the oft-repeated aſſertion, that, to condemn commons, is to determine on depopulating the country. Hence, his correſpondents ſeem very generally to have paſſed by this Query. Of the little, however, that is ſaid, the ſum is, that the advantages which cottagers and poor people derive from commons and waſtes, are rather apparent than real: inſtead of ſticking regularly to any ſuch labour, as might enable them to purchaſe good fuel, they waſte their time, either like the old woman in Otway's

Orphan, in picking up a few dry ſticks, or in grubbing up, on ſome bleak moor, a little furze, or heath. Their ſtarved pig or two, together with a few wandering goſlings, beſides involving them in perpetual altercations with their neighbours, and almoſt driving and compelling them to become treſpaſſers, are dearly paid for, by the care and time, and bought food, which are neceſſary to rear them. Add to this, that as commons, and waſtes, however ſmall their value may be in their preſent ſtate, are undoubtedly the property, not of cottagers, but of the land-owners; theſe latter, by the preſent wretched ſyſtem, are thus made to maintain their Poor, in a way the moſt coſtly to themſelves, and the leaſt beneficial to the Poor. There are thouſands and thouſands of acres in the kingdom, now the ſorry paſtures of geeſe, hogs, aſſes, half-grown horſes, and half-ſtarved cattle, which want but to be encloſed and taken care of, to be as rich, and as valuable, as any lands now in tillage. In whatever way, then, it may ſeem fit to the Legiſlature, to make thoſe cottagers ſome amends for the loſs, or ſuppoſed loſs, they may ſuſtain, by the reclaiming of waſtes, it muſt neceſſarily be better for them, than their preſent precarious, diſputable, and expenſive advantages, obtained, if at all, by an ill-judged connivance, or indulgence, of the owners of land; and, by an heedleſs ſacrifice of property, of which no one takes any account, and for which, of courſe, no one thanks them.

Whatever ſyſtem of encloſure takes place, it might, perhaps, be adviſable, that ſome ſpecific quantity of land ſhould be laid off, from every common that is to be encloſed and improved, not for the avowed Paupers of the diſtrict, but for it's cottagers and labourers.

ers. If, in every township, thus gaining a freshand large accession of cultivated lands, a competent portion of it were conveniently and judiciously laid out for a garden, and a little croft, enough to maintain a cow or two, together with pigs, poultry, &c.; and enough also to raise potatoes for the annual consumption of the family, together with decent and durable cottages;—I cannot figure to myself a more pleasing or more advantageous state of society. The property of the whole should be vested, at large, in the whole district: and no tenant admitted into, or, when admitted, suffered to remain in, any such tenements, without the consent of a majority of the inhabitants. This would give the people of property sufficient, (but by no means too much,) influence and authority over those who are here supposed to be employed to work for them: and it would place such labourers, not in an abject or servile condition, but in such a state of easy and liberal dependence, as all who know human nature, and it's history, will allow to be necessary for their own comfort. It is taken for granted, that, even under such a regulation, such labourers will continue to receive their stipulated wages, as they do at present: the *toft and croft*, (to borrow the ancient terms, still in use in the North, to denote a cottage tenement,) being intended as an extra accommodation and encouragement. Other, and better, regulations might be incorporated with those already suggested; and were such a scheme but once maturely digested, and detailed at any length, the Author has little doubt but that it would be found to be pregnant with utility. Something of this kind obtained in all feudal grants; and something of it still remains, as to those descriptions of useful people, who in Scotland are called *cotters* and *crofters*; and, if I mistake not, some

such

ſuch proviſion was reſerved for the labouring claſſes in the firſt-ſettled townſhips of New England.

A country, diſfigured and burthened, as Great Britain every where is, with immeaſurable heaths, commons, and waſtes, ſeems to reſemble one of thoſe huge unwieldy cloaks worn in Italy and Spain; of which a very ſmall part is ſerviceable to the wearer, whilſt the reſt is not only uſeleſs, but cumberſome and oppreſſive. In every well-governed country, the doing no good is regarded as the ſame thing as doing harm: and, if this maxim fairly applies to lands uſed in common, with a much greater ſhew of reaſon may it be applied to lands which lie abſolutely waſte and unproductive. They not only often lie in the way of many improvements of the firſt importance, ſuch as draining, watering meadows, ſtraightening the courſe of rivers, and ſo preventing floods; but they do much harm, by the temptations they hold out to remiſſneſs, inexertion, and a ſlovenly huſbandry. I love not to dwell on the imperfections only of my country; elſe a moſt melancholy view might be given of our wretched policy, in driving, as we annually do, many thouſands of uſeful hands from us, into diſtant realms, for want of employment and food, whilſt we poſſeſs ſuch ample and eaſy means of employing and feeding millions more than our preſent population. It was thus, we not only furniſhed the revolted Colonies with the means of effecting their ſeparation from us, (for, it is a fact, which deſerves to be noticed, and well-attended to, that there is good reaſon to believe, that a majority of thoſe, who fought againſt us, in that unfortunate war, were not native Americans, but *true-born* Britons;) and it is thus, that we ſtill largely and effectually contribute to the improvement of their waſtes and wilderneſſes.

There

There are two other facts reſpecting this topic, which, when duly compared together, and fully conſidered, ſeem to me to convey as much information and inſtruction, as, if detailed, would fill volumes. In the firſt place, this Iſland, in proportion to it's ſize, contains, (I believe,) more acres of waſte-land than any other civilized kingdom in the world, Ruſſia itſelf not excepted; whoſe foreſts, being neither unproductive nor unprofitable, are hardly to be regarded as waſtes. And it is ſurely remarkable, that whilſt, by ſea, we are the foremoſt people in Europe, or in the world; in agriculture, we are, at leaſt, a century behind ſome other countries, far inferior to us in almoſt all other reſpects. I have heard it calculated, that, taken in the aggregate, the whole kingdom of Scotland does not let for more than ſixpence an acre, whilſt even England reaches to but half-a-crown. I ſhould imagine, that, were it not for the bloody and almoſt endleſs wars, which it has been the hard fate of Brabant to be for ever expoſed to, that country would let for at leaſt ten times as much as the larger of the above-named ſums. Yet is not even Brabant richer in its natural ſoil, or much more favoured by its climate, than this Iſland. The other fact, above alluded to, is, that no other kingdom, or country, has ſo expenſive a national eſtabliſhment for the maintenance of it's Poor. It would be too much to aſſert, that the moſt unaccountable increaſe of the Poor, or the immenſe, novel, and unparalleled expenditure for their ſupport, are wholly aſcribable to our neglect of our waſte-lands, or to any one other cauſe whatever. At the ſame time, it would be an inſtance of almoſt wilful ſelf-deluſion, not to ſee and to own, that, among many other cauſes, which it would not be difficult to ſpecify, this now under conſideration is a pretty prominent one.

If the view of ſo ſtriking a matter of fact fills us, as it well may, with ſorrow, as well as with ſurprize, ſtill we have the conſolation to reflect, that, bad as our condition is, it is not remedileſs. It has been obſerved that, in countries which are liable to particular diſeaſes, the remedies beſt adapted for the cure of thoſe diſeaſes are alſo generally found. A ſimilar obſervation might be made, reſpecting our political maladies. If, for inſtance, the long neglect of our commons has contributed, as no doubt it has, to ſwell our Poor Liſts, and Poor's Rates, it is ſomewhat more than fortunate for us to know, that, along with the poiſon, we may alſo find the antidote. Rapid as has lately been the increaſe of perſons becoming burthenſome, happily, in a vaſt majority of the pariſhes in the kingdom, there are commons, now totally uſeleſs, which, by a ſkilful appropriation at preſent, and good management hereafter, would be ſufficient to render all the preſent Paupers of the kingdom eaſy and comfortable, and all the inferior claſſes of ſociety, among poſterity, as independent as it is either poſſible, or proper, that perſons in their ſphere of life ſhould be, and (all things conſidered,) as well off, and as happy, as their ſuperiors.

No inſtitutions ever made a more conſiderable progreſs in a ſhort ſpace of time, than has been made, within a few of years, by the *Benefit Clubs*, or *Friendly Societies*. I regret, that it is not in my power, to ſtate either the number of ſuch Societies, or the numbers of their reſpective members. This is an enquiry far beyond the powers of a ſingle individual. As there, however, is not a diſtrict in the kingdom, in which many ſuch Societies are not found, the whole amount of their numbers muſt be very conſiderable. Theſe Societies do not owe their origin to parliamentary interference;

nor

nor to private benevolence; nor even to the recommendations of men of acknowledged abilities, or profeſſed politicians. The ſcheme originated among the perſons on whom chiefly it was intended to operate: they foreſaw how poſſible, and even probable, it was, that they, in their turn, ſhould, ere long, be overtaken by the general calamity of the times, and wiſely made proviſion for it. A ſtronger proof could not well be given, to ſhew that the great maſs of the people, prompted only by what they themſelves ſaw and felt, were convinced of the inefficacy of all legiſlative regulations, and therefore reſolved, in at leaſt one inſtance, to legiſlate for themſelves. Rejecting, as it were, a proviſion gratuitouſly held out to them by the Public, and which was to coſt them nothing, they choſe to be indebted for relief, if they ſhould want it, to their own induſtry, and their own frugality. And I would fain hope, that I do not deſerve to be ſet down as wanting in all due reſpect for parliamentary wiſdom, if, in a caſe like this, I ſhould declare my preference of the wiſdom of the people: I cannot recollect any Act of the Legiſlature, for many years, that has either produced ſuch important national advantages, or been ſo popular, as the inſtitution and extenſion of Friendly Societies.

Under the guidance of this principle, I go on farther to obſerve, that Friendly Societies have now eſtabliſhed, on the broad baſis of experience, one great and fundamental truth, of infinite national importance; viz. that, with very few exceptions, the people, in general, of all characters, and under all circumſtances, with good management, are perfectly competent to their own maintenance. The Clubs are formed, as is well known, in general, of perſons in all the inferior ſtations of life; perſons who, in other reſpects, are by no means diſ-

tinguiſhed from their neighbours, by ſuperior wiſdom, or better morals; and who, being neither more induſtrious, nor more frugal, than others, it may be ſuppoſed, neither earn more, nor lay by more of their earnings. And yet I do not find, that any pariſh has been burthened with the maintenance of a member of any Friendly Society: nor are the inſtances numerous, of the families of members becoming burthenſome. This being the caſe, it is evident, that the nation muſt have ſaved many thouſands of pounds, (perhaps millions,) by theſe uſeful inſtitutions. They are beneficial to the nation, not merely by preventing many thouſands of their members, who are not leſs liable to misfortunes, diſeaſes, impotency, and old age, than others, from becoming burthenſome; but alſo by countenancing and promoting a ſpirit of independence, and better habits of induſtry and frugality, than are uſually found among the labouring claſſes of ſociety.

It is mortifying to reflect, that, in the midſt of all theſe ſavings, and notwithſtanding all the other benefits reſulting from theſe inſtitutions, our Poor's Rates have gone on increaſing with ſuch aſtoniſhing rapidity as to have doubled their former amount within the laſt twenty years. Far from imputing this, in any reſpect, or in any degree, to theſe Societies, it is fair to ſuppoſe, that, had it not been for them, the increaſe would have been ſtill greater: it proves only, that the inveteracy and malignity of the malady has been ſuch that the beſt medicine has only checked it: a radical and compleat cure is within the competency only of the Legiſlature. And, perhaps, no better ſyſtem of treatment can be thought of, than, by a vigorous reform in the Poor Laws, to promote a practice, which has hitherto been found ſucceſsful, as far as it has been tried; and,

by judicious meaſures, ſo to encourage theſe voluntary aſſociations, as to render them general and univerſal throughout the kingdom.

The remaining Queries, concerning the *Poor*, and the *various modes of maintaining them*; the *diet of labourers*, and the *earnings and expences of labourers' families*, are ſo obviouſly connected with my ſubject, that I feel it unneceſſary to detail my reaſons for inſiſting on them. It will, without doubt, be remarked, that, in moſt of the communications reſpecting labourers' houſhold accounts, their expences exceed their earnings; more particularly in the ſtatements of weekly receipts and diſburſements, which are inſerted in the Appendix to theſe Volumes.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the whole annual earnings of a labourer can ſeldom be aſcertained with great preciſion. Some men are ſo habitually careleſs, that they are totally unable to give any ſatisfactory information; others, who could give tolerable anſwers, think that enquiries concerning them can have no important object in view, and are therefore inaccurate; and a third claſs, (which is by far the moſt numerous,) are ſo apprehenſive that the ultimate object of queſtioning them is to effect a reduction in their wages, or ſomething equally diſagreeable, that they are unchangeably myſterious and inſincere.

Beer is an article of expence, of which the labourer will ſeldom give any, and ſtill ſeldomer an accurate, account. It is, however, chiefly on the ſcore of earnings, that he confounds all enquiries, either by taciturnity, or miſrepreſentation. He calculates himſelf, or endeavours to perſuade thoſe who examine him to calculate, his yearly income from the average price of day-labour in his pariſh. But, as work is now very generally done by the *piece*, it is obvious,

that

that ſtatements, formed upon ſuch *data*, muſt be extremely fallacious: they, however, are not without their uſe; and I have, therefore, inſerted them: but, the Reader will, I truſt, often be inclined to draw the ſame concluſion, which I have drawn, from them; that, if the expenditure is not exaggerated, the income is, in moſt inſtances, conſiderably under-rated.

I ſhould never have undertaken the Hiſtory of the Poor, which is prefixed to this Collection of Parochial Reports, had I foreſeen that it would have ſwelled to what, perhaps, ſome readers may deem an unreaſonable ſize. But I was perſuaded, that the ſcanty materials which were to be found in our old chroniclers and annaliſts would neceſſarily confine this part of my ſubject to a very narrow compaſs. Indeed the writers who have profeſſedly treated of theſe topics are but few; and it is only in very late, and, comparatively ſpeaking, modern times, that any ſuch hiſtorians have exiſted. For the authorities, therefore, which I have ſelected, I am perſuaded, I cannot offer a better apology, than one which has been tendered by Lord Kames, in his Hiſtorical Law Tracts.

"In tracing the Hiſtory of Law through dark ages, unprovided "with records, or ſo ſlenderly provided as not to afford any regu- "lar hiſtorical chain; we muſt endeavour, the beſt way we can, "to ſupply the broken links, by hints from poets and hiſtorians, "by collateral facts, and by cautious conjectures, drawn from the "nature of the government, of the people, and of the times. If we "uſe all the light that is afforded; and if the conjectural facts cor- "reſpond with the few facts that are diſtinctly vouched, and join "all in one regular chain, nothing farther can be expected from "human endeavours[1]."

[1] Hiſtorical Law Tracts, 3d ed. p. 25.

It may poſſibly yet be aſked, why the Queries have been ſo few; and why they did not alſo comprehend other parochial concerns, no leſs intereſting, than Births, Burials, and Poor's Rates[1]? Had the Author undertaken the hiſtory of a ſingle pariſh, omiſſions reſpecting it's natural hiſtory, it's antiquities, or it's agriculture, would have been inexcuſable: but, when it is conſidered that the object of this Work was to trace the progreſs of the Poor Laws, and to examine the condition of thoſe principally concerned in them, it will be obvious that a minute attention to particular places, purſued with more time, more labour, and more expence, muſt have incapacitated him from exhibiting a general view of the ſubject. The Reader will, therefore, have the candour to conſider each part in the proportion, only, which it bears to the whole; nor will he expect that the outlines of a general map of the country can admit of the colouring of a miniature picture. Much, no doubt, may have been omitted, that bears on the preſent ſubject; but, in literature, as well as in manufacture, diviſion of labour is to be attended to. He who wiſhes either to acquire, or to communicate, uſeful knowledge, will only cultivate a corner of the field.

I have, purpoſely, and almoſt wholly, abſtained from drawing concluſions from the facts here preſented to the Public. To offer

[1] After all, I will not aſſert, that my Queries are the beſt calculated even to acquire the information I wanted: "l'art d'interroger n'eſt pas ſi facile qu'on penſe. C'eſt bien plus "l'art des mâitres que des diſciples; il faut avoir déjà appris beaucoup de choſes pour "ſavoir demander ce qu'on ne ſait pas. 'Le ſavant ſait et s'enquiert,' dit un proverbe "Indien; 'mais l'ignorant ne ſait pas même de quoi s'enquérir.'" Rouſſeau, La Nouvelle Héloïſe, iv. lett. 3.

detailed

detailed Plans of Reform, in that branch of political economy which concerns the Poor, much exceeds my abilities: nor am I inclined to enter the liſts in which I ſhould find ſo many competitors. I ſhall therefore purſue a very different method from that uſually followed by writers on the Poor; who voluntarily impoſe upon themſelves the taſk, ſo much, and ſo juſtly, complained of by the Iſraelites, of making bricks without ſtraw; and raiſe their ſpecious ſyſtems, without well authenticated facts to ſupport them. The edifice of political knowledge cannot be reared without it's "hewers of ſtone," and "drawers of water." I am content to work among them; and, whilſt others prefer, (and there never will be wanting many who will prefer,) the more arduous taſk of architectural decoration, to aſſiſt in digging the foundation, or in dragging the rough block from the quarry. The glory of the builder may be more enviable; but the drudgery of the maſon is practically more uſeful. The one may embelliſh the fabric; but without the labours of the other, it would never be reared at all. The induſtry of the peaſant, and the ingenuity of the manufacturer, are the brick and mortar of the political ſtructure; the raw materials, which the Stateſman muſt work with. He will always do well to recollect, that the "jutting frieze," and the "Corinthian capital," generally owe their ſtrength and ſolidity to the ſolid brick-work behind them.

For the inelegancies of ſtyle, which may be found in this Work, I deem it unneceſſary to make any apology. I have endeavoured to be plain, ſimple, and perſpicuous: but have never waſted that time in poliſhing a ſentence, which I thought I could better

employ

employ in aſcertaining a fact: and even in matters of fact, thus brought forward, there will, I more than doubt, be too often found ſomething to object to, as inaccurate. Errors there are, and muſt be, in a Work, whoſe object is ſo extenſive, and whoſe details are ſo circumſtantial. Even Parliamentary enquiries concerning the State of the Poor, are not infallible.

Of the utility and tendency of ſuch a Work, the Public will be better judges than it's Author. I hope, however, that I may be permitted, without incurring the imputation of arrogance, to obſerve, that if theſe Reſearches ſhould exhibit increaſed and increaſing comfort in the circumſtances of thoſe, whoſe unremitting labour beſt entitles them to receive it, it ſhould check the repinings which caſual and temporary calamities have excited; and ſhould convince us, that national diſtreſs exiſts only in the miſconceptions of the ignorant, or the cavils of the diſcontented. If, on the contrary, the picture ſhould be a gloomy one, the diſplay of a declining and unproſperous ſtate of ſociety will not be without it's uſe. To point out an evil, is frequently, not only in morals, but in politics, the ſhorteſt road to amendment. Even where the calamity is inſurmountable, a knowledge of the cauſes which render it ſo, are conſoling; ſince it may teach us to bear patiently what we cannot cure, and to diſcriminate properly between the errors of eſtabliſhment, and the imperfections of human nature.

I will here conclude.—That this Work may, in any degree, be ſubſervient to philanthropy and ſound policy, is my ſincere wiſh. Conſcious that their promotion was my principal view in undertaking it, I repoſe myſelf under that ſatisfaction, which,

perhaps,

perhaps, ſuperior writers only have a right to indulge; and whilſt "I am animated by this wiſh, I look with pleaſure on my Book, "however defective, and deliver it to the world, with the ſpirit of "a Man, that has endeavoured well [1]."

F. M. EDEN.

LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS,
December, 1796.

[1] Johnſon's Pref. to his Dict.

BOOK I.

HISTORY OF THE POOR, FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE PRESENT PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Poor, from the Conqueſt to the Reformation.

AMIDST the multiplied enjoyments, which the progreſs of knowledge has introduced into civilized life, mankind, in one reſpect, continue unalterably the ſame; whether deſtined to guide the plough, or to wield the ſceptre; whether employed in the drudgery of mechanical labour, or in the no leſs toilſome, (though more attractive,) purſuits of ſcience; they all equally feel the preſſing calls of thoſe phyſical wants, which cannot be fully ſatisfied but by the acquiſition of the neceſſaries of life; or, in other words, thoſe articles which are the beſt preſervatives of the human frame. Under this deſcription may be comprehended, food, raiment, and habitation; the firſt of which, it is obvious, is indiſpenſable in every ſtate of ſociety, and in every country; and the others, although not equally called for in all, are yet, from climate, and from cuſtom, conſidered as eſſentially requiſite for the pooreſt inhabitant of England. But as, whatever might have been the caſe in Paradiſaical regions, or in a Golden Age, the natural produce of our ſoil is certainly not fully adequate to our ſubſiſtence; we can neither be cloathed, lodged, nor fed, but in conſequence of ſome previous labour. A portion, at leaſt, of the ſociety muſt be indefatigably employed, (and, happily, in every well-regulated ſtate, a portion is ſufficient) to ſupply the neceſſary wants of the whole. Of

ſupernumerary hands that are not thus deſtined to actual labour, a part is occupied in the various arts, to which mankind are indebted for many conveniencies and comforts, and from which a long liſt of (perhaps ſuperfluous) refinements are ultimately derived. There are others in this great national family, who, though they "neither toil nor ſpin," can yet command the produce of induſtry, but who owe their exemption from labour ſolely to civilization and order: ſuch are the owners of derivative property; they are peculiarly the creatures of civil inſtitutions; which, for the general benefit of ſociety, have uniformly recognized this fundamental principle, that individuals may acquire property by various other means beſides the exertion of labour, and, under certain preſcribed forms, transfer it to their contemporaries, or tranſmit it to their deſcendants. Enviable, however, as the condition of thoſe, who are emphatically called perſons of independent fortune, and who can abundantly command all the neceſſaries of life, may ſeem, they owe their ſuperior advantages by no means to any ſuperior abilities of their own, but almoſt entirely, in a proper ſenſe, to the induſtry of others. It is not the poſſeſſion of land, or of money, but the command of labour, which the various circumſtances of ſociety place more or leſs within their diſpoſal, that diſtinguiſhes the opulent from the labouring part [1] of the community: under the latter deſcription I would comprehend thoſe, whoſe daily ſubſiſtence abſolutely depends on the daily unremitting exertion of manual labour; without meaning to ſtigmatize thoſe, who are otherwiſe employed, as either idle, or uſeleſs members of the State. In the ſtrict ſenſe of the term, lawyers, phyſicians, and other profeſſional men, may, perhaps, be as fairly called labourers, as miners or manufacturers. An excellent moraliſt well obſerves, that "every man has his work. The kind of "work varies, and that is all the difference there is. A great deal "of labour exiſts, beſides that of the hands; many ſpecies of induſtry, "beſide bodily operation; equally neceſſary, requiring equal aſſiduity,

[1] I ſhall often have occaſion to diſtinguiſh this claſs under the appellation of the *labouring poor*, by which I mean thoſe, whoſe daily labour is neceſſary for their daily ſupport. I am aware that a very able political writer has ſaid, that it is an unmeaning term, and what "none but the moſt ſuperficial reaſoners can uſe." (A. Young, Northern Tour, Let. 39.) The ſame author has, however, very judiciouſly uſed the words himſelf (Travels in France, i. 410. 442. &c.); and I think his meaning is perfectly intelligible when he ſpeaks of our *labouring poor* as more at their eaſe than thoſe of France, &c.

"more

" more attention, more anxiety. It is not true, therefore, that men " of elevated ſtations are exempted from work; it is only true that " there is aſſigned to them work of a different kind: whether more " eaſy, or more pleaſant, may be queſtioned; but certainly not leſs " wanted, nor leſs eſſential to the common good[1]." The rich, however, have the conſolation to know, that, even under any mental or corporeal diſability, or any other worldly misfortune, from which they or their families may ſuffer, it is ſeldom that the calamity can be aggravated by the immediate deprivation of the neceſſaries of life; whilſt, with a great part, (probably the greateſt part,) of the nation, bodily infirmity deſtroys all their means of gratifying even their natural wants. In a moral point of view, indeed, the rich are undoubtedly, in many reſpects, equally miſerable; but, with regard to their phyſical neceſſities, the advantage is manifeſtly on their ſide, and the fruits of the earth are more at their diſpoſal. With them, the uſe of ſtock previouſly accumulated, and the anticipation of future reſources, often ſupply the deficiencies of the moment. This, too, often happens with the community at large: a miniſter knows, that, in a thriving ſtate of ſociety, he can borrow money, and impoſe efficacious taxes, on the well-grounded probability, that the annual labour of the nation will create the fund, from which they may be derived; but individuals, in the humbler ſpheres of life at leaſt, cannot either reaſon or act in this manner. The day labourer is ſenſible, that, in the ſeaſon " when every work of man is laid at reſt," when his daily earnings are reduced to a miſerable pittance, he cannot provide for his increaſed wants, and ſoften the rigour of a ſevere winter, by anticipating the ample wages of the following harveſt: beſides the interruption which he experiences from the inclemency of the ſeaſons, another ſource of want is opened, from the ſometimes uncertain, and always variable, demand for human induſtry; ready and willing to labour, he may not be able to find employers. But the moſt frequent periods of difficulty and diſtreſs are thoſe, in which, although the employer and the work are provided, the labourer is incapacitated by ſome of thoſe caſualties, to which human nature is perpetually liable. I need not particularize the various caſes of complicated diſtreſs, to which, at every period of

[1] Paley's Aſſize Sermon, at Durham, July 29th, 1795. 14.

their exiſtence, the Poor are peculiarly expoſed. Helpleſs infancy, and decrepid old age, are equally incapable of labour; nor are the ſturdy peaſant, and ſedentary artificer, even in the moſt vigorous period of life, ſecure from caſualty or ſickneſs, which may reduce them to temporary want, or even overwhelm them with irremediable calamity: to ſuch, and even to the idle, under certain reſtrictions, the law of England, upon humane and benevolent principles, has aſſigned a competent proviſion, exacted from the more opulent parts of the community.

The code deviſed for this purpoſe, although originally, perhaps, ſufficiently ſimple, has, in the progreſs of ſociety, undergone ſuch various modifications, as ſometimes, and in ſome reſpects, well nigh to have loſt ſight of its firſt aims and intentions; that the politician and patriot, as well as the philanthropiſt, are naturally induced to inquire, whether, along with much acknowledged good that it has done, we may not alſo aſcribe to it many great evils, both moral and political: they are led to aſk, whether the indigent claſſes are now proportionably leſs numerous, or leſs miſerable, than they were formerly; whether they have been benefited by Poor-houſes, Houſes of Induſtry, and Friendly Societies; and in what degree the preſent ſyſtem and adminiſtration of our Poor Laws affect either the progreſs of induſtry, or the bleſſings of domeſtic life. Theſe, and many ſimilar queſtions, cannot, as it ſeems to me, be fully and ſatisfactorily anſwered, unleſs many minute circumſtances are previouſly ſtated, which have rarely been ſufficiently attended to in the plauſible and ingenious, but unſolid, ſpeculations of ſeveral merely theoretical reaſoners on thoſe topics. By ſome, perhaps, the detail of the earnings and expenditure of a village-family, the economy of a work-houſe, or the legiſlative regulations of a box-club, may be deemed frivolous and unimportant. Let it, however, be recollected, that theſe particulars ultimately concern a claſs from which the ampleſt ſources of revenue are derived; and, if I miſtake not, copious ſtreams of political knowledge, of the higheſt kind, may be alſo drawn from the ſame reſervoir. It is from information relative to their domeſtic economy, their manners, and their opinions, that legiſlators may acquire deep ſubjects for reflection, and inexhauſtible materials to work with. Perhaps, the beſt eulogium that can be conferred on any government is, that there is employment for all the people; that their cottages are comfortable; their food wholſome;

and their children well cloathed. It is ſaid of Henry the Fourth of France, that he wiſhed all his ſubjects could afford themſelves a good ſupper once a week: I have no doubt that the diſciple of Sully underſtood that ſuch an enjoyment would have been a more incontrovertible proof of the wealth of his kingdom, than the ſplendor of his nobility, or the magnificence of his palaces [1]. Certain it is, that, on the welfare of it's labouring Poor, the proſperity of a country eſſentially depends; and that without adverting to the peculiarities of their ſituation, no general eſtimate can be formed of it's population, it's induſtry, it's ſtrength and power, it's virtue, and it's happineſs.

Much light undoubtedly may be thrown on the Poor Laws, from an enquiry into the domeſtic condition of the people: it is, however, impoſſible fairly to appreciate the effects of their various ramifications, and to diſtinguiſh their immediate conſequences from thoſe ariſing from other inſtitutions, without previouſly tracing the progreſs of ſociety, if not from the earlieſt, at leaſt through the moſt important, periods of our hiſtory. A review of this nature will not only afford us the means of judging, from the experience of paſt times, how far the legiſlative proviſions of our anceſtors have proved expedient, or hurtful; how far their defects are remediable, or their excellencies preſervable; but will likewiſe contribute towards the ſolution of the important queſtion, ſo often agitated, and yet ſo unſatisfactorily decided, whether thoſe, whoſe only patrimony is their bodily ſtrength, receive a better recompence for their labour, and a larger portion of the neceſſaries and comforts uſually required by that claſs of ſociety, than was the lot of their forefathers.

To purſue an hiſtorical deduction of this nature, little more is neceſſary than patient inveſtigation; but, to point out defects, or to ſuggeſt improvements in this, or any other part of the legiſlative fabric, requires much comprehenſive knowledge, and much practical experience. Politics, like Phyſics, are unſuſceptible of mathematical preciſion. The philoſopher who attempts to explain the properties of matter, and the hiſtorian who endeavours to account for the progreſs of ſociety, will neceſſarily often deviate from the direct courſe of enquiry: the one cannot

[1] Rouſſeau well obſerves: "Quand il eſt queſtion d'eſtimer la puiſſance publique, le bel eſprit viſite les palais du Prince, ſes ports, ſes troupes, ſes arſenaux, ſes villes; le vrai politique parcourt les terres, et va dans la chaumiere du laboureur. Le premier voit ce qu'on a fait, et le ſecond ce qu'on peut faire." La Nouvelle Heloïſe, Tom. 4. Lettre 2.

trace

trace the phenomena of nature to their reſpective ſources, without attending to the agency of collateral cauſes; nor can the other fully eſtimate the operation of any branch of civil polity, without taking into his conſideration the effects of co-exiſting eſtabliſhments. Many inſtitutions, which were incongruous and unconnected in their original contrivance, acquire ſolidity from practice, become harmonized by time, and at length act with co-operation. No moral ſyſtem can be formed at once on a regular plan, but muſt be modified according to circumſtances: imperceptible additions, adopted with reference to what is retained, gradually ſwell into a complicated machine; and the whole compoſition produces effects, to which the ſubordinate parts have all contributed; but in what proportion each has aſſiſted, it often becomes impracticable to determine. The cauſes of national proſperity, from thus eluding the graſp of rigorous demonſtration, are ſubjected to the vague conceptions of fancy and caprice; and are uſually interpreted to ſuit the various prejudices and party intereſts of mankind. Perhaps no one branch of our political economy more ſtrongly exemplifies the truth of theſe remarks, than the Poor Laws: their various proviſions are ſo peculiarly interwoven with many excellent, and (perhaps) with many defective inſtitutions, that it becomes extremely difficult to determine, whether it is their joint, or ſeparate influence, that affects the community: ſtill more difficult is it, even when their immediate effects can be recognized, to ſay, that a radical alteration will correct the evil complained of. The ſyſtem has inſinuated itſelf into every crack and aperture of the edifice, and, like the ſpreading ivy, has at length overſhadowed the building that ſupported it: cropping it's luxuriant ſhoots may check it's encroachments; but cutting it's roots might perhaps endanger the fabric, which the feeble plant firſt undermined, and now holds together.

OF the domeſtic comforts enjoyed by the great body of the people, in the periods immediately ſubſequent to the Conqueſt, we may form a tolerable eſtimate, notwithſtanding the great deficiency of evidence to mark the manners of private life, from conſidering the information afforded us by hiſtorians concerning their political ſituation. If we except the baronial proprietors of land, and their vaſſals the free

tenants

tenants and ſoͤmen, the reſt of the nation, for a long time after this era, ſeems to have been involved in a ſtate of ſervitude, which, though qualified as to it's effects, was uniform in it's principle, that none who had unhappily been born in, or had fallen into, bondage, could acquire an abſolute right to any ſpecies of property [1].

The condition, however, of the people, who were thus debarred from taſting the firſt of ſocial bleſſings, was not, in other reſpects, equally abject and miſerable: thoſe, denominated villeins in groſs, were at the abſolute diſpoſal of their lord; and were transferable by deed, ſale, or conveyance, from one owner to another [2]. They were principally employed in menial ſervices about the houſe, and were ſo numerous as to form a conſiderable branch of Engliſh commerce. An author, who lived in the reign of Henry the Second, informs us, that ſuch a number of them was exported to Ireland, that the market there was abſolutely glutted [3]; and another declares, that from the reign of King William the Firſt to that of King John, there was ſcarcely a cottage in Scotland that did not poſſeſs an Engliſh ſlave [4]. Theſe were probably the captives taken in the predatory inroads on the borders: there can be little doubt but that the Engliſh retaliated on their neighbours, and made ſlaves of ſuch of their Scotch priſoners as could not pay for their ranſom. In the various accounts of the marauding expeditions of the moſs-troopers of Cumberland, men are often mentioned as the principal part of the booty they brought back [5].

Villeins regardant were thoſe who were annexed to manors, and bound to perform the moſt ſervile offices of agricultural labour, which was originally unlimited, both with regard to it's quality and it's duration [6]. They however were ſometimes permitted to occupy ſmall portions of land to ſuſtain themſelves and their families, but were removable

[1] Litt. § 177. This was alſo the caſe in Scotland:
—— "Na bondman may buy or purches his libertie with his awin proper gudes or geir
" —— becauſe all the cattell and gudes of all bond-men are underſtand to be in the power
" and dominion of the maiſter: ſwa that without conſent of his maiſter, he may not redeme
" himſelf out of bondage with his awin proper denires or money." See the Regiam Majeſtatem; or the Auld Lawes of Scotland, Buke 2d, Ch. 12. [2] Litt. § 181. [3] Giraldus Cambrenſis Hibern. Expugn. 770. [4] R. Hoveden. 260. [5] Ridpath's Border Hiſtory; and Burn and Nicholſon's Hiſtory of Cumberland and Weſtmoreland. [6] Year Books, 22 H. 6. f. 31.

at

at the lord's pleaſure, and were liable to be ſold, with the ſoil to which they belonged; from which they might alſo at any time be ſevered [1]. I have made this diſtinction between villeins in groſs, and villeins regardant, as it is laid down by our lawyers and hiſtorians. It may, however, I think, be doubted, whether the difference in their condition was more than nominal. The villein regardant ſeems to have been occaſionally employed as a domeſtic, as well as an agricultural ſlave: and although he was generally indulged by his lord in the uſe of a few acres of land, he was liable to be called upon to perform every ſpecies of work, however painful or degrading [2]. Other ranks of men, equally ſervile and dependent, are noticed in ancient records [3]; particularly the Bordarii [4], who, in conſideration of their being permitted to occupy a ſmall cottage, were bound to provide poultry, eggs, and other articles of diet for the lord's table: and the Cottarii, or Coterelli [5], who appear to have been much on the ſame footing with villeins regardant, being employed in the trades of ſmith, carpenter, and other handicraft arts neceſſary in the country; in which they had been inſtructed at the expence of their maſters, and for whoſe benefit they purſued their ſeveral occupations [6].

After the Conqueſt, various cauſes co-operated not only to prevent the introduction of a new ſtock, but alſo to extinguiſh the ancient race of villeins. As it was the cuſtom of enſlaving captives taken in war, that was probably the foundation, and certainly the ſupport, for many ages, of this not more iniquitous than impolitic ſyſtem; ſo it ſeems that the diſuſe of the ancient practice of converting captivity into ſlavery, led the way to it's ultimate abolition: and, although hiſtory is ſilent on the ſubject, I ſhould imagine, that, after the introduction of the Norman line, no Engliſhman could be a ſlave, unleſs by birth or confeſſion. Theſe were the only ſources of ſupply; but they continued, for a long time, ſufficiently copious to involve the labouring claſſes of the community in a bondage, that was marked by every eſſential ingredient of ſlavery: we may be convinced of this, by comparing the

[1] Ingulphus, 520. Kennett, Par. Ant. 288. State Trials, xi. 342. [2] Tout fait que le ſeignr leſſe terre all vill' pur occupier et mainure, unc' il poit quant luy pleiſt luy [illegible] pur ſver en ſon meaſon ou en ſon beſoignes. Year Books, 22 H. 6. f. 31. [3] See Domeſday Book. [4] Spelman's Gloſſ. Du Cange. [5] Spelman's Gloſſ. [6] Ibid.

actual

actual condition of a villein [1] during the three firſt centuries after the Conqueſt, with the ſtatement of the general properties of ſlavery, given us by the learned author of the elaborate argument on "The Negro "Caſe." "Slavery," he ſays, "always imports an obligation of perpetual "ſervice; an obligation which only the conſent of the maſter can diſ- "ſolve. It generally gives to the maſter an arbitrary power of admi- "niſtring every ſort of correction, however inhuman, not immediately "affecting the life or limb of the ſlave: ſometimes even they are left "expoſed to the arbitrary will of the maſter; or they are protected by "fines, and other ſlight puniſhments, too inconſiderable to reſtrain the "maſter's inhumanity. It creates an incapacity of acquiring, except for "the maſter's benefit. It allows the maſter to alienate the perſon of "the ſlave, in the ſame manner as other property: laſtly, it deſcends "from parent to child, with all its ſevere appendages." [2]

The progreſs of Chriſtianity, however, contributed much, not only to alleviate the ſufferings of theſe unhappy people, but alſo to diminiſh

[1] The following deſcription of the preſent condition of Ruſſian boors, from a late publication, entitled, "Letters from Scandinavia", it is probable, exhibits a faithful picture of the Engliſh villein in the 12th and 13th centuries. The author ſays, that "The ſlavery in which the peaſants are held, checks the ſpirit of improvement in that numerous body of men. A man, who can gain nothing by becoming wiſer than his fellows, will hardly be tempted to take much trouble in acquiring ſuperfluous accompliſhments, or in beſtowing them on his children. A Ruſſian peaſant has nothing that can ſtimulate him to the purſuit of knowledge. He ſees himſelf fixed to a particular ſpot, from which he can have no hope of removing; and ſurrounded with beings, ignorant and brutiſh as himſelf. His induſtry, if he has any, is ſtrictly and permanently appropriated. So many days in the week, and ſo many hours in the day, he knows he muſt labour for his maſter: and, be his own neceſſities what they may, he is ſenſible that this portion of his time muſt not be encroached upon. If he poſſeſs horſes, or cows, or inſtruments of his occupation, a large portion, of what he can earn by them, goes to the uſe of his maſter. If he has a wife and children, theſe alſo are but partially his own: his maſter may command their ſervices, wherever, and in whatever manner, he pleaſes. He is hardly permitted to ſtir from his hut, without his maſter's leave; nor can he earn a ſingle morſel of bread, without his permiſſion. If his children are to be taught any trade, it is the maſter who orders what that trade ſhall be, and who is to be the teacher: if they are to go to ſchool, the maſter ſends and removes them at his pleaſure; and if they wiſh to marry, they muſt do it agreeably to his commands. In a word, a Ruſſian peaſant depends on his maſter for every thing. He cannot, it is true, be ſent *out* of the world, without the forms of law; but, by the negative which every maſter poſſeſſes againſt the marriage of his people, he may be prevented from coming *into* it." Letters from Scandinavia, publiſhed in 1796, i. 59.

[2] State Trials, xi. 340.

their numbers. In the eleventh century, a bull was iſſued at Rome, for the emancipation of ſlaves [1]; and, in England, a law was made in a great council held at Weſtminſter in the year 1102, which, at the ſame time that it evinces an improvement in civilization, clearly proves that the ſale of ſlaves was a very common traffic. The words of the law are: "let no man, for the future, preſume to carry on the wicked trade "of ſelling men in market, like brute beaſts, which hitherto hath been "the common cuſtom of England." [2]

Very early inſtances occur, of lords enfranchiſing their villeins, at the interceſſion of their ſpiritual confeſſors [3]. It is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the clergy, whoſe learning, in a dark age, had given them the excluſive poſſeſſion of the Courts of Juſtice, ſhould, in interpreting the Law, (which, we are told, was eager to catch at every thing in favour of liberty,) [4] avail themſelves of many legal ſubtleties, which, while they accorded with chriſtian charity, at the ſame time enabled them to leſſen the formidable power of their great rivals, the temporal nobility. It was thus, that acts of good-nature and benevolence, on the part of the lord, were conſtrued into implied manumiſſions [5]; till, by a long ſeries of immemorial encroachments, the villein was freed from the baſe and laborious ſervices of unconditional dependence. We are told, that, in conſequence of the arguments uſed by the Church, againſt keeping Brother Chriſtians in bondage, "temporal men, by little "and little, by reaſon of that terror in their conſcience, were glad to "manumitte all their villeins; but the ſaid Holy Fathers, with the "Abbots and Priors, did not in like ſort by theirs; for they had alſo "conſcience to impoveriſh and diſpoyle the Church ſo much, as to "manumit ſuch as were bound to their churches, or to the manors "which the Church had gotten, and ſo kept their's ſtill [6]." Indeed, ſuch numbers were in their ſervice, that no leſs than 2000 villeins belonged to ſome of the richeſt abbies [7].

[1] Smith's Wealth of Nations, 5th ed. ii. 91. [2] Eadmer, iii. 68. [3] Sir T. Smith's Commonwealth, ed. 1635, 250. [4] Blackſt. ii. 94. [5] Litt. § 204-5-6. [6] Sir T. Smith, 250. [7] Walſingham, 258. Villeins, in ſome inſtances, were very profitable ſervants to the regular clergy. In the 17th of Richard the Second, the Commons petitioned the king, for remedy againſt ſuch religious bodies as caused their villeins to marry free women inheritable, in order to obtain their eſtates by collusion. Cotton, 355.

Of

Of the domeſtic comforts enjoyed by this claſs of the people, hiſtory has afforded us very little information. If we reaſon, however, not only from the practice of the maſters of ſlaves in thoſe countries where ſlavery ſtill ſubſiſts, but from the acknowledged and general principles of human nature, we ſhall be warranted in ſuppoſing, that, from motives of intereſt alone, had there been no other, the lord would, in general, take good care of his villein, and ſupply him in infancy, manhood, and old age, with the eſſential neceſſaries of food and raiment. The ſtate of vaſſalage [1], in thoſe feudal times, which are ſometimes, perhaps, ſomewhat too ſummarily reprobated, would not have been ſo unpropitious to the individual happineſs of any member of the community, had they not, from other cauſes, been alſo unpropitious to the general weal of ſociety, by engaging mankind ſo often, as they did, in wars. And, after all that has lately been urged againſt ſlavery, on the ground of philanthropy, it is probably moſt objectionable, from its being, (as it ſeems to be capable of proof that it is,) injurious to ſociety at large [2]. As the baſtard is, in the eye of the law, the ſon of no man, ſo a ſlave is the ſubject of no ſtate: there is

[1] In ſpeaking of feudal lords and vaſſals, it is of moment to be careful not to annex any modern ideas of ſubjection, ſervility, or ſlavery, to the terms of villenage, and ſervice. Sir Thomas Craig, in his learned treatiſe concerning the Jus Feudale, marks the diſtinction with great accuracy and ſpirit. He well knows, (he ſays,) from the uſe of the terms in the Roman Laws, "aliud eſſe ſervitium â ſervitute, et longè aliud eſſe ſervire, quam ſervum eſſe: nam ſervire nihil aliud erat, quam fidelem operam, aliquando opem et conſilium, alicui præbere, &c." 3d edit. Lib. I. tit. iv. p. 26.

[2] A gentleman of much obſervation, and of a reflecting mind, (well known to a friend of the author,) who had long reſided in Arabia, where every man, who is not a maſter, is a ſlave, uſed to argue, with an appearance at leaſt of great plauſibility, that "the condition of the "labouring part of the community in that country was, in various points of view, more "liberal, and comfortable, than it is, or can be, in thoſe countries where their connection "with thoſe who employ them is entirely venal. Prompted by a regard for himſelf, as well "as by better motives, the ſlave is ſolicitous to conciliate the regards of his maſter; who, "influenced by the ſame motives, is at equal pains to ſecure the attachment and the fidelity "of his ſlave. A generous reciprocation of kind offices is thus engendered; and habits of "an affectionate intercourſe, utterly unlike thoſe perpetual wranglings and altercations, "which for ever occur where ſervices are ſold and bought for money, are eſtabliſhed. The "maſter counts with confidence on the faithful ſervice of his ſlave; as he, in his turn, does "on the care and kindneſs of the maſter; and that, at any rate, he ſhall never feel the want "of food and raiment." This, he affirmed, was the unexaggerated ſtate of ſociety in Arabia.

nothing in it that he can inherit, and therefore he has no intereſt in its welfare.

Between the Conqueſt and the reign of Edward the Third, there aroſe a middle claſs of men, who, although they did not immediately acquire the full power of bartering their labour to the beſt bidder, were, yet, not ſubjected to the imperious caprices of a maſter, and the unconditional ſervices of perſonal bondage. Of this deſcription were the ſervile tenants of manors, who, although they were permitted to occupy ſmall portions of land for their own uſe, were required, at ſtated periods of the year, to attend to the cultivation of the demeſnes of their lords. Previous to the reigns of Henry the Third, and Edward the Firſt, they are not much noticed in ancient records; but in the period immediately ſubſequent, on every occaſion, when it became important for the lord to inquire into the ſtate of his manors and their appendages, the value of his arable and paſture land, the number of his parks, his fiſh-ponds, his mills, and his manſion-houſes, were not more minutely inveſtigated, than the number and condition of his ſervile tenants, and the extent and nature of the ſervices they were bound to perform. It was extremely eſſential for him to aſcertain whether that part of his eſtate, which he retained in his own hands, could be cultivated without the intervention of free labourers: and hence we may ſee the neceſſity, why a baron, on acquiring a fee, either by purchaſe or inheritance, and the king's eſcheators [1], on a forfeiture accruing to the crown, ſeldom failed to obtain full information relative to manerial rights, by means of an inquiſition, compoſed, in the latter inſtance, of freeholders of the county, and in the former, moſt uſually, of the principal tenants of the manor.

It is from the inqueſts thus taken, that we can, perhaps, obtain the

[1] The duty of this ancient officer of the crown was to look to eſcheats, wardſhips, and other caſualties belonging to the crown. In ancient times, there were but two eſcheators in England, the one north, and the other ſouth, of Trent; at which time, they had ſub-eſcheators. But in the reign of Edward the Second, the offices were divided, and ſeveral eſcheators appointed in every county for life. Rot. Parl. 29 E. 1. Afterwards, by the ſtatute of 14 E. 3. (c. 8.) it was enacted, that there ſhould be as many eſcheators aſſigned, as there were on his acceſſion to the crown, (which was one in every county,) and that no eſcheator ſhould continue in his office above a year. Co. Litt. p. 13.

beſt

beſt poſſible evidence relative to the ancient ſtate of agriculture in England. They often deſcribe, very particularly, the quantity of arable, of paſture, and of meadow in a manor; the times at which the various operations of huſbandry were carried on; the duty of agricultural ſervants; their diet; the cuſtoms in harveſt; and many other particulars highly illuſtrative of the rural economy of ancient times. From ſuch records, it appears, that, before the reign of Edward the Firſt, the condition of villeins was greatly meliorated; and that, inſtead of being obliged to perform every mean and ſervile office, that the arbitrary will of the lord required, they had, at length, acquired a tenure in lands, on condition of rendering ſervices, which were either certain in their nature---as to reap the lord's corn, or cleanſe his fiſh-pond; or limited in their duration---as to harrow two days in the year, or to employ three days in carting the lord's timber [1].

A tenant

[1] The following extracts, from Dugdale's Warwickſhire, ſhew the diverſity of cuſtoms which prevailed in different manors.—"The monks' tenants at Honington performed "certain ſervices from the feaſt of St. John the Baptiſt till Michaelmas; but if the lord "would employ them in mowing before Michaelmas-day, he was then to allow them "for their work; for which ſervices they were to have one mutton, or 8d. with eight "loaves of bread and a cheeſe, as alſo 4d. in money; they being to carry hay out of the "lord's meadow, and to mow with one man a piece for a day and a half; and, moreover, "that each of them ſhould come to the lord's reap, with all his family, excepting his wife, "where he was to reap two lands, and carry them; but to perform no more ſervice for "that day: and likewiſe plough four times in the year, ſcilicet, two ſelions a-piece, and "alſo ſow and harrow the ſame, having ſeed found at the lord's barn; and laſtly, to "harrow two days a-piece, giving ten eggs and one penny for every ale-houſe; and re-"pair the lord's pool as often as need ſhould require: all which ſaid tenants were to pay "to the lord 17s. 4d. for ancient aid; and for carriage of fiſh, 3s. 4d. per annum; as alſo "6s. 8d. for maintenance of his corn-cart; and every two yard land to carry one load of "wood from Packwood to this town (Warwick), in which week they ſhould do no other "work: but none of them to ſell his horſe colt without licence of the lord." Dugd. Warw. 457.

Adam Underwood, in the 7th of Edward the Firſt, (1278,) held of the Earl of Warwick, one yard of land, paying for the ſame ſeven buſhels of oats yearly and a hen, being to work for the lord from the feaſt of St. Michael the Archangel till Lammas, every other day except Saturday, viz. at mowing, as long as that time ſhould laſt; for which he was to have as much graſs as he could carry away with his ſcythe; and at the end of the hay harveſt, he, and the reſt of his fellow-mowers, to have the lord's beſt mutton except-one, or 16s. in money; with the beſt cheeſe ſaving one, or 6d. in money; and the cheeſe-

vat,

A tenant by villenage, thus circumſtanced, was no longer a villein. He was indeed bound to perform certain ſtipulated work for his lord, generally at ſowing-time and harveſt, the only ſeaſons which, in the rude ſtate of agriculture, were much attended to: but, at other times of the year, he was at liberty to exerciſe his induſtry for his own benefit. As early as the year 1257, a ſervile tenant, if employed before Midſummer, received wages: and in Edward the Firſt's reign, he was permitted, inſtead of working himſelf, to provide a labourer for the lord; from which it is obvious, that he muſt have ſometimes poſſeſſed the means of hiring one: and, as it is not natural to ſuppoſe, that a tenant

vat, wherein the ſaid cheeſe was made, full of ſalt. Dugd. Warw. 426.—In the 7th year of Edward the Firſt, the allowance to ſervile tenants for reaping, mowing, &c. was a certain quantity of beer, by cuſtom. Dugd. Warw. 443.—At Warmington in Warwickſhire, in Edward the Firſt's time, there were twenty tenants that held their lands by a ſervile tenure, viz. each one providing a labourer one day every week for the lord's employment, or to give 1½d. for every day in the week, which would amount to 10d. and ſo in the year £2. 3s. 4d.; and that every one of them ſhould plough for the lord thrice in the year, or give 10s. per annum; and mow his meadowing, or give for each day, inſtead of a man, 2d. which comes to 30s. in the year: that they ſhould carry the lord's hay, or give 40d.; that they ſhould make the lord's hay, or give 10d.; rake his corn, or give 10d.; and laſtly, carry once in the year at Warwick, or give 40d.: theſe ſervices were afterwards commuted for a pecuniary payment. Dugd. Warw. 416.

The profits, cuſtoms, ſervices, and tenures of the manor of Briſingham, in Norfolk, in the 15th year of King Edward III. anno 1341, are ſtated, by Blomefield, as follows:

Memorandum. "That all the commoners upon the commons of this town, both freeholders and copyholders, pay hens eggs, and days works with their plough, to the lord, except thoſe that have liberty of faldage; and that all copyholders are obliged to have their ſheep in the lord's fold, from Pentecoſt to St. Martin." The quit-rents, (in money,) and free rents, were £4. 2s. 2¼d. and three roots of ginger, of 1d. value: 95 hens, juſtly valued at 7s. 2d.: 17 capons, valued at 1½d. each: 5 ducks, valued at 10d.: 539 eggs and more, valued at 3d. a hundred: 212 days work in autumn, the workmen to be maintained by the lord, valued at 1d. a day: 174 afternoon works in autumn, 1d. each; the workmen having no victuals: 25 days work with their carts and horſes, and no victuals allowed them, valued at 2d. each day: 120 ALEBEVES *, or as many as will come: 183 journeys at plough, without victuals, if all come in to do their work; and if they do not, they muſt work half a day for every day of ploughing; the whole valued at 7s. 3½d.: 170 days work and an half in ſharing: 174 days work in mowing, every four

* Theſe were general carting days, on which the tenants uſed to go, or not, as they pleaſed, and had their name, becauſe the lord uſed to treat them well with proviſions and ale.

days

tenant by villenage had any power of hiring the pure villein, (who, we have ſeen, was annexed either to the land, or the perſon of his lord,) labourers, who were thus hired by ſervile cultivators, it is probable, were either tenants by villenage, who could aſſiſt their neighbours on the ſpare days, in which they were not bound to work for their lord; or free labourers, who exiſted (although perhaps not in great numbers) long before the parliamentary notice taken of them in the Statute of Labourers, paſſed in 1350.

From the allowance of food uſually provided during harveſt, we may form a juſt eſtimate of the general diet, in thoſe days, of the pooreſt part of the nation; a few fiſh, principally herrings, a loaf of bread, and ſome beer, conſtituted the meal of the mower and the reaper. The lord's beſt mutton, and the cheeſe, which, it is ſaid, they were entitled to at the end of the harveſt, it is probable, formed the chief articles of that ancient rural feaſt, called harveſt-home, and appear to

days valued at 1d.: 15 hay-makers to make it, as the mowers cut it, they being obliged to make and mow 59 acres, 1 rood; the whole of cutting and getting up is valued at 4d. an acre: 54 days to cut and make the lord's wood, and to finiſh it before Chriſtmas: 20 days to pull the lord's hemp: 120 days work of a man and horſe, every day valued at 1d.: 33 days work of a man, each worth 1d.: beſides days made uncertain; becauſe when they don't plough or cart, they are to do other work, as the lord pleaſes: but there are 220 works more, of half a day each, value certain. 12 chickens, ½d. each: 41 carriages to carry corn, worth 20½d.: 160 days work in carting out the muck: 41 days to carry the hay, value 20½d.: 3 days to cart the timber: 14 loads of hay to be threſhed, value 2d. a load: 14 loads of corn to be threſhed, value 2d. each load: 28 days to make hurdles for the fold: 18 to clean and repair the cow bings; and 10 to repair the horſes ſtalls; all which ſervices were valued at £5. 11s. 9¼d." Blomef. Norf. i. 35.

"The difference betwixt Nativij and Cotrellij" is thus ſtated in a MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, apparently of the age of Queen Elizabeth.

Nativij are bound for a meſuage and the land to pay the rent; ſhall plowe every weeke in the yeare one daie at the Lo. will: ſhall moue in harveſt-tyme every weeke two dayes: ſhall reape from Ste Peter and Paul daie untill Ste Peter day ad vincla every weeke one day, or pay the Lo. ob. qu.: ſhall gather the Lo. nutts: ſhall make the Lo. park-wall over againſt his land: ſhall with two men mowe the Lo. corne for a day at the Lo. charge: ſhall two dayes called beene-dayes reape at their owne charges, and ſhall carry the Lo. works iij daies with one man and a horſe: ſhall grynd at the Lo. milne: ſhall mowe the Lo. meadowe, and make the hay after *den* the acre; and ſhall carry the Lo. corn home every fortnight on the Saturday, and ſhall plowe at his - - - - - one day at his ſeede tyme in Lent, and ſhall yele ij hens at xtimas.

A cotager

to me to be a proof that meat and cheeſe were conſidered more as rarities than the ordinary articles of conſumption of the labourer[1]. A conſideration of the ſtate of agriculture is alone ſufficient to convince us, that the great body of the people were, at this period, miſerably deficient in the common comforts of life. This art, no doubt, after the irregularities occaſioned by the Conqueſt had ſubſided, was conſiderably improved, by the introduction of new modes of cultivation from Normandy. Many of the barons, who came over with King William, were not only fond of, but, if we are to credit hiſtorians, were ſucceſsful practitioners in, agriculture. Ingulphus ſpeaks highly of the improvements of Robert de Rulos, (the Conqueror's chamberlain,) in the fens of Lincolnſhire. He bred horſes and cattle: beſides encloſing and draining, he embanked the river Welland, which, till then, was continually liable to overflow; and built many ſubſtantial cottages on the bank: he planted orchards, and, in ſhort, by converting bogs and marſhes into corn fields, rich meadows and paſtures, he gave the whole country the appearance of a garden[2]. Such inſtances, however, from their being ſo minutely particularized, we may ſuppoſe, occurred but ſeldom; and whilſt this commendable Norman was improving the ſoil, (the moſt honourable employment for a great man,) his deſpotic maſter was ſpreading deſolation in the north of England. To puniſh an inſurrection of his newly-acquired ſubjects, he carried his revenge ſo far as to depopulate a very large tract of country: 100,000 men, women and children, are ſaid to have been deſtroyed, in a few months, by the ſword, or by famine. The whole country between the Humber and the Tees, for the extent of 60 miles, was converted into a dreary deſert, and remained without houſes, and without inhabitants, for many years[3]. The formation of the New Foreſt was no leſs

A cotager that holdeth one cotage, or a croft and a roode land, ſhall do manuall worke with one man every weeke in the yere for one day. And from the firſt of Auguſt ſhall alſo do all manner other worke as the nativie do.

Theſe are cuſtomes of the mannor of Preſton in Com. North^t. The lyke cuſtom in Gretton within the ſame county.

He ſhall not marry his daughter without lycence, nor make his ſon prieſt. See Harl. MSS. Brit. Muſ. No. 368.

[1] See note, p. 13, at bottom. [2] Ingulphus, Oxf. edit. i. 77. [3] Hume's Hiſt. of Eng. 1ſt edit. i. 178.

detrimental to agriculture: to gratify the King's fondneſs for hunting, a diſtrict of thirty miles of extent, in Hampſhire, was laid waſte, churches and villages were deſtroyed, and whole families were compelled, without compenſation, to abandon their ancient abodes. Under ſuch practices, no art, that contributes to the happineſs of mankind, could have been attended to; ſince none could have been carried on with ſecurity. As the invaders became more permanently eſtabliſhed, the barbarous licence, both of the monarch and the nobility, was gradually leſs exerted, and, at length, by the proviſions of Magna Charta, was ſpecifically reſtrained. From that time, the purſuits of huſbandry were carried on with aſſiduity, if not with ſucceſs. Order and economy were introduced into rural occupations; and agriculture, if not well underſtood, appears, at leaſt, to have been a faſhionable purſuit, even ſo early as in the reign of Edward the Firſt. The learned author of Fleta, who is ſuppoſed to have written about this period, affords very ſatisfactory proof of the truth of this aſſertion. In his treatiſe, although profeſſedly a Commentary on Law, he points out the duty of a ſteward, a bailiff, and an overſeer in huſbandry, with great minuteneſs and preciſion; nor are the ſubordinate duties of ploughmen, carters, mowers, ſwine-herds, cow-drivers, and other domeſtic employments, unattended to [1]. Many of his rules concerning ploughing, ſowing, and the management of cattle, would not be condemned even by a modern farmer [2]. The directions reſpecting the collecting of manure are ſo particular, that it would ſeem, that, even in the 13th century, the value of what Arthur Young calls "the enlivening ſoul of good huſbandry," was fairly eſtimated: we alſo learn from the ſame author, that if land only yielded three times the ſeed ſown, the farmer would be a loſer, unleſs corn ſhould ſell dear: the calculation is as follows; 3 ploughings, 1s. 6d.; harrowing, 1d.; 2 buſhels of ſeed, 1s.; weeding, ½d.; reaping, 5d.; carrying, 1d.; in all 3s. 1½d. which is 1½d. more than the value of 6 buſhels [3]: nothing is ſaid of the rent of the land, expence of manuring, &c. This account would have been more curious, if we had been informed what was eſteemed a fair average crop: Sir John Cullum ſuppoſes it to

[1] Fleta, l. 2. c. 72—88. [2] Fleta, l. 2. c. 72, 73, 76. [3] Fleta, l. 2. c. 82.

have been 12 buſhels[1]. How inferior and contemptible is ſuch a produce, in compariſon with a modern crop, on drilled land, of 42 buſhels an acre[2]! Such ſcanty crops are the ſtrongeſt proofs of indifferent huſbandry: nor was the little, that was produced, ever hoarded up with that provident frugality, which, in modern times, has ſecured to the community a regular and equable ſupply of the moſt eſſential article of ſubſiſtence throughout the year. The trade of a corn-dealer ſeems to have been unknown; nor, except in the Abbey-Granges, do we meet with inſtances of corn being collected in large quantities. The natural conſequence muſt have been, that the farmers, without capital, diſpoſed of their crops at moderate prices, ſoon after the harveſt: purchaſers, who only looked to their immediate wants, having corn cheap, were naturally waſteful and improvident in the conſumption: the price, therefore, almoſt invariably roſe as the year advanced, and was frequently at an enormous height juſt before harveſt; and, before a freſh ſupply could be obtained, the ſtock of the preceding year was often entirely exhauſted. Stow informs us, that, in 1317, the harveſt was all got in before the 1ſt of September; and that wheat, which had before been at 4l. the quarter, fell to 6s. 8d. a twelfth part of the price[3]. A detail of the prices of grain would furniſh us with abundant proof, if proofs were wanting, of the extreme miſery of thoſe times, in which the only buyers of corn were the conſumers. Five guineas a quarter is a price ſufficiently grievous, even at a period when a labourer can earn eighteen-pence a day; but between the Conqueſt and the acceſſion of Edward the Third, the price of wheat varied from 8d. to £6. 8s. the quarter[4]. This almoſt incredible price occurred in 1270, and was attended with a famine. The hiſtorians, however, of that day, do not tell us that it was produced either by corn-dealers or monopolizers. It was reſerved for the politicians of ſubſequent times, when the ſupply, by means of an increaſed capital, was rendered equable throughout the year, to diſcover, that a claſs of men, who are the moſt intereſt-

[1] Cullum's Hawſted, 181. [2] Ann. of Agric. vii. 425. [3] Stow, 218.
[4] See the annexed Table of Prices, in the Appendix, No. I. I am happy to add, that, ſince the above paſſage was written, the price of the quartern loaf, in London, (inſtead of 15d. which it was laſt year,) is now (27th Aug. 1796,) only 7¾d.

ed in procuring the ſale of a commodity, were the cauſe of it's ſcarcity. To thoſe who eſtimate the ability of a labourer to ſupport himſelf, from the proportion his wages bear to the price of proviſions, I would obſerve, that when wheat was at £. 6. 8s. a quarter, a man's day-work, in harveſt, was valued at a penny, and out of harveſt at a half-penny[1]; but wheat was not then, indeed, the general bread-corn of the peaſantry.

In theſe calamitous times, the return of harveſt muſt have been looked for with hardly leſs eagerneſs, than that with which the Egyptian farmer is ſaid to watch the overflowing of the Nile; and, perhaps, it is not to "conſider the matter too curiouſly," to ſuppoſe, that the enthuſiaſtic joy, with which the ruſtic feaſt of harveſt-home was anciently celebrated, aroſe from a thorough conviction, that, on expedition, or delay, in getting in the crop, depended the alternative of plenty or famine. This is not the caſe at preſent; labourers may indeed hail the return of harveſt, becauſe their wages at that ſeaſon are ſomewhat increaſed; but the price of bread in a village would not be lowered, if our farmers employed the buſtling induſtry of 200 reapers to cut as many acres of wheat, and the buſineſs of harveſt were terminated in a day. The lateſt poſſible period of harveſt, at preſent, could never produce the miſery that we hear of in ancient times, in which a late crop, or a bad ſeaſon, obliged the wretched cultivator to content himſelf with mean fare, and to make uſe of food, of which we have no idea[2]: nor were the inhabitants of cities, notwithſtanding the ſuperior advantages which they derived from the introduction of commerce and manufactures, much better provided with the neceſſaries of life, than the ſervile tenants and cultivators of a baron's eſtate. A valuation of the moveable property in the borough of Colcheſter, made in the year 1296, preparatory to levying a ſubſidy of a ſeventh, for carrying on the war againſt France, enables us to decide, with ſome degree of preciſion, what portion of domeſtic eaſe and comfort was enjoyed by petty tradeſmen and artificers at that period[3].

Of houſhold furniture the quantity poſſeſſed by each family, was very inconſiderable. A bed was valued from 3s. to 6s.[4]: in moſt

[1] Blomefield's Norfolk, i. 408. [2] Ingulphus, Hiſt. Croyl. 518.
[3] Rot. Parl. i. 228. 265. [4] p. 229, &c.

houſes

houſes a braſs pot, from 1s. to 3s. value, is to be met with[1]; it ſeems to have been almoſt the only culinary utenſil then uſed. Two or three of the inferior tradeſmen poſſeſſed ſilver cups from 1s. to 2s. value[2]; a blackſmith had a ſilver cup, four ſpoons, and a mazer cup[3]: ſilver ſpoons were alſo in uſe; one was valued at 10d.[4]: a cobler's ſtock in trade was eſtimated at 7s.[5]: a butcher's ſtock of ſalt meat at £1. 18s.; another's at £1.[6]: a tanner's, at 7s. and 11s.[7] Almoſt every family was provided with a ſmall ſtore of barley or oats, uſually about a quarter or two of each: rye appears to have been very little uſed, and wheat ſcarcely at all. It is probable, that corn was generally ground into flour at home, as hand-mills are mentioned; a pair coſt 12d.[8]: ſoap and candles, with cotton wicks,

[1] Rot. Parl. i. p. 228. [2] p. 228, 234. [3] p. 228. [4] p. 229. [5] p. 230. [6] p. 230. 234, &c. [7] p. 229, &c. [8] p. 234. Horſes ſeem to have been ſometimes uſed in the corn mills. Ibid. p. 230.

As bread is the moſt ancient, as well as the moſt general food ever uſed by mankind, ſo the grinding bread-corn by means of hand-mills, or querns *, (from the Saxon cpeapn,) is probably alſo the moſt ancient, as well as the moſt general, mode of converting grain into flour, and preparing it for bread. It appears to have been the peculiar buſineſs of priſoners and ſlaves to grind at querns. Sampſon was ſo employed: and from Simo's threat to Davus, in the ſecond ſcene of the firſt act of the Andrian of Terence, it appears to have been the buſineſs of Roman ſlaves. See alſo the Aſinaria of Plautus, A. 1. S. 1. l. 16.

It is ſtill the buſineſs of ſlaves in many of the United States of America; where, at leaſt, two-thirds of the grain, that is made into bread, is ground in querns. Wicliffe tranſlates Matt. xxiv. v. 21. "two wymmen ſchulen be gryndynge in oo querne;" which ſhews, that in his time ſuch mills were the moſt common. Harriſon (in his deſcription of England, prefixed to Holingſhed's Chronicle, 169.) ſays, that his wife ground her malt at home upon her querne. Wind and water-mills were, undoubtedly, at firſt erected for the convenience and comfort of the tenantry; although they afterwards became the inſtruments of great feudal tyranny; ſuch as, in ſome degree, ſtill exiſts in Scotland.

When the laird (i. e. lord of the manor,) builds a mill, he obliges all his tenants to have their corn ground at his mill only; and, ſometimes, to pay nearly double what the corn might be ground for at another mill. The farms are then ſaid to be *thirled*, or under *thirlage* to the mill: the ſtipulated quantity of meal given as payment to the miller for grinding the corn is called *multure*; and all corn grown on farms thirled to a mill, is obliged to pay multure, whether the corn be ground at that mill, or elſewhere. Sometimes the tenants of one eſtate are thirled to the mill of another, which, when the dues are high, is a great bar to improvement. Statiſtical Account of Scotland, i. 29, 30. 432.

* In conformity with other writers, I uſe *querns* and *hand-mills* ſynonymouſly. Strictly ſpeaking, however, a *quern* is that ſpecies of hand-mill, which is compoſed of ſtones. We grind our coffee in a *hand-mill*, but not in a *quern*.

In

wicks[1], are noticed: ſome families poſſeſſed a cow or two; but more kept hogs: two or three were the uſual number of the ſtock. From the ſmall proviſion of fuel in the town, I ſhould infer, that very few houſes had chimnies, and that, in this reſpect, Colcheſter was very ſimilar to what many of the houſes, or rather huts in the northern kingdoms, many in Germany, and particularly in Weſtphalia, and not a

In Virginia, to this day, or, at leaſt, it was ſo before the independence of America, when a piece of land is advertiſed to be ſold, it is always, when the fact is ſo, mentioned as a ſtriking recommendation, that the premiſes are near to church and *mill*.

In many parts of England, the tenants of a manor are ſtill bound to grind at the lord's mill. In ancient records, mills are often noticed as property of great value; and landlords, in letting the reſt of their eſtate, generally reſerved to themſelves the *mill-houſe*, which was no uncommon appendage to a great manſion. Cullum's Hawſted, 201.—Barnaby Googe, in his "Foure Bookes of Huſbandry," printed in 1578, gives the following account of a houſe-mill: "When, as in a great houſe, there is greate neede of corne mylles, and the com-
"mon milles being farre of, the way foule, and I at myne owne libertie to grinde at home,
"or where I lyſte, thinkyng to make a mill here at home, when neither place nor authoritie
"will ſerve mee to buyld either a water-mill or winde-mill, and a *querne*, or a *hand-mill*,
"dooth but a little good: and to build a horſe-mill were more troubleſome. When I ſawe
"the wheeles that they uſe to drawe water with, turned with aſſes or men, I thought in
"the like ſort the wheele of a mill might bee turned; and after this ſort deviſed I this engine,
"which a couple of aſſes, guided by a boy, doo eaſily turne, and make very fine meale,
"ſufficient for myne one houſe, and moſt tymes for my neighbours, whom I ſuffer to
"grinde tolle-free." F. 10.

In the times of feudal tyranny, the tenants of a manor were not only obliged to pay for grinding at the lord's mill, for which they paid *multure*, but to bake their bread at his oven, for which they paid a toll called *furnage*. See Kennett, Parochial Antiquities, 396.—Cuſtomary ovens were very common in corporate towns. In the year 1290, the corporation of Newcaſtle complained to parliament, that the Prior of Tinmouth baked bread at North Shields, which ought to have been baked at the corporation oven at Newcaſtle. See the ſecond volume, p. 562. "Hoſtelers in thoroughfare towns," that were not cities, were ſometimes allowed to bake their horſe-bread at home. Kitchin on Courts, tit. Court Leete, 31.

As an inſtance not only of the difficulty there is to wean men from old habits, but alſo of the rigour of the proprietors of mills in ancient times, I tranſcribe the following curious law from the Statutes of the Gild at Berwick, ſaid to have been enacted in 1284: "Na man ſall preſume to grind quheit, maiſchloch, or rye, with hand-mylnes, except he be compelled be ſtorme and tempeſt of wether, or be inlaik of mylnes, quhilk ſould grind the ſamine. And in this caſe, gif any man grindes at hand-mylnes, he ſhall give the threttein meaſure as multer, (i. e. toll). And gif any man contraveins this our prohibition, he ſall tine (i. e. loſe) his hand-mylnes perpetuallie, and ſall grind his cornes at mylnes payand the twentie-foure meaſure." Regiam Majeſtatem, Statutes of the Gild, c. 19.; ſee alſo c. 42.

[1] So I tranſlate candel de cotun, p. 233.

few in Scotland, are at preſent [1]. A few tradeſmen had a ſmall ſtock of faggots, or of tal-wood, probably for the uſe of their workſhops [2]: ſea coal (carbon' marin') occurs more than once, and ſeems to have been chiefly uſed by blackſmiths [3].

A ſubſequent valuation, taken at Colcheſter in 1301, in order to levy a fifteenth, is ſtill more curious, and minute, as to ſeveral particulars, which are highly illuſtrative of the domeſtic economy of the inhabitants [4]. The catalogue of houſhold furniture appears to have been limited and ſcanty indeed; and ſeldom exceeded the following articles:

	s.	d.		s.	d.
A mazer cup, was valued from	-	0	6 to	2	0
A bed,	-	1	6 —	6	8
A tripod,	-	0	3 —	0	9
A braſs pot,	-	1	0 —	2	6
A braſs cup,	-	0	6 —	1	0
An andiron,	-	0	3½ —	0	8
A braſs diſh,	-	0	6 —	1	0
A gridiron,	-	0	6 —	1	6
A rug, or coverlet [5],	-	0	8 —	1	6

Of the handicraft trades, particularly of that of a carpenter, we ſhall not form an high idea, either from the number or the value of the tools; his whole ſtock was valued at 1s. and conſiſted of

[1] That is, with a fire-place, or ingle, in the middle of the floor, and an aperture in the roof, but without any pipe or tube for a chimney. [2] Rot. Parl. i. p. [3] p. 228. 231. 235. [4] p. 243. [5] So I tranſlate chalon. The word occurs in Chaucer's Reve's Tale:

And in his owen chambre hem made a bedde,
With ſhetes and with *chalons* faire yſpredde. l. 4138.

Mr. Tyrwhitt, the editor of Chaucer, thought, that they were ſo called from being made at Chalons in France; and, from a paſſage in the Monaſt. v. ii. p. 720. is led to ſuppoſe, that they were *coverlets*;—aut pannos pictos, qui vocantur *chaluns*, loco lectiſternii. Notes on the Cant. Tales, 253.—From *chalons*, perhaps, is derived the modern word *ſhalloon*. Anciently there was a company of *challon* weavers at Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne. See Brand's Hiſt. of Newc. ii. 340.

	£	s.	d.
A broad axe, valued at - - -		0	5
Another, - - - -		0	3
An adze, - - - -		0	2
A ſquire (a ſquare) - - -		0	1
A navegor [1], - - - -		0	1
		1	0 [2]

A blackſmith's tools were valued from 2s. to 5s.[3]: a cobler's ſtock at 7s. 5d.: another's at 10s. 6d.: another's at 12s. 2d[4].: a tanner's ſtock, including cloaths, &c. at £ 9. 17s. 10d.[5] This is, comparatively with the others, a great ſum; but it muſt be recollected, that the trade was one of the firſt in ancient times; and it is remarkable, that, to this day, tanners rank high among tradeſmen. Leather was not only uſed for various military purpoſes, but formed a conſiderable part of the common dreſs of the people, before the introduction, and during the infancy, of the woollen manufacture.

The trades exerciſed in the town are comprized in the following liſt:

Baker,	Dyer,	Muſtard and vinegar-ſeller,
Barber,	Fiſherman,	Old-cloaths-ſeller,
Blackſmith,	Fuller,	Sadler,
Bowyer,	Furrier,	Tailor,
Brewer,	Girdler,	Tanner,
Butcher,	Glaſs-ſeller,	Tyler,
Carpenter,	Glover,	Weaver,
Carter,	Linen-draper,	Wood-cutter,
Cobler,	Mercer and ſpice-ſeller,	Wool-comber.
Cook,	Miller,	

The buſineſs of brewing ſeems to have been carried on here, as in-

[1] Probably a ſpoke-ſhave. Navaja, in Spaniſh, ſignifies a razor. [2] Rot. Parl. ii. p. 259. [3] p. 255. [4] p. 259. [5] p. 252.

deed

deed it was elſewhere in ancient times, by women [1]. In general, however, each family brewed at home: the barber brewed for himſelf [2]. Women alſo appear to have been millers [3]: and, I ſhould conjecture, bakers; ſince one Agnes la Regatere is charged 1d. tax for her ſtock of ſaleable bread, which was valued at 15d. [4]

From the number of cows and hogs, and the trifling amount of a butcher's ſtock, mentioned in the firſt valuation, I ſhould conclude, that bread, milk, and beer, formed the uſual diet of the townſmen: ſalt meat, however, appears to have been in uſe [5], for it is taken notice of in a few inſtances; and in the inventory of a brewer's ſtock, tubs for ſalting are noticed [6]. At ſome houſes there was a ſtock of hay, probably for the cows in winter, as the valuation appears to have been made at Michaelmas. The whole quantity of wine in the town did not exceed three hogſheads [7]; whence we may infer, that Colcheſter was entirely inhabited by tradeſmen, for at this period wine was the uſual beverage of the nobility.

We are indebted to the minute attention of the tax-gatherers, who ſeem to have taken notice of every thing, that could be compriſed under the article of moveables, for the above curious account. It proves to us, that, notwithſtanding the exaggerated ideas which many intelligent writers have formed, reſpecting the wealth of our cities in ancient times, one of the moſt flouriſhing in Edward the Firſt's reign, was,

[1] Rot. Parl. i. p. 247. That brewing, baking, and weaving, were uſually exerciſed by women, the nouns *brewſter*, *backſter*, and *webſter*, which all have a feminine termination, ſufficiently prove. See Tyrrwhit's Chaucer, iv. 224. ver. 2019. Since the men have encroached on theſe employments, the words have aſſumed an Engliſh maſculine termination. It is but of late date, and ſince the general introduction of breweries, that women ceaſed to be the brewers, both in the north of England, and in Scotland. The female ſex, formerly, excluſively carried on many trades, that are now conducted entirely by men. In a ſtatute of Edward the Third, which enjoins artificers to keep to one maſter, ſome allowances are made in favour of women who purſue manual occupations. Females of the following deſcription are exempted from the regulations of the ſtatute, viz. brocereſces, peſtereſces, tiſtereſces, filereſces, et oevreſces, ſi bien de leine come de liegne, toile, et de ſoie, broadeſters, kardeſters, pynereſces de leine, et toutes autres que uſent et oeverent overaignes manueles. (Rot. Parl. ii. 278.) This ſtatute, amongſt many others, might be adduced in proof of Blackſtone's obſervation, that women are great favourites with the laws of England.

[2] p. 257. [3] p. 248 [4] p. 254. [5] p. 258. [6] p. 262. [7] p. 265.

in

in point of capital ſtock, in arts, and in induſtry, far inferior to many a modern village. The perſon who united the trades of mercer and ſpicery-ſeller, ſeems to correſpond very much with the country chandlers; and it is probable, from the value of his ſtock, which did not exceed £ 3.[1], that his wares were not more numerous, nor more coſtly, than the pack of a modern pedlar: the ſtock of one conſiſted of the following articles, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
A piece of woollen cloth, valued at - -	0	7	0
Silk and fine linen, - - - - -	1	0	0
Flannel and ſilk purſes, - - - -	1	4	0
Gloves, girdles, leather-purſes, and needle-work,	0	6	8
Other ſmall things, - - - - -	0	3	0
	£ 3	0	0[2]

This ſtock, together with houſhold furniture and utenſils, is valued at £ 5. 9s. 3d.[3]: another mercer's goods are valued at 6s. 8d.[4]: the perſon who ſold theſe articles is called "mercator," which I have tranſlated mercer, as he ſeems to correſpond, both in name and in trade, with the Scotch merchant. In the inventory of a mercer, are mentioned, quickſilver and verdigriſe: the two articles only amounted to 12d.[5] The trade of the ſpicer was equally miſcellaneous[6].

The firſt valuation is not ſo minute as that in 1301, in which the moſt trifling articles are circumſtantially noticed. A man, whoſe property was 10s. in money, was charged 8d. for his fifteenth[7]. Alice Maynard was taxed at 1d. for her braſs-pot valued 10d. and her towel valued 5d.[8]: nor did the ſolitary old coat of a baker[9], not worth 20d. or even

[1] £ 3. in Edward the Second's reign, contained nearly as much ſilver, as £ 9. do at preſent. The reader may, therefore, reckon the money price of the different articles, noticed in theſe valuations, at three times the ſum ſet down. [2] Rot. Parl. i. p. 261. [3] p. 261. [4] p. 263. [5] p. 263. [6] p. 244. [7] p. 254. [8] p. 243.

[9] I ſhould imagine, that, at this period of our hiſtory, the labouring claſſes were wretchedly provided with cloathing. Even ſoldiers, who, as Falſtaff ſays, can "find linen enough on every hedge," were, many of them, half naked. The Welſhmen, in Edward the Second's army, at the battle of Bannockburn, were known by the poverty of their dreſs:

Where'er they yied men might them ken,
For they well near all naked were,
Or linen cloaths had but mare. BARBOUR, 276.

a hatchet, the only tool a carpenter poſſeſſed [1], go ſcot free. I have no doubt, but that the tax-gatherers were extremely partial to the rich, and oppreſſive to the poor; for, notwithſtanding the above inſtances of their ſcrupulous attention to levy the utmoſt farthing on petty tradeſmen, we find that the maſter and brethren of an hoſpital, beſides their cattle, and corn, only accounted for one houſhold utenſil, a braſs pot [2]: and an Abbot and a Prior paid only for their corn and their live ſtock [3]: the Rector of St. Peter's ſeems to have been equally privileged [4].

At the period when the above taxation was made, Colcheſter, it is probable, was one of the moſt thriving towns in England: it appears from the ſubſidy roll of 1377 [5], that it paid the poll-tax for 2955 lay perſons; and may therefore have contained, as Mr. Chalmers ſuppoſes, about 4432 inhabitants: it was then the tenth city in England, in point of population, and, probably, now, held nearly the ſame rank; for the number of inhabitants, (houſekeepers, I ſuppoſe,) taxed in 1301, amounted to 390, which, if multiplied by 6, (which is rather more than the uſual proportion of perſons in a family,) will amount to 2340; and allowing for perſons not taxable, I ſhould imagine the population of Colcheſter did not exceed 3000 ſouls. In point of property, it was ſtill more inſignificant [6]: all houſhold furniture, and utenſils, cloaths, money, horſes, corn, and other proviſions, in the town, were valued by the tax-gatherers at £ 518. 16s. 0¾d.; and the fifteenth only produced the trifling ſum of £ 34. 12s. 7d. [7].

From the ſmall quantity of woollen cloth found in this manufacturing town, it would ſeem that the cloathing arts had not yet made much progreſs in England. They were known indeed at a very early period, for ſeveral Flemiſh weavers came over with the Conqueror [8]; and in Madox's Hiſtory of the Exchequer, ſeveral inſtances are mentioned, of weavers paying fines to the king for the conſervation of their privileges [9].

[1] Rot. Parl. i. p. 253. [2] p. 253. [3] p. 249. 253. [4] p. 256. [5] Chalmers's Eſtimate, 2d edit. 15. [6] From this valuation, Colcheſter appears to have been a more inconſiderable town than Dunſtable; for, by an aſſeſſment made in 1275, the effects of the people of Dunſtable were found

to amount to	£ 548	16	7¼	and the 15th to	£ 36	11	9¼
The priory effects,	16	4	10	and the 15th to	1	1	8

Ann. Dunſtaple, 108.

[7] Rot. Parl. i. 265. [8] Brompton, 1003. Gervaſe, 1349. [9] Mad. Excheq. c. 13. § 3.

In the two ſucceeding reigns, the woollen manufacture advanced very rapidly, and ſeveral minute regulations were paſſed by the Legiſlature relative to the fabrication and ſale of cloth. In 1197 it was enacted, "that all woollen cloths ſhould be made of the ſame breadth; that the meaſure ſhould be uniform throughout the realm; that no trader in wool ſhould ſtretch, before his ſhop, or booth, a red or black cloth, or any other thing by which the ſight of buyers was often deceived in the choice of good cloth; that no cloth, of any other colour than black, ſhould be ſold in any part of the kingdom, except in cities or boroughs; and that in all cities and boroughs, four, or ſix men, according to the ſize of the place, ſhould be appointed to enforce obedience to the ſtatute [1]." Similar proviſions, reſpecting the breadth of cloth, are inſerted in the great charters of John and Henry; but from that time till the beginning of the reign of Edward the Third, the woollen manufacture was unnoticed by the Legiſlature. However, in 1331, an expert Flemiſh manufacturer came into England, with his workmen, and was kindly received by Edward, who iſſued a proclamation, with promiſes of the like protection to all foreign weavers and fullers, that ſhould ſettle in England [2]. It is probable that the king was induced to patronize the new comers, in conſequence of his connection with the Flemings, by his marriage with Philippa, daughter of the Earl of Hainault. Many Walloon families were perſuaded, by the proclamation, to ſettle in England; and, notwithſtanding the outrages of the people, who conſidered theſe induſtrious foreigners as grievous monopoliſts, the unremitting favour, and countenance of the king, enabled them, in the courſe of a few years, to obtain a firm footing in various parts of the kingdom [3]. In 1337, ſeveral judicious ſtatutes were enacted for their further protection: by one, it was made felony to export wool; by another, the uſe of foreign cloth was limited to the royal family; by a third, the importation of foreign cloth was forbidden; and by a fourth, cloth-workers were invited into England, by promiſes of protection and encouragement [4]. Although the good effects of theſe wholſome laws was ſomewhat retarded by the wars with France, which obliged the king, from the

[1] M. Paris, 134. Hoveden, 440. [2] Rym. Fœd. iv. 496. [3] Rym. Fœd. iv. 723. v. 429. [4] 11 E. 3. c. 1, 2, 3. 5.

exhauſted ſtate of his finances, to ſolicit vaſt ſubſidies in wool[1]; yet, in leſs than forty years, the manufacture became ſo vigorous, that fulled woollen cloths were allowed to be exported[2]; a deciſive proof, that there was a demand abroad, and that England could ſupply it, without prejudice to the home conſumption.

I have given this ſhort account of the progreſs and eſtabliſhment of the woollen manufacture, becauſe, I think, that, by drawing the ſuperfluous hands from the country into towns and cities, it contributed, more than any other cauſe, to meliorate the condition of the labouring claſſes. The natural tendency of trade, in general, is to collect people together; but the various branches of the woollen manufacture would, for various reaſons, in the barbarous times in which it gained a footing in England, be more peculiarly confined to boroughs and cities. As it was at firſt carried on principally by foreigners, who were expoſed to the jealouſy of an unenlightened nation, it is probable, that the privileges conferred, by ſeveral of our kings, on weavers, fullers, and clothiers, in allowing them to erect gilds, and to be governed by corporate laws, were not more intended for their future advancement, than for their immediate ſecurity: it was not more to protect their perſons from popular fury, than their property from lawleſs depredation, that merchants and manufacturers formed themſelves into companies under the protection of the ſovereign, and carried on their occupations within the walls of a town. We are aſſured by ſeveral hiſtorians, that there was ſo total a want of police and good order in England, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, that robbers formed themſelves into bands, under the protection of powerful barons, who employed them in acts of violence and plunder, juſtified their conduct, and partook of the booty. The king's retinue was often beſet and pillaged by banditti; even towns, during the time of fairs, were aſſaulted and ranſacked; and men of rank carried off and confined in the caſtle of ſome lawleſs chieftain, till their ranſom was paid[3]. We meet with ſeveral inſtances, in the Rolls, of perſons complaining to Parliament, that their corn had thus been deſtroyed, their houſes burnt, or their effects taken from them. To remedy theſe

[1] Rot. Parl. ii. 107, &c. [2] 50 E. 3. c. 7. [3] M. Paris, 225. Knyghton, 2465. Walſingham, Ypod. Neuſt. 503.

diſorders,

diſorders, a ſtatute was paſſed in the firſt year of Henry the Fourth's reign, enjoining nobles, and others, to allow liveries only to their houſhold ſervants [1]; however, it appears from the Rolls of 1406, that eſquires and others, jointly or ſeverally continued to give cloth, for liveries, to 200, 300, and even to a ſtill greater number of retainers, to the manifeſt oppreſſion of their neighbours, and to the promotion of quarrels, extortion, and rapine [2]. The mild influence of commerce at length held out allurements of wealth and independence to the abject dependents of riotous barons, and, by drawing the ſuperfluous hands from the country into cities, in the end eſtabliſhed good order and tranquillity.

From the various immunities granted by ſucceſſive ſovereigns to foreign merchants and manufacturers, but more eſpecially to the different branches of the cloathing trade, the inhabitants of cities were not only acquiring the means of enriching themſelves, while the occupiers of land were languiſhing in poverty and ſervitude; but, from the privilege which they had obtained, of making bye-laws for their own government, and of raiſing troops for their own defence, they were the ſooner enabled to taſte the ſweets of order and good government. It is to the introduction of this claſs of men, and to the ſalutary neglect of the nobility in overlooking the encroaching ſpirit of the mercantile order, that we are to aſcribe many beneficial alterations in the condition of the labouring claſſes of the community. The ſuperior comforts enjoyed by the artiſan, or manufacturer, in a borough, would, no doubt, inſpire the ſervile dependants of a manor with ideas of emancipating themſelves from a ſtate, in which they could ſcarcely obtain the neceſſaries, and certainly none of the conveniences, of life. If, (as Adam Smith obſerves,) in the hands of a poor cultivator, oppreſſed with the ſervitude of villenage, ſome little ſtock ſhould accumulate, he would naturally conceal it with great care from his maſter, to whom it would otherwiſe have belonged, and take the firſt opportunity of running away to a town. The Law was at that time ſo indulgent to the inhabitants of towns, and ſo deſirous of diminiſhing the authority of the lord over thoſe of the country, that if a villein could conceal himſelf from the

[1] Rot. Parl. iii. 428. [2] Rot. Parl. iii. 600.

purſuit of his lord for a year, he was free for ever [1]. Whatever ſtock, therefore, accumulated in the hands of the induſtrious part of the inhabitants of the country, naturally took refuge in cities, as the only ſanctuaries in which it could be ſecure to the perſon that had acquired it [2]. We have convincing proof, that, before the end of Edward the Third's reign, the villeins found themſelves ſufficiently powerful to protect one another, and to withhold their ancient and accuſtomed ſervices from their lord. In the firſt year of Richard the Second's reign, it was ſtated in Parliament, that villeins, and tenants in villenage, had combined together to defraud their lords of their rights; that the ſtewards of manors were unable to enforce the uſual and accuſtomed ſervices, to the great injury of the lords: it was ſaid, that corn had remained on the ground uncut; that villeins would even adhere to the king's enemies, to gratify their vengeance againſt their lords; and that, to ſupport their rebellious practices, they had ſubſcribed large ſums of money for their mutual defence [3]. A few years after, we find both the Spiritual and Temporal nobility complaining, that their villeins fled into trading towns, where the merchants, under colour of their franchiſes, detained them; and that thoſe who ſtill continued in the country, were emboldened to behave ſo inſolently, that their maſters were afraid of exerciſing their power, for fear of loſing them irrecoverably [4].

By theſe, and ſimilar practices, ſuggeſted, perhaps, originally, by the hardſhips of ſervitude, and promoted by the demand for manufacturing labour, a large portion of villeins was converted into the more uſeful claſs of free labourers. This rank of people is, for the firſt time, ſpecifically noticed by the Legiſlature in 1350; and their regulations, however unjuſt, impolitic, and penal, afford us at leaſt the important information, that labourers in huſbandry, as well as thoſe employed at the loom, now equally worked for hire.

The comparative number of free hands, no doubt, conſiderably increaſed during the beginning of Edward the Third's reign, from his long wars in France, which muſt have obliged him to manumit

[1] Several caſes in the Year Books relate to the reclaiming of villeins, who had run away from their maſters, and hired themſelves as free labourers. [2] Wealth of Nations, 8vo. 5th ed. ii. 109. [3] Rot. Parl. iii. 21. [4] Rot. Parl. iii. 448.

many

many of his villeins, to recruit his exhauſted armies. Nor was the dreadful peſtilence, which raged in 1349, (although highly calamitous to the nation in it's immediate effects,) without its beneficial conſequences to the labouring claſſes, ſince it inſpired thoſe who ſurvived with juſt ideas of their own importance. It has been juſtly obſerved, that there is not a reign, among thoſe of the ancient Engliſh monarchs, which deſerves to be more ſtudied than that of Edward the Third, nor one where the domeſtic tranſactions will better diſcover the true genius of that kind of mixed government which was then eſtabliſhed in England [r]. I may add, that there is not a reign, in the early part of our hiſtory, which affords more information, from the annals and proceedings of the Legiſlature, of the ſtate and condition of the pooreſt claſſes of the community. The Statute of Labourers, more eſpecially, details many minute circumſtances, which enable us to determine, with a tolerable degree of preciſion, what was the reward of labour, and what degree of independence was enjoyed by the people of England in the 14th century.

It appears, from the complaints of the commons [2], that no attention was paid to an ordinance which the king had iſſued, for regulating the wages of labourers. This ſtatute was therefore paſſed, in order to enforce obedience, by corporal puniſhments, and pecuniary fines. It ſtates, that, ſince the peſtilence, no perſon would ſerve, unleſs he was paid double the uſual wages allowed five years before, to the great detriment of the lords and commons: it was therefore enacted, That,

[r] Hume, 1ſt ed. ii. 240. [2] Et q lui pleiſe, pur Dieu, avoir regard a ceo q ſon povere poeple lui ad fait puis le començement de ſes guerres. Et coment puis p celle peſtilence ſa commune eſt grantment anentiz et deſtruitz, dount citees, burghs, et autres villes et hamelles pmie la terre ſont deſcheies, et de jour en autre deſcheont, et pluſours nettement deſhabitez q ſolient eider au tax de diſme et quinziſme, et autres charges grantez a lui en eide de ſa guerre. Et ore p lours mortz ceſte darrien tax conditionele q court a meiſme la ſumme ſur ceux q ſont remys, ſont deſtruitz et anentiz a grand meſchief q a pein poent vivre. Et outre ce, ſi lui pleiſe, q'il eit regard a la grande defaute & chierte de Ble q ore eſt en ſa terre, & nomement la grendre partie de la terre giſt friſche & deſgaigne, eſtre autres meſchiefs. Et coment, nient eiant regard as meſchiefs ſuiſditz, ſur ce commiſſions ſont iſſuz deprendre Blees, Chars, et autres vittailes, la ou la commune entendi q nulles tiels charges ne priſes ne ſerroient faitz ſaunz aſſent du parlement, et encountre l'eſtatut. Rot. Parl. 2. 227.

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in future, carters, ploughmen, plough-drivers, ſhepherds, ſwineherds, deyes [1], and other ſervants, ſhould be content with ſuch liveries and wages as they received in the 20th year of the king's reign, and two or three years before; and that, in diſtricts where they had ſeverally been paid in wheat, they ſhould receive wheat, or money, at the rate of 10d. a buſhel, at the option of their employers: they were to be hired for a year, and other accuſtomed periods, and not by the day: weeders, and haymakers, were to be paid at the rate of 1d. a day; mowers, 5d. the acre, or 5d. a day; and reapers, during the firſt week in Auguſt, 2d. a day; and from that time, till the end of the month, 3d. a day, without diet, or any other perquiſite. Labourers of the above deſcription were enjoined to carry their implements of huſbandry, openly in their hands, to market towns, and to apply for hire in a public quarter of the town [2].

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[1] *Deyes* were the loweſt claſs of ſervants in huſbandry: they ſeem to have been employed either at the dairy, or in tending ſwine. See Du Cange, in v. Daeria. Their wages were generally lower than thoſe of other ſervants. In Scotland, the term always has been, and ſtill is, appropriated, almoſt excluſively, to *dairy-maids*. In the old tranſlation of the 37 E. 3. c. 14. a *deye* is called a *deyar*. Chaucer, in deſcribing the diet of a poor widow, notices the homely fare of a *dey*.

No win ne dranke ſhe, neyther white ne red:
Hire bord was ſerved moſt with white and black,
Milk and brown bred, in which ſhe fond no lack,
Seinde bacon, and ſomtime an ey or twey;
For ſhe was, as it were, a maner *dey*.

The Nonnes Preeſtes Tale, l. 14848.

The following lines, from the ſame poem, it is probable, exhibit a fair deſcription of the uſual extent and comforts of farming, in Chaucer's days:

Three large ſowes had ſhe, and no mo:
Three kine, and eke a ſheep, that highte Malle.
Ful ſooty was hire boure, and eke hire halle.
In which ſhe ete many a ſlender mele.
Of poinant ſauce ne knew ſhe never a dele.
No deentee morſel paſſed thurgh hire throte;
Hire diete was according to her cote.
Repletion ne made hire never ſike;
Attempre diete was all hire phyſike,
And exercife, and hertes ſuffiſance. l. 14836.

[2] In Glouceſterſhire, Oxfordſhire, Wiltſhire, and Berkſhire, ſervants continue to attend

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The wages of threſhing were then regulated; a man, for threſhing a quarter of wheat, or rye, was allowed 2½d.: for threſhing a quarter of barley, oats, beans, and peaſe, 1½d. or a certain number of ſheaves, or buſhels, in places where it had been cuſtomary to pay in kind. No perſon was to quit his own village, in order to obtain work in ſummer, if he could get employment at the above wages, except the people of Staffordſhire, Lancaſhire, Derbyſhire, Craven in Yorkſhire, and the marches of Scotland and Wales, and other parts, who were permitted to leave their own country. Labourers were to be ſworn, twice a year, to obſerve theſe regulations; and offenders were puniſhable with three or more days' impriſonment in the ſtocks. The wages of artificers were likewiſe ſettled in the following proportion:

A maſter carpenter, by the day	-	-	3*d.*	:
A maſter free-maſon	do.	-	- 4	
other carpenters	do.	-	- 2	
other maſons	do.	-	- 3	
their ſervants	do.	-	- 1½	
Tilers	do.	-	- 3	From Eaſter to
their knaves [1]	do.	-	- 1½	Michaelmas,
Other coverers of fern and ſtraw	do.	-	- 3	without diet,
their knaves	do.	-	- 1½	
Plaſterers and others, workers of mud-walls	do.	-	- 3	
their knaves	do.	-	- 1½	

and

the mopp, or ſtatute, as it is called, (i. e. Michaelmas fair,) in order to be hired. Each perſon has a badge, or external mark, expreſſive of his occupation. A carter exhibits a piece of whip-cord tied to his hat: a cow-herd has a lock of cow-hair in his; and the dairy-maid has the ſame deſcriptive mark attached to her breaſt. So in the North of England at the Spring hiring-term, the ſervants to be hired, who are almoſt always perſons to be employed in huſbandry, are to be diſtinguiſhed from others, who attend the market, by their wearing a large poſie or bouquet of flowers at their breaſts; which is no unapt emblem of their calling. Even in London, bricklayers, and other houſe-labourers, carry their reſpective implements to the places where they ſtand for hire: for which purpoſe, they aſſemble in great numbers in Cheapſide, and at Charing-croſs, every morning, at five or ſix o'clock. So in old Rome, there were particular ſpots, in which ſervants applied for hire: "In Tuſco vico, ibi ſunt homines, qui ipſi ſe venditent." Plautus, Curculio, Act iv.

[1] *Knave* was formerly very commonly uſed to ſignify a ſervant, or workman's boy. It occurs, in this ſenſe, in the Regiam Majeſtatem: "all they quha hes milns in ther lands,

and even the price of ſome commodities ſeems to have been regulated[1]; offenders were liable to impriſonment, till they could find ſureties, to ſerve for the accuſtomed wages, or to ſell their goods in the uſual way. The exceſs above the common wages allowed to labourers might be ſued for, by the maſter. Labourers, artificers, and ſervants, flying from one country to another, in conſequence of theſe regulations, were to be impriſoned till the next ſeſſions[2].

Many authors take notice of another Statute of Labourers, ſuppoſed to have been paſſed in 1349; and indeed it is printed as ſuch in the Statute-book: however, it ſhould be remarked, that it is not in French, the uſual language of Parliament in thoſe days, but in Latin: it is not inſerted in the Rolls; neither do the Commons, (who were then an eſſential part of the Legiſlature,) appear to have concurred in it: beſides which, we are informed by hiſtorians, that the Parliament could not meet this year, on account of the plague: I ſhould, therefore, imagine, that the ſuppoſed ſtatute is the ordinance which the King iſſued, with the advice of his prelates, nobles, and learned men; and which is noted in the preamble of the Statute of Labourers: ſome of it's regulations, however, are worth noticing. It is remarkable, that the firſt public information we have, that labourers "were rather willing to beg in idleneſs, than by labour to get their living," was at a period when there was a ſcarcity of ſervants; and that plenty of work ſeems to have, if not created, certainly increaſed, the number of beggars. By the ordinance, every able-bodied perſon, under ſixty years of age, not having competent means of ſupport, was bound to ſerve, if required ſo to do, in the employment he was moſt fitted for, at the wages uſually given: a ſubſequent ſection, in order to compel able men to labour for the neceſſaries of life, impoſed the penalty of impriſonment on all perſons, who, giving alms, through pretence of piety or charity, ſhould encou-

fall have ane maiſter, and tua ſervants, *mil-knaves*, quha ſall ſwere to be leill and trew to the lord of the land, and his men. Stat. Wilh. c. 9. *Knaves*, it is probable, was the common term for an agricultural labourer in Shakſpeare's time:

"A couple of Ford's *knaves*, his hinds."—MERRY WIVES, &c. A. iii. S. 5.

[1] Three years after, the Legiſlature proceeded a ſtep farther, and authorized magiſtrates to regulate the rents of houſes in towns, where the wool-ſtaple was held. 27 E. 3. ſt. 2. c. 16. and the price of iron, 28 E. 3. c. 5. Rot. Parl. ii. 260. [2] Rot. Parl. ii. 233. See alſo the Appendix, No. viii. p. cxlvii. where this Statute is inſerted at length.

rage

rage the idleneſs of ſturdy labourers. The other parts of the ordinance have been already recited in the Statute of Labourers.

Such were the ſevere reſtrictions impoſed on induſtry: reſtrictions, which, as Mr. Chalmers juſtly obſerves, ſufficiently evince, to what a deplorable ſtate of ſervitude the collective maſs of the people was then reduced[1]. I am, however, ſurpriſed, that, with ſuch a proof of domeſtic miſery before him, he ſhould infer, that ſlaves had happily departed from the land before the reign of Henry the Third; becauſe the great charter of 1225, in mentioning how men of all ſorts ſhould be amerced, only takes notice of earls, barons, churchmen, merchants, freemen, and villeins[2]. In both Magna Charta, and the charters of Henry the Third, obtained in 1225, a claſs of men are mentioned, who appear to have been conſidered in the light of moveable property[3]. The prohibition to guardians from waſting the men or cattle on the eſtates of minors, is a clear proof that villeins, who held by ſervile tenures, were looked upon in the light of negroes on a rice, a tobacco, or a ſugar plantation[4]. Long after the year 1225, they were conſidered as a ſaleable commodity, of which I ſhall only mention a few inſtances, from many that may be found among our ancient hiſtorians. In 1283, a ſlave and his family were ſold, by the Abbot of Dunſtable, for 13s. 4d.[5]: in 1333, a lord granted to a chantry ſeveral meſſuages, together with the bodies of eight natives, (villeins regardant,) dwelling there, with all their chattels and offspring[6]: and in 1339, we meet with an inſtance of a gift of a nief, (or female ſlave,) with all her family, and all that ſhe poſſeſſed, or might ſubſequently acquire[7]: as the conveyance does not mention land, ſhe was probably a villein in groſs.

From the 25th of Edward the Third, the laws concerning wages, and other viſionary regulations, which, however impracticable, were

[1] Eſtimate, 2d. edit. 7. [2] Eſtimate, 19. [3] See Magna Charta, c. 4.; and 9 H. 3. c. 4. [4] Barrington, Obſerv. on the Ancient Statutes, 4th edit. 7. Notwithſtanding the care of the charters to preſerve the villein's implements of huſbandry, Bracton, who wrote about the end of Henry the Third's reign, ſeems to think, that a man of this deſcription was entirely at the mercy of his lord, who, (to uſe the author's language,) "quandocunque placuerit, auferre poterit a villano ſuo waynagium ſuum et omnia bona ſua." (Bracton, l. i. c. 9.) [5] Ann. Dunſt. ann. 1283. [6] Dugd. Warw. 729. [7] Blount's Law Dict. title Nief.

perſeveringly adhered to by ſucceſſive Legiſlatures, afford us the means of tracing, with chronological exactneſs, the variations either of improvement, or of deterioration, in the condition of labourers for hire, who may now be conſidered as the perſons compoſing that claſs, by which the works of agriculture, of handicraft trades, or of manufacture, were carried on: with regard to thoſe who were maintained by navigation, it is probable they were never, like the cultivators of the earth, in a ſtate of downright ſervitude. The opportunity which their way of life preſented to them, if diſcontented with their condition, of migrating from one country to another, muſt, in the earlieſt periods of our hiſtory, have rendered their employers more indulgent than other maſters, and their ſituation conſequently more comfortable. Of the comparative advantages of a ſea-faring life, even in the infancy of commerce, we may form ſome idea, from the petition preſented to Parliament in the eleventh year of Richard the Second [1], wherein the mariners of England complain, that their wages were only 3d. a day [2]: about this time, the annual pay of a common labourer, in huſbandry, was about five ſhillings [3].

In 1360, the Statute of Labourers was confirmed by Parliament, and the obſervance of it enforced, under penalty of impriſonment for fifteen days, and burning in the forehead with an iron, in the form of the letter F [4], for offenders that abſented themſelves from their work, or quitted their place of abode: and magiſtrates were directed, in caſe they fled into towns, to deliver them up, under penalty of £10. to the King, and £5. to the maſters who ſhould reclaim them [5]. Wages were again regulated; and in order to prevent combinations among artificers, it was declared, "that all alliances and covines of maſons

[1] 1387. [2] Rot. Parl. iii. 253. [3] Cullum's Hawſted, 103. [4] I ſuppoſe to ſignify, *Fugitivus*. The Romans, in the ſame manner, uſed to inſcribe on the foreheads of malefactors, the letters C. A. F. which are explained to mean *Cave a Fure*, or, *Cave a Fugitivo*. I think it very probable that Plautus, in calling a thief *homo trium literarum*, alluded to theſe three letters, rather than to the word *Fur*. Ap. Act. ii. Sc. iv. L. 51.—In another play, he calls a thief *literatus*, from being branded in the forehead: a pun much on a par with one I have ſomewhere met with, (I think in the Epiſtola Iacci Etonenſis,) of a poſtman being called, hominem *literatiſſimum*. [5] 34 E. 3. c. 9, 10. For other regulations reſpecting the fines and amercements of labourers, ſee 36 E. 3. c. 14.

and

and carpenters, and congregations, chapters, ordinances, and oaths betwixt them made, ſhould be thenceforth void, and wholly annulled."

The object of this ſtatute ſeems to have been, to benefit the maſter, rather than the ſervant, by fixing a maximum for wages; and although it pointed out a mode by which its proviſions might be avoided, by making it lawful "to every lord, or other, to make bargaine and covenant of their worke in groſſe, with ſuch labourers and artificers, when pleaſe them, ſo that they performe ſuch workes well and lawfully, according to the bargaine or covenant with them thereof made[1]," I conceive that it was only optional in the *maſter* to adopt this mode of hiring, and that the labourer was compellable to work for the ſtatute-wages, by the day, or the year, unleſs his employer could perſuade him to work by the piece for leſs.

Having ineffectually endeavoured to controul the wages of induſtry, the Legiſlature attempted, by ſtatutes equally impracticable, to reſtrict the labourer in the diſpoſition of his ſlender earnings; and, accordingly, in the year 1363, ſeveral acts were paſſed for the regulation of the diet and apparel[2] of ſervants and others, which, although they have been ſince repealed[3], merit ſome attention, as we may collect from them the ſtate of the people with reſpect to the two moſt eſſential neceſſaries

[1] 34 E. 3. c. 9. [2] The extravagance in dreſs was a common topic of complaint among the hiſtorians of this period. One author remarks, that, in the year 1348, the Engliſh enjoyed great proſperity and plenty, in conſequence of their victories abroad; and that ſuch quantities of furred garments, fine linen, jewels, gold and ſilver plate, and rich furniture, the ſpoils of French cities, were imported, that every woman of rank obtained a ſhare. Walſingham, 168.—Another annaliſt obſerves, that, in 1388, the vanity of the common people in dreſs was ſo great, that it was impoſſible to diſtinguiſh the rich from the poor, the high from the low, or the clergy from the laity, by their appearance. Faſhions were continually changing, and every one endeavoured to outdo his neighbour in coſtlineſs of apparel. Knyghton, 2729.—Theſe, and ſimilar paſſages in ancient hiſtorians, evince an increaſing proſperity in the country. It is not probable, that the ſpoils of France were ſufficient to ſupply the demands of extravagance, which, I ſhould imagine, was both created and ſupported by the renovating exertions of commerce. A poor man's vanity would in vain have coveted finer cloaths than he was uſed to, had not his induſtry, and the improvements in manufactures, afforded him the means of gratifying it. [3] An ancient ſtatute, however, againſt exceſs of diet (10 E. 3. ſt. 3.) remains unrepealed. It ordains, that no man ſhall be ſerved at dinner or ſupper with more than two courſes, except upon certain holidays therein ſpecified, on which three courſes are allowed. Blackſt. iv. 170.

of life: they direct, that the ſervants, both of lords, and artificers and tradeſmen, ſhould be ſerved, once a day, with meat, or fiſh, and the offal of other victuals, ſuch as milk and cheeſe, according to their ſtation; and that they ſhould wear cloth, of which the whole piece did not coſt more than two marks; that is, ſcarcely 12d. a yard [1]. The cloth uſed by tradeſmen [2], artificers, and yeomen, was not to exceed two

[1] This is probably the ſame kind of cloth with that mentioned in 1 H. 4. c. 19. twelve yards of which ſold for 13s. 4d. and which was exempted from paying ſubſidy. The coarſeſt cloth ſeems to have been, anciently, manufactured at Kendal, and did not exceed 6s. 8d. the 12 yards, (ſee 9 H. 4. c. 2.) It was denominated either *blanket* or *ruſſet*, according to it's colour. From it's conſtituting the uſual dreſs of ruſtics, the great painter of men and manners, Shakſpeare, avails himſelf of the term *ruſſet* to deſcribe the bluntneſs of the country:

> Taffata phraſes, ſilken terms preciſe,
> Three piled hyperboles, ſpruce affectation,
> Figures pedantical; theſe ſummer flies
> Have blown me full of maggot oſtentation:
> Henceforth my wooing mind ſhall be expreſt
> In *ruſſet* yeas, and honeſt *kerſy* noes.——LOVE'S LABOUR LOST, A. 5. S. 2.

He alſo very judiciouſly clothes his robbers (in Henry the Fourth) in Kendal cloth.

Our Engliſh lexicographer has, I think, rather haſtily animadverted on a paſſage in Macbeth, in which the word *blanket* is uſed. On the line "nor heaven peep through the *blanket* of the dark," he ſays, "I can ſcarce check my riſibility, when the expreſſion forces itſelf upon my mind; for, who, without ſome relaxation of his gravity, can hear of the avengers of guilt *peeping through a blanket*." Rambler, No. 168.—Such a criticiſm is unworthy of the author of the Rambler. *Blanket*, it appears from this ſtatute, did not merely ſignify a bed-covering; it was one ſort of cloth, and probably that of which the curtain of the theatre (which, Mr. Malone ſuppoſes, ſuggeſted the phraſe in Macbeth,) was made. It is by no means improbable, that, in Shakſpeare's time, the curtain of the theatre was called *the blanket*, from the name of the cloth of which it conſiſted; as we now call the painter's cloth *the canvas*: and ſuppoſing this to have been the caſe, the expreſſion is neither mean nor ludicrous.

[2] The daughters and ſons of tradeſmen were forbidden to wear any ſort of fur, or of *budge*, except of lamb, conie, cat, or fox; a clear proof, that *budge* does not excluſively ſignify the fur of *lambs*, as Dr. Johnſon defines it in his Dictionary. In the Lib. Quot. Contrarot. is mentioned, pellura diverſa tam de *bog'*, quam de *agnis*. The expreſſion in Comus,

> O fooliſhneſs of men! that lend their ear
> To thoſe *budge* doctors of the Stoick fur,

was probably ſuggeſted to Milton by the furred gowns anciently worn by the clergy, and the furred hoods, which have, more or leſs, long formed a part of the ſcholaſtic habit in our

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two pounds the piece, which is about 1s. 6d. a yard. Carters, ploughmen, plough-drivers, ox-herds, neat-herds, ſhepherds, pig-drivers, deyes, and all other attendants on cattle, threſhers, and other labourers employed in huſbandry, and others not worth 40s. in money or in goods, were to uſe no other cloth than what was called blanket and ruſſet, of the value of 12d. the yard. Clothiers were directed to make ſuitable quantities of cloth of the different prices; and mercers and ſhop-keepers to provide a ſufficient aſſortment of each, in order that the law might be duly obſerved [1]. From this part of the ſtatute it appears, that there was now plenty of woollen cloth, of various prices and fineneſs, made in England.

This ſumptuary law does not merit much commendation, and ſeems to have been perfectly incompatible with the principles of manufacture and commerce, which, even at this early period, had taken root in the nation. After all, it may be much doubted, whether ſuch regulations ever were practicable: a cotemporary hiſtorian informs us, that this law, notwithſtanding the ſevere famine, which then raged, remained unexecuted [2].

The language of Adam Smith, on this ſubject, although ſtrong, is perhaps correct and true: "It is the higheſt impertinence," he ſays, "in kings and miniſters, to pretend to watch over the economy of "private people, and to reſtrain their expence, either by ſumptuary "laws, or by prohibiting the importation of foreign luxuries. They "are themſelves always, and without any exception, the greateſt "ſpendthrifts in the ſociety; let them look well after their own ex-"pence, and they may ſafely truſt private people with their's: if their "own extravagance does not ruin the State, that of their ſubjects

univerſities. Furred habits were anciently worn by almoſt every deſcription of magiſtrates and peace officers. Of the conſtable, who took him into cuſtody, and who, probably, wore a furred coat, Elwood the Quaker obſerves, "This was a *budge* fellow; and talked high." Life, 128. Stow, in his Survey of London, edit. 1618, p. 455, mentions, *Budge*-Rowe, a ſtreete ſo called of *budge*, *furre*, and of *ſkinners* dwelling there." The place and name ſtill remain. See a learned note on this word, (or rather, on a paſſage in Hamlet,) in Warton's Milton, 2d edit. 220. Another ſtreet in the neighbourhood of *Skinners*-Hall is called *Cloak*-Lane. Rumney-*budge*, and white-tawed *budge*, are mentioned in the Book of Rates, (12 Car. 2. c. 4.) [1] Rot. Parl. ii. 278. This ſumptuary law alſo regulated the price of cloth, that was worn by perſons of rank. [2] Walſingham, 179.

"never

"never will[1]." Nor are ſuch regulations more impolitic than impracticable. To carry the above ſtatute reſpecting apparel into effect, it was enacted, that clothiers ſhould make their cloth conformably to the prices appointed by the ſtatute: however, it appears from a ſubſequent regulation of the Legiſlature[2], that, not being allowed to raiſe their price, they had contrived to indemnify themſelves by ſhortening the length of a piece of cloth; as the brewers of modern times, (who know that, if they raiſed the price of beer, one immediate conſequence would be their being burthened with a very heavy additional exciſe,) in order to leſſen their loſſes from the high price of malt, are obliged to lower the ſtrength of their porter, in order to be able to ſell as great a quantity for $3\frac{1}{2}$d. as they did five years ago.

Parliament might, and indeed muſt, have known, that a limitation of the wages of labour to the ancient rate, whilſt the price of all the neceſſaries of life, but more particularly of corn, the principal article of ſubſiſtence in theſe times, was continually varying, muſt have expoſed the people frequently to great diſtreſs, and have impelled them to practiſe every ſpecies of evaſion. If the wages fixed by ſtatute were adhered to, the pay of a labourer, or artificer, muſt have been the ſame from 1350 to 1370; yet, in the courſe of that period, the price of wheat varied from 2s. to £1. 6s. 8d.[3] The rate of wages, if it was intended for the benefit of labourers, ought, like the aſſize of bread, to have varied with every variation of the price of proviſions: an attempt of this nature would, I confeſs, be no leſs abſurd than the other. It in fact preſumes, that the Legiſlature are the beſt judges how much individuals can afford to give for the work they want, and that a maſter with a capital is at the mercy of a needy workman without one. However, it would have been, at leaſt, conſiſtent in the

[1] Wealth of Nations, ii. 27. [2] This ſtatute, enacted in 1373, mentions the uſual length of a piece of cloth, and conſequently enables us to judge of the value of the different cloths allowed to be worn by the various claſſes of the nation. It ſtates, that Ray cloth, which ſhould be 28 ells long, and 5 quarters wide; and coloured cloth, which ſhould be 26 ells long, and 6 quarters wide, were diminiſhed, that is to ſay; the Rays to ſcarce 22 ells in length, and 4 quarters in width, and the coloured to ſcarce 22 ells in length, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ quarters in width; and enacts, that they ſhall be of the old accuſtomed length. (Rot. Parl. ii. 318.)
[3] See the Table of Prices, in Appendix, No. i.

Legiſlature,

Legiſlature, whilſt they were telling a ſerving man what he ſhould eat, to ſpecify what he ſhould pay for his food, and to have regulated the price of the eſſential articles of ſubſiſtence, inſtead of buſying themſelves in a frivolous ſtatute to ſecure a cheap ſupply of hens, pullets, capons, and geeſe, to great men's tables[1]. I conſider the regulation of wages as a device confeſſedly framed by the nobility, and, if not intended, certainly tending, to cramp the exertions of induſtry. Great proprietors, who, in their zeal to participate in the conveniencies and elegancies offered them by commerce, had gradually relinquiſhed their arbitrary rights over the perſons of their dependents, for a pecuniary equivalent, which enabled them to exchange the riotous hoſpitality of a caſtle, for the leſs turbulent, though no leſs expenſive, ſplendor of the court, and the capital, muſt ſoon have diſcovered, that a man acquired, if not additional bodily ſtrength, at leaſt an additional ſpur to induſtry from emancipation: they muſt have ſeen the ſtrong allurements held out, both by commerce and manufacture, to the idle occupiers of their manors; and have felt, that the various pretexts for enfranchiſement, ſupported by the ſubtleties of the courts of juſtice, would, in the end, had they not been reſiſted, lead to the utter extinction of villenage. The new ſyſtem, of working for hire, which was gradually making it's way, was, no doubt, more profitable to them, and more conducive to national proſperity, than the labour of ſlaves: but it may be doubted, whether this great political truth, (not univerſally aſſented to, even in the preſent age,) that the labour of free hands is more productive to the employer than the ſervice of ſlaves, was, in that unenlightened period, underſtood, or voluntarily practiſed, by great proprietors; and, if they could not comprehend the beneficial effects of this important revolution, we cannot be ſurpriſed, that they ſhould endeavour to preſerve ſome affinity between the new claſs of labourers, and the old claſs of villeins, by limiting their earnings, as they had

[1] 37 E. 3. c. 3. It is probable, however, although the laws of this period are ſilent on the ſubject, that the prices of many other articles of ſubſiſtence were frequently regulated by the magiſtrates. In the 10th of Richard the Second, ſeveral knights were appointed to make proclamation in the county of Cambridge, (and, probably, in other counties,) that no graziers or ſellers of cattle, or horſes, &c. ſhould ſell them at a higher price than uſual. Blomef. Norf. iv. 725.

before controuled their perſons. All the reſtrictions of the Legiſlature, on perſonal induſtry, evince a diſpoſition of this kind; the various ſtatutes, to regulate wages, dreſs, and apparel, ſeemed to have been framed with the ſame view; namely, to curb the aſpiring exertions of induſtry and independency.

The Statute of Labourers was rigorouſly enforced, and, notwithſtanding the many inconveniencies ariſing from it's proviſions[1], it was confirmed by ſeveral ſubſequent Acts of Parliament, paſſed in Edward the Third's reign[2]. In the year 1376, the Commons made great complaints, that maſters were obliged to give their ſervants and labourers great wages, to prevent their running away; and that the encouragement which they received in theſe evil practices, often induced them, upon the ſlighteſt cauſe of diſguſt, to quit their maſters: that they wandered thus from country to country; and that many of the runaways turned beggars, and led idle lives in cities and boroughs; although they had ſufficient bodily ſtrength to gain a livelihood, if they pleaſed to work. Many became *ſtaf-ſtrikers*[3], and wandered in parties of two, three, and four, from village to village; but that the greater number turned out *ſturdy rogues*[4], and infeſted the kingdom with frequent robberies[5]. To remedy thoſe evils, the Commons propoſed, that no relief ſhould be given to thoſe who were able to work, within boroughs or in the country; that vagrant beggars, and ſtaf-ſtrikers, ſhould be impriſoned till they conſented to return home to work; and that whoever harboured any runaway ſervant in his ſervice, ſhould be liable to a

[1] The Rolls of Parliament make frequent mention of the evaſions of labourers, in which, I have no doubt, they were often indirectly aſſiſted by the clergy; for it appears, from a commiſſion iſſued to the ſheriff of Kent, in the year 1361, that, in conſequence of the regulation of wages, carpenters, ſtone-cutters, and other workmen, employed in the king's ſervice, had quitted it, and got into ſervice at the abbies, and other places, where they could meet with better pay: in conſequence of which, prelates and religious houſes were forbidden to receive them. Rot. Parl. ii. 450. [2] 34 E. 3. c. 9, 10, 11. 36 E. 3. c. 14. 42 E. 3. c. 6. Rot. Parl. ii. 296. 46 E. 3. Rot. Parl. ii. 312. 50 E. 3. Rot. Parl. ii. 340. [3] By *ſtaf-ſtrikers*, I conceive, the Legiſlature meant cudgel-players, or quarter-ſtaff men. [4] *Fortes larounes*. [5] The police of Scotland was equally bad. A law of Robert the Second, made in 1347, deems thoſe rebels, "quha travellis as ketharans, eatand the cuntrie, and conſumand the gudes of the inhabitants, takand their gudes be force and violence." See Regiam Majeſtatem. Stat. Rob. ii. c. 12. and Stat. Rob. iii. c. 42.

penalty

penalty of £ 10. It does not appear from the Rolls, that the King aſſented to the above bill, but it ſeems to have been the ground-work of a ſubſequent ſtatute; and ſhews us the early opinions of Parliament on the ſubject of mendicity. Beggars are, for the firſt time, noticed by one branch of the Legiſlature; and from the language of the Commons, we may be convinced, that they were chiefly found in cities and boroughs; where, owing to commerce, and the introduction of manufactures in the early part of this reign, the principal wealth of the nation was accumulated.

In the year 1378, the Commons complained that the ſtatutes of labourers were not attended to, but that perſons employed in huſbandry fled into cities, and became artificers, mariners, or clerks, to the great detriment of agriculture [1]; and, in conſequence of theſe repreſentations, it was enacted, that the ſtatutes paſſed in the preceding reign ſhould be carried into execution [2]. By the 7th of Richard the Second, juſtices were enjoined to take ſecurity of vagrants for their good behaviour [3]. In the year 1388, the ſtatutes relative to artificers, labourers, ſervants, and victuallers, were confirmed; and it was further directed, that no ſervant or labourer ſhould depart from one part of the country to another, to ſerve, or to reſide elſewhere, or under pretence of going a pilgrimage, without a letter patent, ſpecifying the cauſe of his departure, and the time of his return; which might be granted at the diſcretion of a juſtice of the peace: every vagrant, who could not produce a letter patent, was to be taken up, put into the ſtocks, and impriſoned until he found ſurety to return to his former maſter: ſervants, however, travelling on the buſineſs of their maſters, were exempted from the penalties of the act: and apprentices in trades, where they were not much wanted, might be compelled to aſſiſt in getting in the harveſt [4]. In the ſame ſeſſions, the wages of labourers [5] in huſbandry were regulated according to the following proportions:

[1] Rot. Parl. iii. 46. [2] Rot. Parl. iii. 45. [3] Rot. Parl. iii. 158. [4] 12 R. 2. c. 3. For the other parts of this ſtatute relative to labourers, ſee Appendix, No. viii.
[5] It is remarkable, that, notwithſtanding the ſeveral acts paſſed for the regulation of wages, the ſtatute ſays, "that the hire of ſervants and labourers had not been *put in certainty*, (i. e. I ſuppoſe, not regulated,) before this time." See Appendix, No. viii.

	s.	d.	
A bailiff was allowed, for his annual ſalary,	13	4	and cloathing once a year.
A maſter hind,	10	0	Without cloathing,[1] or any other perquiſite.
A carter,	10	0	
A ſhepherd,	10	0	
An ox-herd, or cow-herd,	6	8	
A ſwine-herd, a female labourer, or deye,	6	0	
A plough-driver,	7	0	

The people were reſtrained, by pecuniary penalties, from giving or receiving more than the ſtatute allowed: for the firſt offence, both the giver and taker were to forfeit whatever was given above the regulation; for the ſecond offence, double; and for the third offence, treble: and, if the receiver of exceſſive wages was unable to pay the penalty, he was to be impriſoned for 40 days[2]. By the ſame ſtatute, thoſe, who had ſerved in any agricultural occupation, till they were 12 years of age, were reſtrained from being put to any trade, on penalty of the covenant of apprenticeſhip being void[3]. Servants in huſbandry, and labourers, were forbidden to carry arms, except in war time; and all unlawful games were prohibited[4]. It was alſo enacted, that impotent beggars ſhould continue in the cities or villages, where they were reſident at the time of paſſing the act; and if the inhabitants of thoſe places were neither willing nor able to maintain them, they were to be taken to other towns within the hundred, or to the place of their birth, (within 40 days after proclamation made,) where they were to continue for life[5].

In the following year, 1389, in conſequence of an application of the Commons, that the ſtatutes of labourers ſhould be enforced, it was enacted, that "foraſmuch as a man cannot put the price of corn, and other victuals, in certain[6], the juſtices ſhould, at Eaſter and Michaelmas, according to the price of proviſions, make proclamation, how much

[1] Fleetwood (Chro. Pretioſ. 130.) ſuppoſes that diet was allowed to theſe ſervants. [2] 12 R. 2. c. 4. That part of the ſtatute which impoſed fines on the *givers* of exceſſive wages was repealed, by 4 H. 8. c. 5. [3] 12 R. 2. c. 5. [4] 12 R. 2. c. 6. [5] 12 R. 2. c. 7. [6] Pur ce que homme ne purra mye mettre en certein le pris des bledz, et autres vitailles. Rot. Parl. iii. 269.

much every maſon, carpenter, and other workman, and labourers, ſhould receive by the day, as well in harveſt, as at other times of the year, with or without meat and drink [1].

It is obſervable, that in this as well as in the ſtatute of Edward the Third, above quoted [2], the Legiſlature ſuppoſed, that the harveſt would always take place in the month of Auguſt. Mr. Daines Barrington remarks, that a regulation of the wages of labourers in harveſt, during the month of Auguſt, as it depends on the ſeaſon, exceeds even the omnipotence of Parliament [3]: it may, however, be obſerved, that if the harveſt could have been gotten in in any time in Auguſt, a ſingle day or two would probably have ſufficed for that purpoſe [4]. In the lively picture of ancient huſbandry exhibited by the author of the Hiſtory of Hawſted, we are preſented with an inſtance of the rapidity with which a crop, in the year 1389, was cleared from the ground. The number of acres of corn did not exceed 200, yet above 250 reapers and thatchers were employed in one day, and above 200 in another; ſo that the whole harveſt appears to have been concluded in two days [5]. A detail of the ſeveral tranſactions relative to a ſeaſon of the year of ſuch importance in a life of huſbandry, from the ſame author, will enable us not only to form ſome idea of the ſtate of agriculture in this period, but likewiſe to aſcertain many other curious particulars relative to rural economy, and the circumſtances of the labouring claſſes at this period.

The out-goings of the lord, in harveſt, are thus ſet down:

In 1388, the expences of a ploughman, head-reaper, baker, cook, brewer, deye, 244½ reapers hired for one day; 30 bedrepes [6], the men

[1] 13 R. 2. c. 8. Rot. Parl. iii. 269. [2] See p. 32. [3] Obſerv. on Anc. Stat. 266.

[4] Mr. Capel Lofft (Annals of Agriculture, xxv. 657.) doubts this conſtruction of Mr. Daines Barrington; and ſuppoſes, that *Auſt*, in the 25 E. 3. ſignifies *harveſt*, and not *Auguſt*. On referring, however, to the Rolls, I find, that the word is *Augſt*; and muſt therefore doubt *his* conſtruction: beſides, if *auſt*, the French word for *harveſt*, had been uſed with that ſignification, it would (probably,) have been preceded by the definite article *le*; and the language of the ſtatute would have been, en la premier ſemaigne *de l'auſt*, inſtead of, en la premier ſemaigne *d'Augſt*. See Appendix, No. viii. [5] Cullum's Hawſted, 191.

[6] *Bedrepes* were days of work performed in harveſt-time, by the cuſtomary tenants, at the *bidding* or requiſition of their lords: from biddan, (Saxon,) to call, or invite; whence likewiſe the word *beadle*, originally a meſſenger. *Bederipes* are mentioned in Dugd. Warw. 170, where many cuſtoms reſpecting ancient harveſts are minutely noticed. See alſo Kennett's Parochial Antiquities, 401 and 496, for ſeveral particulars relative to *bedrepes*.

fed

fed according to cuſtom with bread and herring[1]; 3 quarters 3 buſhels of wheat from the ſtock; 5 quarters 3 buſhels of malt from the ſtock; meat bought, 10s. 10d.; 5 ſheep from the ſtock; fiſh and herrings bought, 5s.; herrings[1] bought, for the cuſtomary tenants, 7d.; cheeſe, milk, and butter, bought, 9s. 6d.; ſalt, 3d.; candles, 5d.; pepper, 3d.; ſpoons, diſhes, and faucets, 5d.[2]

The following charge ſeems to be for another day, in the ſame year, (and, perhaps, it was uſual to make two days of harveſt, as the corn might not all be ripe at the ſame time:) 30 bedrepes, as before; 19 reapers hired for one day, at their own board, 4d. each; 80 men for one day, and kept at the lady's board, 4d. each; 140½ men, hired for one day, at 3d. each; the wages of the head reaper, 6s. 8d.; of the brewer, 3s. 4d.; of the cook, 3s. 4d.; 30 acres of oats, tied up by the job, (per taſkam,) 1s. 8d.; 6 acres of bolymong[3] cut, and tied up

[1] We are not to infer, from this article, that fiſh was the uſual diet of agricultural labourers throughout England. Hawſted was little more than 60 miles from Yarmouth, which was the great mart for herrings. A few years before this period, ſeveral ſtatutes had been paſſed reſpecting the ſale of herrings at Yarmouth fair, which, although they demonſtrate the anxiety of the Legiſlature to promote an important branch of national induſtry, yet diſplay a great ignorance of the general principles of commerce, and of human nature. Magiſtrates were empowered to regulate the price of ſalted fiſh, by 31 Edw. 3. ſt. 2. c. 3.; notwithſtanding which, Parliament, a few years afterwards, was aſtoniſhed to find that the ſale of herrings at Yarmouth was much diminiſhed, which it attributed "to many merchants, as well labourers and ſervants coming to the fair to bargain for herring: and every one for malice and envy increaſing upon the other; ſo that if one bid 40 ſhillings, another would offer 10 ſhillings more, and a third 60 ſhillings, and ſo every one ſurmounteth the other in the bargain, and ſuch proffers extend to more than the price of the herring upon which the fiſhers profferred to ſell it for at the beginning." 35 Edw. 3. It was therefore enacted, "that perſons might buy herring openly; and that no man ſhould enter in bargain upon the buying of the ſame, till he that firſt came to bargain ſhould have an end of his bargain, agreable to the ſeller; and that none ſhould increaſe upon other, during the firſt bargain, upon pain of forfeiture to the king, of double of his proffer. [2] Cullum's Hawſted, 189. [3] *Bulmong*, or *bolymong*, is a word ſtill very common in Suffolk; Sir J. Cullum ſays, it ſignifies *peaſe* and *oats* ſown together. Harriſon, in his Deſcription of Britaine, 110, defines it to be *tares* and *oats*. This ſtrange term, formed, I apprehend, from the Saxon bolla, which ſignified not only a *cup* or *bowl*, but alſo a *meaſure*, and mengan or gemengan, to mingle, was, it is probable, like *maſlin*, always a provincial, or country, word. *Draget*, according to Sir John Cullum, ſignifies *oats* and *barley* mixed together. Hiſt. of

up by the job, 3s. 4d.; 16 acres of peaſe, cut by the job, 8s.; 5 acres of peaſe, and bolymong, cut and tied up by the job, 2s. 6d.; 3 acres of wheat, cut and tied up by the job, 1s. 11d.[1]

In 1389, the expences of a carter, ploughman, head-reaper, cook, baker, brewer and ſhepherd, deye, 221 reapers hired for one day; 44 pitchers, ſtackers, and mowers for one day; 22 reapers hired one day, for good will; 20 cuſtomary tenants, 5d.; cheeſe, butter, milk and eggs, 8s. 3½d.; oatmeal, 5d.; ſalt, 3d.; pepper and ſaffron, 10d.[1]; candles, 6d.; 5 pair of gloves, 10d.[2]; diſhes, 1d.; ſpoons, 1½d.; faucets, 1d.[3]

Another day, in the ſame year, 212 reapers were hired for one day, at 3d. each, beſides their board; 13 acres of wheat, cut, tied up, and treſſeled (treſeland,) at 7d. an acre; 1 acre of oats, cut, tied up, and

Hawſted, 180. Mr. Topham calls it *buck-wheat:* ſee Liber Quot. Contrarot. xxv.: and Appendix to this Volume, No. i. p. xv. Tuſſer calls it *dredge:*

> Thy *dredge* and thy barley go threſh out to malt.—
> Sow barley, and dredge with a plentiful hand.

[1] Saffron and Sanders were two articles of great repute in ancient cookery; the latter a fragrant wood, brought from the Eaſt-Indies, was principally uſed for colouring confections red; as ſaffron was for tinging them yellow. The various modes in which they were applied to paſtries and ſauces, during the reign of the Heliogabalus of England, Richard the Second, may be ſeen in "the Forme of Cury;" and in the collection annexed to "the Ordinances of the Houſhold," printed by the Antiquarian Society. They are likewiſe noticed in that curious monument of ancient manners, the Northumberland Houſhold-Book, (p. 19.) among the ſpices, the annual conſumption of which exceeded the ſum of £25. 19s. 7d. Dr. Percy remarks, that Mr. Weaver ſuppoſes ſaffron to have been firſt introduced into cultivation in England in the reign of Edward the Third; however, it muſt have been known long before, for it occurs amongſt the charges of Ralph Bourne's feaſt at Canterbury, (Lel. Col. vi. 35) It was anciently raiſed in ſeveral of the eaſtern counties, but is now principally confined to Cambridgeſhire. Of the profits of this article of culture, while it continued a favourite for culinary purpoſes, we may form ſome idea, from Harriſon's information, that the produce of an acre was uſually worth £20. (Deſcript. of England, 233.) Moryſon, in his Itinerary, (3d part, p. 149,) mentions ſaffron as an article of export to Spain in Queen Elizabeth's reign. [2] The burſars of New College, Oxford, on Chriſtmas-day, preſent each of their college tenants with a pair of gloves, which the receiver is ſure of diſplaying on the Sunday following at church, by hanging his hand over the pew, as a mark to his neighbours that he has paid his rent to the college. The rural bridegroom, in Laneham's Account of the Entertainment of Queen Elizabeth, at Kenelworth-caſtle, (p. 18.) in 1575, had "a pair of *harveſt-glovez* on his hands, az a ſign of good huſbandry." [3] Cullum's Hawſted, 190.

treſſeled,

treſſeled, at 5d.; 6 yards of canvas for the table, 12d.; grinding 5 quarters 1 buſhel of malt, 8d.[1]

We may form a ſtill more perfect idea of the bad huſbandry of this period, and the conſequent miſery of labourers, from conſidering the wretched produce of arable land. In 1390, the crop, from a farm of 57 acres, was 42 quarters 1 buſhel of wheat, which are leſs than 6 buſhels an acre; 38 quarters and 2 buſhels of barley, from 24 acres, which are rather better than 12 buſhels an acre; 34 quarters 2½ buſhels of peaſe, from 22 acres, which exceed 12 buſhels an acre; 33 quarters 2 buſhels of oats, from 54½ acres, or about 5 buſhels an acre. Modern huſbandry is never diſgraced by ſuch miſerable crops as 6 buſhels of wheat from an acre. In favourable years, however, the quantity of wheat generally exceeded a quarter, an acre[2]: and from the paſſage in Fleta, above quoted[3], I infer, that 12 buſhels of wheat were conſidered as an average crop in theſe times; and to raiſe even this ſcanty produce, for a people, who, in 1377, it is probable, did not exceed 2,353,203 ſouls[4], a much greater proportion of the cultivated land ſeems to have been appropriated to tillage, than, from the inconſiderable number of mouths to be fed, we might have ſuppoſed would have been the caſe. This proportion, however, ſeems to have diminiſhed, as an improved huſbandry was gradually introduced[5]; farmers, by degrees,

[1] Cullum's Hawſted, 191. [2] Cullum's Hawſted, 187. [3] See p. 17.
[4] Chalmers's Eſtimate, 113. [5] The following enumerations clearly prove, that, in the 14th and 15th centuries, farms, in general, were not only very ſmall, but almoſt entirely in tillage. As agriculture improved, the proportion of arable land decreaſed; and, in the reign of Elizabeth, meadow and paſture acquired their due conſideration.

	acres.	
In 1305, A meſſuage in Norfolk contained	90 of arable	
	5 of meadow	
	40 of paſture.	Blomef. Norf. iv. 569.
1324, A meſſuage in Norfolk	131½ of arable	
	7 of meadow	
	1¼ of paſture.	Blomef. Norf. iii. 769.
1339, Eighteen meſſuages in Norfolk	160 of arable	
	50 of meadow	
	10 of paſture	
	20 of marſh	
	10 of turbary.	Blomef. Norf. iv. 569.
1354, A manor in Norfolk	300 of demeſne arable	
	40 of meadow	
	19 of paſture	
	30 of wood	
	20 of fen for turves.	Blomef. Norf. i. 34.

grees, became convinced, that, to have good crops of corn, they muſt convert a conſiderable portion of their ploughed fields into paſture, till

	Acres.	
1359, A manor in Suffolk	572	of arable, reduced in 1387 to 321 acres.
	50	of meadow. Cullum's Hawſted, 183. 5.
1370, A meſſuage in Norfolk	140	of arable
	6	of meadow
	30	of paſture
	30	of heath. Blomef. Norf. iv. 27.
1395, Two meſſuages in Warwickſhire	400	of arable
	60	of meadow. Dugd. Warw. 557.
1400, A meſſuage conſiſted of	20	of arable
	3	of meadow
Another	10	of arable
	2	of meadow. Rot. Parl. iii. 463.
1440, A meſſuage in Warwickſhire	12	of arable
	1	of meadow
A meſſuage in Warwickſhire	50	of arable
	5	of meadow
	5	of wood
	31	of paſture
	2	of moor. Dugd. Warw. 588.
1459, A meſſuage in Northamptonſhire	108	of arable
	8	of meadow
	40	of paſture
	40	of wood. Whalley's Northampt. i. 517.
1535, A meſſuage in Northamptonſhire	50	of arable
	5	of meadow
	5	of paſture. Whalley's Northampt. i. 218.
1550, Two meſſuages in Warwickſhire	300	of arable
	50	of meadow
	200	of paſture
	60	of wood. Dugd. Warw. 557.
1553, A meſſuage in Warwickſhire	500	of arable
	300	of meadow
	40	of paſture
	20	of wood
	200	of heath and furze. Dugd. Warw. 542.
1555, Six meſſuages in Norfolk	320	of arable
	120	of meadow
	40	of paſture
	50	of furze and heath. Blomef. Norf. iv. 514.
1560, Two meſſuages in Warwickſhire	600	of arable
	60	of meadow
	600	of paſture
	120	of wood
	100	of heath. Dugd. Warw. 557.
1567, An eſtate in Norfolk	40	meſſuages, 20 cottages
	200	of arable
	100	of meadow
	300	of paſture
	10	of wood. Blomef. Norf. iv. 569.
1569, A manor in Norfolk	60	of arable
	20	of meadow
	40	of paſture
	300	of furze, heath, and bruery. Blomef. Norf. i. 649.

at length, during the ſhallow-ſighted adminiſtration of Henry the Eighth, and Elizabeth, the Legiſlature was ſeized with the groundleſs apprehenſion, notwithſtanding the cheapneſs of corn, that the kingdom would be ruined by encloſures.

Notwithſtanding the complaints that have ſo often, (and ſometimes, it may be, not without juſtice,) been made againſt the vices of the regular clergy, it is probable, that the earlieſt improvements in agriculture, in England, are aſcribable to their exertions [1]: their miſſions to foreign parts enabled them to introduce new articles of cultivation; and the immenſe revenues belonging to religious houſes afforded them the means of carrying on the operations of huſbandry with more ſkill, and ſucceſs, than could be expected from the nobility, who were frequently called away, to the court, or the camp; and, when they viſited their caſtles, were generally occupied in ſome ſubject of domeſtic warfare. The clergy, we are informed by the canons of the council of Lateran, held in 1179, aſſiſted in the cultivation of their lands. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Becket, when he viſited a monaſtery in harveſt, did not diſdain to labour in the fields. The trades, neceſſary for agriculture, ſeem likewiſe to have been practiſed by the monks. All the clergy, in the Saxon periods of our hiſtory, were taught ſome mechanic art, and were obliged, by the canons, to exerciſe it at their leiſure hours [2]. St. Dunſtan is reported to have been an excellent blackſmith; and Bede remarks, that the Abbot of Weremouth aſſiſted his monks in their agricultural labours, by guiding the plough, by winnowing corn, and by making various implements of huſbandry [3]: indeed I am fully perſuaded, that abbatial government was much more favourable to national proſperity, than baronial authority. The eccleſiaſtics were mild and indulgent landlords; and, it is probable, their courts were leſs arbitrary than thoſe of great manerial lords; and

[1] It was, no doubt, in reference to this circumſtance, that, in old records, we find the lands, owned and cultivated by monaſtic perſons, ſo generally deſcribed by the term *cultura*. Thus, (in the Bibl. Topog. viii. 838.) the lands of a priory in Leiceſterſhire are thus mentioned: "de *culturâ*, quæ vocatur Toftes, de tribus *culturis* ſubter Normanton de dominico "dominii de Botesford, et de *culturâ* juxta pontem buttant' contra le Cliff, &c. et *cultura* vocata Redwonge," &c. See, in the account of Bromfield pariſh, the remarkable name of a pariſh called *Holme Cultram*, where there was once a monaſtery, thus explained. Hutchinſon's Hiſt. of Cumberland, ii. 304. [2] Johnſon's Canons. [3] Bede, Hiſt. Abb. of Werem. 296.

their dependents were leſs liable to be torn from their homes and families, than thoſe of the warlike barons. For theſe cauſes, the intelligent author of the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Hawſted, with great reaſon, imagines, that the villages, under the juriſdiction and protection of an abbey, might invite, and, indeed we know they did [1], attract ſettlers from other maſters; as thoſe parts in Italy, from whence the Jeſuits have been expelled, are ſaid to have been worſe tenanted and cultivated than they were before the ſuppreſſion of the Order [2].

It is likely, alſo, that we are indebted to the clergy for many improvements in gardening. Horticulture had, perhaps, reached a conſiderable degree of excellence in King Edward the Firſt's reign, before which the eccleſiaſtical order had firmly ſettled themſelves in different parts of the kingdom: the ſkill of the monks, in gardening, is highly ſpoken of by our moſt ancient hiſtorians; and I ſhould imagine, that, before the end of the 13th century, England produced moſt of the uſeful vegetables, although, according to Evelyn, even ſo ordinary, but uſeful, a legume, as cabbage, was, in 1539, firſt imported from the Netherlands [3]. Gardens, however, were conſidered as objects of value as early as 1279, and their produce was even ſpecified in judicial records [4].

This elegant branch of culture declined, amidſt the ravages produced by the contentions of the Houſes of York and Lancaſter [5], and did

[1] See p. 42. [2] Cullum's Hawſted, 90. [3] Sylva. Many years after this, it ſeems, that England was ſtill ſupplied with cabbages from Flanders. Bullein, in his "Booke of Simples," written in 1562, obſerves, on this vegetable, that it "is good to make pottage withall, and is a profitable herbe in a commonwealth, which the Fleminges ſell deere, but we have it growing in our owne gardens, if we wold preferre our owne commodity, &c." He adds; "there be greate plenty growing betweene Albrought and Horthforde in Suffolke, upon the ſea-ſhore." Fol. 9. [4] Capitale meſſagium, quod valet per annum cum herbagio et fructu *gardini*. Regiſt. Hon. de Rich. App. 44.—*Gardinum*, &c. cum herbagis et fructu valet, &c. Ibid. App. 50. 66. 87. 95. The mention of *orchards*, in ancient records, is a ſtrong proof of the exiſtence of *gardens* of *legumes*: the word eaſily reſolves itſelf into *wort-yard*, or *worts-yard*: the Saxon is ƿyrt-ȝeaꝛd. The word *hortus* is but the Saxon ƿyrt latinized. [5] It appears, however, from the mention of oil for ſallads, in one of the Paſton letters, written in 1466, that vegetables for the table were ſtill cultivated in England; although the common opinion is, that, during the civil wars, moſt of our fruits and garden-productions were totally deſtroyed. Paſton Letters, 1. 288.

not revive till the reign of Henry the Eighth, as we are informed by a curious paſſage in the deſcription of England, prefixed to Holinſhed's Chronicle; which I ſhall repeat in the author's own words: "Such "herbes," ſays he, "fruits, and roots alſo, as grow yeerelie out of the "ground, of ſeed, have beene verie plentifull in this land in the time "of the Firſt Edward and after his daies; but in proceſſe of time they "grew alſo to be neglected, ſo that from Henrie the Fourth, till the "latter end of Henrie the Seventh, and beginning of Henrie the Eight, "there was little or no uſe of them in England, but they remained "either unknowne, or ſuppoſed as food more meet for hogs and ſavage "beaſts to feed upon than mankind: whereas in my time their uſe is "not onelie reſumed among the poore commons, I meane of melons, "pompions, gourds, cucumbers, radiſhes, ſkirets[1], parſneps, carrets, "cabbages, navewes[2], turneps, and all kinds of ſalad herbs[3]; but alſo "fed upon deintie diſhes at the tables of delicate merchants, gentlemen, "and the nobilitie, who make their proviſion yearelie for new ſeeds out "of ſtrange countries, from whence they have them aboundantlie[4]."

[1] Skirrets approach the neareſt to parſneps, of any of the eſculent roots, both in flavour and nutritious quality. They are natives of China, but were formerly much cultivated in England; and are ſtill very common in Germany. The ingenious chemiſt, Margraaf, has publiſhed ſeveral experiments, which he made in order to extract ſugar from beet, and ſkirrets; from which it appears, that half a pound of ſkirrets produced 1½ oz. of pure ſugar. His proceſs, though ſlow and tedious, affords very ſatisfactory proof, how copiouſly ſome of our vegetables are ſtored with a ſaccharine ſalt, which might be drawn from them in abundance by proper management. Bryant's Flora Diœtetica, 42. Skirrets are noticed in the Forme of Cury, 13. Tuſſer, in his 500 Points of Good Huſbandry, 40. recommends the ſetting of them in March. Gerarde calls the Spaniſh potatoe, ſkyrrets of Peru. Herbal, ed. 1636. 926. [2] From Barnaby Gouge's Deſcription of Rapes, I imagine, that *navewes* were turnip-radiſhes. He ſays of rapes, that "there are two kindes of them; the firſte "dooth roote all in length like the radiſhe, which in many places of Germanie is uſed for a "dayntie meate; the other either groweth in great roundneſſe, or els very flatte." Foure Bookes of Huſbandry, &c. f. 30. He adds, that "navewes may be counted in the number "of rapes, for rapes in ſome grounde change into navewes, and in ſome ground, navewes "into rapes." F. 59. Tuſſer, in his liſt of herbes and roots to boile or to butter, notices navewes. See alſo Gerarde's Herbal, ed. 1636. 235. [3] Tuſſer, who wrote much about the time of Harriſon, gives a catalogue of the herbs and roots then cultivated, both for culinary and medicinal uſes. The number mentioned in the cookery receipts of the 14th century, is very inconſiderable. See Forme of Cury; and Ordinances of the Royal Houſhold, 425. [4] Harriſon's Deſc. of Eng. 208. Cullum's Hawſted, 93.

Upon

Upon the whole, it may be ſafely affirmed, that, before the end of the fourteenth century, civilization, and the comforts attendant on order and induſtry, had made a conſide[illegible]le progreſs in England: there can be little doubt but that, in 1400, the great maſs of the people were, in compariſon with their forefathers at the Conqueſt, rich, thriving, and independent; and, although hiſtorians are ſilent on many points which are intimately connected with an inveſtigation of this nature, their general information will ſtill afford us competent evidence, that the ſphere of domeſtic happineſs, the ultimate object of every good government, was greatly extended. The various immunities granted to cities and boroughs; the introduction and firm eſtabliſhment of the woollen manufacture; the dawning, however faint, of the polite arts; and the humanizing principles of Chriſtianity, are cauſes which muſt have powerfully and beneficially operated towards the melioration of the condition of mankind. It is principally to their effect that we are to aſcribe the important alteration that appears to have taken place before the time of Richard the Second; not only in the perſonal dependence, but in the political opinions, of the labouring claſſes of the community. In the inſurrection of Wat Tyler, in the year 1381, (which, notwithſtanding the atrocities it produced, ſeems to have materially contributed towards the extinction of ſervitude,) the language of the rebels, who were chiefly villeins, beſpeaks men not unacquainted with the eſſential requiſites of rational liberty. They required from the king, the abolition of ſlavery, freedom of commerce in market-towns, without tolls or impoſts, and a fixed rent on lands, inſtead of ſervices due by villenage[1]. Theſe requeſts, which, (as Mr. Hume obſerves,) though extremely reaſonable in themſelves, the nation was not ſufficiently prepared to receive, and which it was dangerous to have extorted by violence, were, however, complied with: charters of manumiſſion were granted to the diſcontented villeins, and, although they were revoked[2] after the rebellion was cruſhed, and many hundreds of the inſurgents executed as traitors, it is probable, that the general ſpirit which had now manifeſted itſelf, among the people, prevented maſters from again impoſing, and vaſſals from again ſubmitting to, the harſh, though legal, ſervices of bondage.

[1] Hume, ii. 246. [2] Rym. Fœd. vii. 317.

While

While the united operation of various cauſes was thus gradually converting villeins into free labourers; another, and not leſs uſeful claſs of ſubjects, namely, tenantry, had inſenſibly been formed, and, like the other, ſeems to have been much indebted, for their advancement, to manufactures and commerce. We know, that, at the Conqueſt, moſt of the lands in England were parcelled out among the Norman nobility [1]. Earl Moreton acquired no leſs than 793 [2] manors; and Hugh de Alrincis received from the Conqueror the whole palatinate of Cheſter [3]. The extenſive county of Norfolk had only 66 proprietors [4]. The owners of ſuch extenſive poſſeſſions reſided almoſt entirely on their eſtates, and, in moſt inſtances, kept them in their own hands. The elder Spencer, in his petition to Parliament in the reign of Edward the Second, in which he complains of the outrages committed on his lands, reckons, among his moveable property, 28,000 ſheep, 1000 oxen, 1200 cows, 500 cart-horſes, 2000 hogs, 600 bacons, 80 carcaſes of beef, 600 ſheep in the larder, (the three laſt articles were probably ſalted proviſions,) 10 tons of cyder, and arms for 200 men [5]: and in the following reign, in 1367, the ſtock on the land of a great prelate, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, appears, by an inquiſition taken at his death, to have amounted to 127 draft-horſes, 1556 head of black cattle, 3876 wethers, 4777 ewes, 3451 lambs [6]. Mr. Hume, therefore, very juſtly infers, that the greater part of Spencer's eſtate, as well as of the other nobility in thoſe times, was farmed by the landlord himſelf, managed by his ſteward or bailiff, and cultivated by his villeins [7]. From there being no coſtly articles of equipage or dreſs, for which the ſurplus produce of the land, beyond the lord's immediate wants, could be exchanged, he was naturally led to ſpend it in riotous and ruſtic hoſpitality; which, however, could not but be popular. Commerce, at length, offered allurements of a different kind, and induced him, from motives of perſonal gratification, to leſſen the number of his idle retainers and dependents, and to grant the uſufructuary enjoyment of

[1] See Dugdale's Baronage. [2] Brad. Introduct. 13. [3] Camd. in Cheſhire. [4] Allen, Earl of Brittany, had 442 manors: Odo, Biſhop of Bayeux, 439: William, Earl Warren, 228, beſides 28 towns, or hamlets, in Yorkſhire: and in this manner the whole kingdom was portioned out among the Norman barons. (Dugd. Baronage.) [5] Rot. Parl. ii. [6] Biog. Brit. 1 edit. Supplem. 207. [7] Hume, ii. 153.

a portion of his demeſnes, to a tenant, on condition of receiving a rent, which might enable him to extend his purſuits beyond ſumptuous entertainments, field ſports, or domeſtic warfare.

In the infancy, however, of foreign trade and internal manufactures, the conſequent ſcarcity of money muſt have obliged landlords to have accepted of rents in kind; and we might fairly conclude, that this was actually the caſe, even if hiſtory had been ſilent on the ſubject. The revenue, which the ſovereign drew from his manors, was originally by returns in kind from the tenants; for the moſt part, they conſiſted of the produce of the land itſelf; though, ſometimes, boroughs held land in ancient demeſne, on condition of furniſhing cloth for the king's houſhold, or importing ſilks, or other foreign manufactures [1]. Notwithſtanding the inconvenience of receiving an income in proviſions, this ſyſtem continued long after the Conqueſt; and, even in Henry the Firſt's time, the rents of the crown were diſcharged in corn, and other conſumable commodities, when they were converted into pecuniary payments, in conſequence of great complaints being made by the tenants, of the inconveniencies they ſuffered in bringing in neceſſaries, for the king's houſhold, from diſtant parts of the kingdom [2]. Other landlords, who had been induced to manumit their vaſſals, and to intruſt them with the cultivation of a portion of the waſte, for their own benefit, uſually furniſhed their tenants with the ſeed, cattle, and implements of huſbandry, neceſſary for the farm; and generally received, for rent, half the crop, after ſetting aſide what was neceſſary for replacing the ſtock. Such are the metayers of France; a ſpecies of tenant, which, Adam Smith, (who has traced, with admirable preciſion, the various gradations of tenantry, from the ſervile cultivator of ancient times, the fruits of whoſe induſtry were at the diſpoſal of his maſter, to the independent modern farmer, whoſe leaſe affords him equal ſecurity with his landlord,) obſerves, has been long in diſuſe in England. This ruinous cuſtom, however, was not entirely aboliſhed in this country, even at the beginning of the preſent century. We are told, by a reſpectable author in Queen Anne's reign, that it was uſual, in ſome parts of England, and

[1] Obſerv. on the Land Revenue of the Crown, 28. [2] Lytt. Hiſt. of Hen. the IId. 2d ed. ii. 291. [3] Wealth of Nations, ii. 90.

particularly

particularly in Norfolk, for the owners to let their lands "in halves to the tenants;" that is, that the tenant ſhould have one half of the product for charges of the huſbandry, and the owner the other half for the uſe of his ground [1]. Dr. Prideaux might have found, from his profeſſional experience, a ſtronger inſtance of this ſpecies of tenantry in England, than the one he has mentioned. Every tenant, who pays tithe, is, in ſome degree, a metayer, although not to the ſame extent with the miſerable farmer in France, who paid half his produce to his landlord. Neither can I agree with the Author of the Wealth of Nations, in aſcribing the origin of tenantry to the mere ſelfiſhneſs of great proprietors: "All for ourſelves, and nothing for other people, ſeems, in every "age of the world, to have been the vile maxim of the maſters of "mankind. As ſoon, therefore, as they could find a method of con- "ſuming the whole value of their rents themſelves, they had no diſpo- "ſition to ſhare them with any other perſons. For a pair of diamond "buckles, perhaps, or for ſomething as frivolous, and uſeleſs, they "exchanged the maintenance, or (what is the ſame thing,) the price "of the maintenance of a thouſand men for a year, and with it the "whole weight and authority which it could give them. The buckles, "however, were to be all their own, and no other human creature was "to have any ſhare of them; whereas, in the more ancient method of "expence, they muſt have ſhared with at leaſt a thouſand people. "With the judges that were to determine the preference, this diffe- "rence was perfectly deciſive; and thus, for the gratification of the moſt "childiſh, the meaneſt, and the moſt ſordid of all vanities, they bartered "their whole power and authority [2]." The inducements of a great proprietor to leſſen the number of his retainers, and to let his eſtates, may, I think, be accounted for, upon more rational and more obvious motives than thoſe of ſordid vanity. The deſire of bettering our condition, which is the predominant principle that animates the world, and which, when expanded into action, gives birth to every ſocial virtue, would alike have impelled the lord to prefer comfort to ſplendor, and the villein to quit his livery for the independence of trade: and it was happy for mankind, that theſe exchanges produced

[1] Prideaux on the Origin and Right of Tithes. [2] Wealth of Nations, ii. 125.

eſſential

eſſential advantages, not only to the lord and vaſſal, but to the community at large. A man, who, by diſmiſſing half of his uſeleſs domeſtics, purchaſed the means of adding to his enjoyments; who could thereby clothe himſelf in woollen and fine linen, inſtead of coarſe canvas and a leathern jerkin, or jacket; who could add the wholſome and grateful productions of horticulture to his table; and could render a dreary caſtle more habitable, by ſubſtituting warm hangings for bare ſtone, or at moſt white-waſhed walls; and that elegant conveniency, glaſs, for latticed windows; would act conformably to principles, which are not more natural to the maſters, than to the labouring part of mankind.

To the introduction of manufactures, and the conſequent emancipation of thoſe who were diſmiſſed by maſters, and thoſe alſo who ran away from them with the adventurous project of trying their fortunes in the lottery of trade, I aſcribe the introduction of a new claſs of men, henceforward deſcribed by the Legiſlature under the denomination of *Poor*; by which term, I conceive, they meant to ſignify freemen, who, being either incapacitated by ſickneſs, or old age, or prevented by other cauſes from getting work, were obliged to have recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the charitable for ſubſiſtence. It is impoſſible that the term could have been applicable to thoſe who ſtill continued in a ſtate of ſervitude; ſince the obligation to ſerve another for life, according to the definition of Grotius [1], imports a reciprocal obligation in the maſter to provide his ſlave with, at leaſt, the bare neceſſaries of life: and, indeed, in the early periods of our hiſtory, this muſt, of neceſſity, have been the caſe; for, with the exception of thoſe who were engaged in trade and manufacture, and who formed a very inconſiderable portion of the nation, the people in general muſt have ſubſiſted by agriculture; and as the land was poſſeſſed by a few great proprietors, and cultivated by their ſervile dependents, it was only to territorial lords, that, in periods of diſtreſs, a bankrupt tenant, or an aged bondſman, could look for ſuccour. No doubt, in diſaſtrous times, from the failure of crops, or the ravages of warfare, a great landed proprietor was often as much embarraſſed to ſupply the hungry mouths around him with food, as

[1] De Jure Belli, l. ii. c. 5. § 27.

a free labourer was to ſupport himſelf: and a famine, we may be aſſured, fell with no leſs fury on the cottager, than the manufacturer; for, whatever may be the ſcale of rank in ſociety, whether a community be compoſed of traders or huſbandmen, or whether labour is carried on by freemen or by ſlaves, the means of ſubſiſtence will ever be the meaſure of population; and the facility of obtaining it, the beſt criterion of national proſperity. While the nation, however, conſiſted principally of the two claſſes of land-holders and ſervile cultivators, the latter had, at leaſt in ordinary times, a fund to which they might reſort for maintenance; and, although they could not acquire property, they were, in general, certain of food; becauſe it was the obvious intereſt of thoſe, who could command their ſervices, to provide for their ſupport. A Weſt India iſland, perhaps, exhibits a tolerable picture of the condition of the agricultural claſs, in this country, ſoon after the Conqueſt. The proprietor of a ſugar plantation, (although an abſentee, and in this reſpect very different from a baron who reſided on his demeſnes,) is bound to feed the negroes belonging to his plantation, whether they are diſabled by ſickneſs, accident, or old age; nor, in any caſe, can they become a burthen to the public. We are not, however, to infer, that becauſe there are no Poor on a plantation, and none exiſted in an ancient manor, that theſe are proofs of opulence or proſperity. The capital ſtock of Yorkſhire is, perhaps, ten times as great as that of the iſland of Jamaica; and yet the number of thoſe, who, in that part of England, have no viſible means of ſupport, and ſubſiſt entirely on charity, I doubt not, exceeds thoſe in Jamaica, of a ſimilar deſcription, in as great a proportion. Rouſſeau juſtly enquires, "Why it is that, in a thriving city, the Poor are ſo miſerable, while ſuch extreme diſtreſs is hardly ever experienced in thoſe countries where there are no inſtances of immenſe wealth [1]?" I ſhould anſwer, that, in cities, people are more poor, becauſe they are more independent, than in the country. It is one of the natural conſequences of freedom, that thoſe, who are left to ſhift for themſelves, muſt ſometimes, from either miſconduct or misfortune, be reduced to want. This, however, furniſhes no ſolid argument againſt the bleſſings of liberty. A priſoner under the cuſtody

[1] La Nouv. Heloïſe.

of his keeper, may perhaps be confident of receiving his bread and his water daily; yet, I believe, there are few who would not, even with the contingent poſſibility of ſtarving, prefer a precarious chance of ſubſiſtence, from their own induſtry, to the certainty of regular meals in a gaol.

It has been frequently urged by the advocates for the ſlave trade, that the condition of the negroes in the Weſt Indies is, in general, more comfortable than that of many day-labourers in this country. Admitting this poſition to be true, I think it proves no more than this; that thoſe, who, by their induſtry, often riſe high in the ſcale of national proſperity, will ſometimes furniſh inſtances of extreme miſery. Dr. Johnſon's remark, on marriage and celibacy, may, perhaps, be applied with propriety to freedom and ſervitude: the one has many pains; the other no pleaſures[1].

However deplorable, therefore, the effects, produced by the want of perſonal freedom, may have been, it will follow, from the above conſiderations, that, in the ancient ſtate of ſociety in England, in the firſt dawn of commerce and manufactures, every individual in the kingdom, not engaged in either of thoſe branches of induſtry, had an appropriate fund to look to for ſubſiſtence; and that, however degraded the general condition of the great maſs of the people (then employed principally in agriculture) might be, they were ſtill, unleſs in extraordinary caſes of national miſery, aſſured of the bare neceſſaries of life. The villein, I apprehend, if unable to work, was maintained by his lord; as the pauper is now ſupported by his pariſh; and while the moſt numerous and moſt needy claſs of the people conſiſted of thoſe whoſe ſervices thus ſecured them a maintenance, and who were reſtricted from wandering from the lands to which they were attached, it is obvious, that, however great the aggregate ſum of general diſtreſs might have been, the Legiſlature was not called upon to enact laws, either for the puniſhment of vagrants, or the relief of the impotent and aged. And we may hence account for their ſilence upon the ſubject, till the reign of Richard the Second.

[1] Raſſelas.

As to thoſe employed in commerce, we know, that, in it's infancy, trade was carried on chiefly by foreigners, who formed ſmall corporations, under the denomination of gilds, or companies; and, as inſtitutions of that nature ſeem likewiſe in moſt inſtances to have been conſtructed upon charitable, as well as commercial principles, they afford a ſtrong preſumption, that the indigent of that claſs were ſupported from the general fund of their reſpective ſocieties. A decayed weaver, in the 13th century, I make no doubt, was relieved by the weavers' gild; and a poor German mariner, by the merchants of the ſteel-yard. The numbers, too, employed at firſt, either in manufacture or trade, muſt have been very inconſiderable. Very little money circulated in England, even in the time of Henry the III.; otherwiſe we ſhould not have met with an order of that Prince to reſtrain a Jew from taking more than two-pence a week for every pound lent to an Oxford ſcholar; a rate of intereſt which amounts to more than forty-three per cent.[1] The temptation of vaſt profit, in a buſineſs of ſpeculation or adventure, favoured by excluſive privileges, and better protected than the more eſſential, though leſs hoſpitable, occupations of agriculture, could be, from the rapacious gripe of lordly authority, together with the proſpect of independence, (which a tradeſman, who, inſtead of looking up to a ſingle maſter, depends on the favours of a thouſand cuſtomers, thinks he poſſeſſes,) gradually leſſened the number of ſervile hands, and, by an increaſed competition, which at length reduced commercial gain to its proper level, ultimately benefited even agriculture itſelf. From the inducements held out, every ſervile hind, that could emancipate himſelf by artifice, or by favour, conſidered himſelf not only ſure of protection in a city, but flattered himſelf with the expectation of a portion of the great gains in manufactures and commerce. Theſe, and many other ſimilar cauſes, before enumerated, contributed to the diminution of villeins; and when thus, by ſlow degrees, a new race of men aroſe in the country, and manufacturers became firmly eſtabliſhed, it is remarkable, that the exiſtence of *Poor* was firſt noticed by the Legiſlature. The decreaſe of villenage ſeems neceſſarily to have been the era of the origin of the Poor. Manufactures, although they

[1] Angl. Judaica, 122.

added

added to the capital ſtock of the nation, yet, by creating a neceſſity for free hands, and conſequently enabling men to make uſe of the moſt valuable of all property, their own induſtry, ſubjected thoſe, who were any ways incapacitated, from availing themſelves of that fund, to the miſerable alternative of ſtarving independently.

Without the moſt diſtant idea, therefore, of diſparaging the numberleſs benefits derived to this country from manufactures and commerce, the reſult of this inveſtigation ſeems to lead to this inevitable concluſion, that manufactures and commerce are the true parents of our national Poor; and to juſtify the (by no means unreaſonable, or captious) opinion of thoſe, who think that it is particularly incumbent on perſons engaged in manufactures, and commerce, to help to maintain them. To complain, however, that they have, by the inequality which induſtry muſt ever occaſion, been the ſource of miſery to ſome members of the community, is to complain of the cauſes which have raiſed us to an unexampled pitch of national proſperity, and of the conſequences which are neceſſarily attached to it.

A new claſs being thus inſenſibly created, they very ſoon, from their numbers, their vices, and their miſeries, roſe into notoriety. We have already ſeen, that, in the year 1376, they were firſt noticed by the Legiſlature, under the denomination of beggars, ſtaf-ſtrikers, and ſturdy rogues [1]; and, from the language of a ſubſequent ſtatute, which I have alſo mentioned [2], I ſhould infer, that the diſtrict where impotent beggars were directed to reſide, was bound to maintain them; and that the juſtices of peace, who had a conſiderable latitude of diſcretionary power, in ſome caſes, regulated both the place of their abode, and the amount of the alms they were to receive. Although the ſtatute only ſays, that, if the inhabitants of cities and villages, where beggars were reſident, at the time of paſſing the act, were unable, or unwilling to maintain them [3], they ſhould be taken to other places within the hundred, rape, or wapentake, or to the place of their birth; yet ſuch a proviſion would have been frivolous, had it not been underſtood that the diſtrict to which they were removed was bound to maintain them. I conceive this was the caſe; and that the Legiſlature acted nearly on the ſame principle in 1388, that they did in 1601, when they enacted, That if the juſtices of

[1] See p. 42. [2] See p. 44. [3] Ne voilent ou ne poient ſuffir de les trover.

peace perceived that the inhabitants of any pariſh were unable to levy, among themſelves, ſufficient ſums for the relief of the Poor, they might tax any other, of other pariſhes, or out of any pariſh, within the hundred wherein the pariſh was; and if the hundred ſhould not be thought able to relieve the pariſhes which were not able to provide for themſelves as aforeſaid, that other pariſhes in the county might be rated [1]. The clergy, moſt aſſuredly, from the nature of the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, and the eleemoſynary principles upon which every donation to religious bodies was conferred, were conſidered as the peculiar and official guardians of the Poor; and, whatever doubts may be now entertained of any legal claim that the indigent claſſes of the community have on the much reduced revenues of the Church, it ſeems clear, from the unequivocal expreſſions of the Legiſlature in 1391, that a certain portion of tithe, when appropriated to monaſtic inſtitutions, was ſet apart for the purpoſes of charity: the tranſlation, from the original French, of the ſtatute alluded to, is as follows: "Item, becauſe divers damages and hindrances oftentimes have happened, and daily do happen, to the pariſhioners of divers places, by the appropriation of benefices of the ſame places, it is agreed, and aſſented, that, in every licence to be made from henceforth, in the Chancery, of the appropriation of any pariſh church, it ſhall be expreſsly contained, and compriſed, that the dioceſan of the place, upon the appropriation of ſuch churches, ſhall ordain, according to the value of ſuch churches, *a convenient ſum of money to be paid and diſtributed yearly, of the fruits and profits of the ſaid churches*, by thoſe that ſhall have the ſaid churches in proper uſe, and by their ſucceſſors, *to the poor pariſhioners* of the ſaid churches, in aid of their living, and ſuſtenance, for ever; and alſo that the vicar be well and ſufficiently endowed [2]."

[1] 43 Eliz. c. 2. § 3. [2] 15 R. 2. c. 6. confirmed by 4 H. 4. c. 12. Mr. Andrews, in his Hiſtory of England, lately publiſhed, (vol. i. p. 10.), infers, from the expreſſion of *miſeris laicis*, in a charter of tithes granted by king Ethelwulph, a connection between the poor's rate, and the proviſion for the clergy. The inference is certainly neither very direct, nor clear. Be this however as it may, it is but fair to acknowledge, that, in promoting works of charity, the clergy of theſe kingdoms have always been, and ſtill are, eminently diſtinguiſhed: and when they are called on again to take all the Poor of the kingdom under their wing, it will be but reaſonable that they ſhould be, at the ſame time, furniſhed with the means of relieving them; as elſe, it would be demanding of them bricks without ſtraw.

In

In this ſtatute, and in the 12th of Richard the Second, we may obſerve the great outlines of a ſyſtem of compulſory maintenance, which is commonly imagined to have originated in conſequence of the Reformation. I ſhall, however, endeavour to ſhew, that the 43d of Elizabeth, however highly praiſed for it's originality, is nothing more than a developement of an ancient ſyſtem, and a more perfect organization of legal regulations, that, from the lapſe of time, had become either impolitic or impracticable.

The ſtatute of Richard the Second, for making a proviſion for the Poor from the appropriations of benefices, was confirmed in the 4th year of Henry the Fourth; and, in the ſame ſeſſions, an act was paſſed, prohibiting labourers of every deſcription from being hired to work by the week, and forbidding them to receive any wages on feaſt-days, or more than half a day's wages when they only worked on the eve of a feſtival till noon [r]. It had, probably, before the paſſing of the Statutes of Labourers, been uſual, in ſome places, for labourers to hire themſelves by the week; and they, no doubt, availed themſelves of local cuſtoms, in order to evade the ſtatutes that regulated their pay. In hiring themſelves by the week, and receiving wages at the rate of ſeven days' work, although, from the intervention of the Sabbath, and the frequency of feſtivals in Catholic times, they only worked four or five days in the week, they effectually fruſtrated the proviſions of former ſtatutes; and, it is probable, that the preſent ſtatute was enacted in order to compel their adherence to the law, either by hiring themſelves for a long term, or a whole year, half a year, or a quarter, or by the day, for which the wages had been ſpecifically appointed by the Legiſlature.

From the complaints of the Commons, in 1406, we learn, that the inhabitants of the upland country, who had no property in land, (that is to ſay, agricultural labourers, in order to evade the ſtatutes paſſed a few years before, for obliging thoſe who had been brought up to the plough till they were twelve years of age, to continue in huſbandry all their lives,) had now recourſe to the expedient of ſending their children into cities and boroughs, and binding them apprentices when they were under that age. It was therefore enacted, That

[r] 4 H. 4. c. 14.

no man, nor woman[1], whoſoever, unleſs poſſeſſed of land, or a rental of twenty ſhillings a year, ſhould bind a child, of any age, apprentice to any trade or myſtery within a city, but that children ſhould be brought up in the occupation of their parents, or other buſineſs ſuited to their condition; they were however allowed to be ſent to a ſchool, in any part of the kingdom[2]. This ſlight attention of the Legiſlature, to education, affords ſome proof that the kingdom was becoming more civilized.

From the acceſſion of Henry the Fifth, in 1413, to the death of Richard the Third, I cannot ſuppoſe that the country advanced much either in wealth or population. The wars of the former monarch, however glorious to his arms, placed only "a fruitleſs crown" upon his head; and the lilies of France were purchaſed too dearly with the harveſts of England. Hiſtorians inform us, that, before the end of the war, both parties were ſo much reduced in numbers, that neither the French, nor the Engliſh, could muſter above 10,000 men in the field. We have a convincing proof of the devaſtation made by the ſword among the gentry, in the language of a ſtatute paſſed in 1421: it ſtates, "That, at the making of the Act of the 14th of Edward the Third, (1340,) there were ſufficient of proper men in each county to execute every office; but that, owing to peſtilence and wars, there are not now a ſufficiency of reſponſible perſons to act as ſheriffs, coroners, and eſcheators.

However, about the middle of Henry the Sixth's reign, the country ſeems to have been tolerably thriving; and we may infer, that agriculture had improved, from the paſſing of an Act, in 1436, which allowed corn to be exported, when the price of wheat did not exceed 6s. 8d. the quarter, and that of barley, 3s. Although the Legiſlature was not

[1] Mr. Daines Barrington obſerves, that the firſt inſtance in the Statute Book, of an apprehenſion that a *woman* was not included under the word *man*, occurs in the ſtatute 11 E. 3. ſt. 3. c. 4. in which it is directed, that neither man, nor woman, who cannot afford to ſpend 1 col. a year, ſhall wear furs. Obſ. on Anc. Stat. 4th ed. 243. An earlier inſtance, however, in a *deed*, occurs in Sir John Cullum's Hiſtory of Hawſted, (p. 177.) of a warranty, in 1270, contra omnes *homines et feminas*. One, in 1198, is ſtill more curiouſly expreſſed; contra omnes *homines mares et feminas*. Kennett, Par. Ant. 158. For ſeveral ſubſequent inſtances, ſee the ſame book, 175, 176, 185, &c. and Reg. Hon. de Rich. 96. [2] Rot. Parl. v. 601.

yet

yet ſufficiently enlightened to comprehend, that it was the intereſt of the nation to allow a labourer to make the utmoſt of his induſtry; yet they ſeem, with reſpect to farmers, to have at length diſcovered that high money prices were a national benefit. The act for allowing corn to be exported, ſtates, that, by former laws, no perſon could carry grain out of the kingdom, without the King's licence; by which farmers, and others engaged in huſbandry, were obliged to ſell their corn at low prices, to the great detriment of the whole kingdom[1].

By the 6th and 8th of Henry the Sixth, Juſtices of the Peace were empowered to appoint the wages of artificers and workmen by proclamation; and, in 1444, the wages of agricultural labourers were ſpecifically limited by Act of Parliament[2], in the following manner.

The Wages, by the Year, were:

	£.	s.	d.		s.	d.	
A bailiff in huſbandry was permitted to receive	1	3	4	and cloaths of the value of	5	0	with meat and drink.
A chief hind, carter, and chief ſhepherd	1	0	0	ditto	4	0	ditto.
A common ſervant in huſbandry	0	15	0	ditto	3	4	ditto.
A woman ſervant	0	10	0	ditto	4	0	ditto.
A child under 14 years of age	0	6	0	ditto	3	0	ditto.

The Wages, by the Day, were:

	s.	d.			s.	d.
A mower, with meat and drink	0	4	—	without	0	6
A reaper, carter, with meat and drink	0	3	—	without	0	5
A woman, and other labourer, with meat and drink	0	2½	—	without	0	4

A ſervant in huſbandry, intending to quit his maſter, was bound to give him half a year's warning, or elſe to ſerve him the following year.

The Daily Wages, appointed to be taken by Artificers, were:

	Between Eaſter and Michaelmas.	Between Michaelmas and Eaſter.
A Free-maſon, A Maſter Carpenter	with diet, 4d.—without, 5½d.	——with diet, 3d.—without, 4½d.
A Tiler, A Slater, A rough Maſon, A common Carpenter	with diet, 3d.—without, 4½d.	——with diet, 2½d.—without, 4d.
Common workmen	with diet, 2d.—without, 3½d.	——with diet, 1½d.—without, 3d.

From comparing the above wages with thoſe allowed by the Legiſlature, in 1388[3], it would appear, that the money price of labour had

[1] 15 H. 6. c. 2. [2] 23 H. 6. c. 12. [3] See p. 44.

conſiderably increaſed within the ſhort ſpace of 40 years: this may be principally aſcribed to the great encouragement offered by manufactures and commerce, and the conſequent emancipation of villeins. At the acceſſion of Henry the Fourth, I ſhould conceive, that there was but a very ſmall proportion of them remaining in the kingdom. The great drain of men occaſioned by Henry the Fifth's wars, and the ſubſequent bloody conteſt between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, eventually contributed to render the whole nation free: the various armies raiſed, in different parts of the kingdom, by the nobility, who were attached to either of the contending parties, it is probable, conſiſted of every deſcription of perſons which they could collect on their eſtates. In the heat of civil wars, carried on with the utmoſt acrimony on both ſides, we may be aſſured, that every one who could bear arms was conſidered as a welcome reinforcement to the party he eſpouſed; and although, from the frequent and very ſanguinary battles which were fought during the conteſt, we might ſuppoſe that the people were the chief ſufferers; yet it may be remarked, that the object of contention between the rival families was the acquiſition of regal power, and not the deſtruction of the nation. We are informed, that, at the battle of Northampton, the ſlaughter fell chiefly on the gentry and nobility, and that the common ſoldiers were ſpared by order of the Earls of Warwick and Marche[1]. By the progreſs of arts in England, the people were now become of ſome conſequence[2]; and both Yorkiſts and Lancaſtrians endeavoured, by every popular contrivance, to ſwell the number of their adherents. It is commonly ſuppoſed, and generally remarked, by hiſtorians and writers on ethics, that, of all wars, civil conflicts are the leaſt defenſible, as being the moſt ruinous to the wealth and population of a country. In no point of view is it meant here to palliate the evils either of domeſtic or foreign wars; but, viewing them in their calamitous effects only, I much doubt whether the ravages occaſioned by civil conteſt are not the ſooneſt repaired. In a war between two nations, the object of hoſtilities is, generally, on both parts, by violence and force, to reduce the enemy to ſubmiſſion. The peaceful labours of that claſs, from which the reſources of a nation are principally derived, are ſeldom much reſpected by an

[1] Stow, 409. [2] Hume, Hiſt. of Engl. ii. 371.

invader; whereas, in a civil conteſt, the deſtruction of a party is uſually the only object in view: opinion, too, muſt neceſſarily be much courted in a country which is unhappily plunged in domeſtic warfare. The contending parties are anxious to conciliate the affections of the people, on which the iſſue of the conteſt muſt ultimately much depend; and, however mercileſs they may be to each other, they have ſeldom any intereſt to lay waſte their common country. Accordingly, it does not appear from hiſtory, that civil wars, however much to be deplored in other reſpects, have always greatly impeded the progreſs of nations to proſperity. The fury of Marius and Sylla, and the bloody conteſt of the Triumvirs, it might have been ſuppoſed, would have retarded the advancement of the Roman ſtate; yet it appears, that, whilſt the blood of her citizens was profligately laviſhed by ambition, ſhe was making a rapid progreſs in all the arts and refinements of civilized life. So neither did the violence of the League and the Huguenots in France, nor the fatal diviſions between King Charles and his Parliament in this country, however deſtructive to the individuals concerned in them, deſtroy the ſpirit of national improvement. The truth is, that wars are chiefly deſtructive in proportion as they deſtroy the means and ſources of ſubſiſtence: could we, poſſibly, ſuppoſe that a civil conteſt would be limited to the ſlaughter of human beings, the nation, (if her other reſources continued unexhauſted,) would, no doubt, in a few years, regain her loſt population. The multiplication of every ſpecies of animals, and of every other commodity, is regulated on the ſame principle; and will be either retrograde, ſtationary, or progreſſive, as the demand for labour, (which is created by the capital ſtock of a country,) diminiſhes or increaſes[1]. If, therefore, any circumſtance takes place, which, without affecting the wealth, ſhould reduce the population, of a country, the market would be ſo much underſtocked with labour; and, the demand of labour continuing the ſame, all the encouragements to promote marriage, and the multiplication of labourers, would operate in full force, and gradually repair the ravages of any depopulating cauſe. This, I ſuppoſe, was particularly the caſe after the peſtilence in 1349. From the complaints of Parliament ſoon after that period, we may infer, that labourers availed themſelves of

[1] Wealth of Nations, i. 121.

the ſcarcity of hands, which the peſtilence (without diminiſhing the demand for them,) had occaſioned.

During the reign of Edward the Fourth, very little notice was taken by the Legiſlature of the labouring claſſes of the community: except by the ſtatutes for regulating apparel [1]. Some of their proviſions are worth tranſcribing, as they exhibit a curious picture of the manners and dreſs of the times. Yeomen, and others under that degree, were forbidden to wear, in the array of their body, any bolſters, or ſtuff of wool, cotton, or cadas [2], or other ſtuff in their doublets, except lining.

No perſon, under the degree of a gentleman, was allowed to wear pikes to his ſhoes, or boots exceeding in length 11 inches.

Another no leſs ſingular clauſe, conferred on perſons of rank, was the excluſive privilege of wearing their cloaths moſt indecently curtailed.

Servants in huſbandry, common labourers, and artificers, were forbidden to wear any cloth, whereof the broad yard exceeded the price of 2s. Their wives were limited to ſimilar reſtrictions; they were not allowed to wear any kerchiefs, whereof the plight [3] exceeded 12d.: no labourers were permitted to wear any cloſe hoſen [4], or any hoſen whereof the price exceeded 14d. [5] Girdles uſed by men or women

[1] 3 E. 4. c. 5. Rot. Parl. v. 505. 22 E. 4. c. 1. Rot. Parl. vi. 220. [2] This word occurs in that curious French account of the ſiege of Kaerlaverock, Antiq. Repert. ii. 227.

" Meinte riche gamboiſon guarni
" De ſoie et *cadas* et coton," &c.

Cadas is tranſlated *towe*; and a note informs us, that "cadas, or cadarce, is the towe, or coarſeſt part of the ſilk, perhaps uſed with the cotton for ſtuffing." The cadas, mentioned in the ſtatute, it is probable, was a kind of ſtuffing very ſimilar to what went under the name of *wadding*, and was uſed (not above 20 years ago) between the lining and cloth, to make a coat fit well. It is probable that it was woollen; perhaps a coarſe flannel. In the Book of Rates (12 Car. 2. c. 4.) a duty of £3. is impoſed on every dozen pieces of *caddas*, or *cruel ribband*, exported. One of the coarſe woollen manufactures of Kendal ſtill goes by the name of *Caddis*. In Scotland, *caddas* ſignifies the coarſeſt thickened ſort of plaid. Thoſe who ſpeak the Gaelic language call it *cath-da* (pronounced *cadda*, the *th* being quieſcent,) i. e. *ſoldiers' cloth*. The cotton ſcraped from linen rags to be put into wounds is likewiſe called *caddas*.

[3] A plight was a yard and a quarter in length: every piece of Flemiſh lawn contained 16 plights. See Cuſtoms of London, by R. Arnold, printed about 1521, O. iii. [4] Hoſen, or what we now call pantaloons, were worn by the nobility in Ireland, as late as Queen Elizabeth's reign. Moryſon's Itinerary, iii. part, 180. They were made of cloth, and uſually red. [5] 14d. in the Statute of 1463; 18d. in the Statute of 1482

were not allowed to be "harneſyd with ſilver[1]." From a ſubſequent part of the ſtatute it appears, that ſome of the articles of common uſe were ſtill of foreign manufacture.

"Foraſmuch as the kerchiefs daily brought into this reame enducen grete charge and coſt in the ſame, and in effect in waſte," it was ordained, "that noo perſon ſhould ſelle, in any parte of the reame, eny lawne, nyfels[2], umple[3], or eny other manere of kerchiefs, whereof the price of a plight ſhould excede 10s.; uppon the peyn of forfeiting to the king, for every plight ſold at hyer price, 13s. 4d." [4]

From theſe particulars we may infer, that labourers were now able to clothe themſelves better than they could in former reigns. Exactly a century before, (in 1363,) they were only allowed to wear cloth of 12d. the yard; and in 1444, the cloathing of an agricultural ſervant was not allowed to exceed 3s. 4d.[5] The dreſs of the people, in Henry the Sixth's reign, appears to have been ſimple, and well-contrived: it conſiſted of ſhoes, hoſe made of cloth[6], a jacket and coat buttoned and faſtened round about the body by a belt or girdle, and a bonnet of

[1] Belts, principally of metal, (and very ſimilar, I ſhould ſuppoſe, to theſe ancient girdles,) are ſtill worn by the Tyroleſe peaſants. Belts were alſo, a few years ago, very generally worn by the peaſants of Cumberland. Many a ruſtic of that county can well remember having wreſtled for the belt, which was the uſual prize at rural ſports. [2] Having never elſewhere ſeen the word *nyfel*, that I can remember, I can only conjecture, from the word, that it was a napkin of ſome kind for the hand, or *neif*; the ſame article as that we now call an *hand*kerchief. This is, however, a mere random conjecture. [3] An *umple*, I conceive, was a *wimple*, or covering for the neck. Chaucer diſtinguiſhes it from the veil, which covered the head alſo.

"Wering a vaile inſtede of *wimple*
"As nonnes don in hir abbey." ROM. OF THE ROSE, 3864.

It likewiſe occurs in the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, l. 151. And in Gawin Douglas's Virgil: "With her *wympil* wypit the blude away."—p. 124. l. 20. And in Iſaiah, c. iii. v. 22. among various articles of female apparel. The wimple may, perhaps, have been a thick cloth cloak. Chaucer, of his wife of Bath, ſays:

"Upon an ambler eſily ſhe ſat
"*Ywimpled* wel, and on hir hede an *hat*,
"As brode as is a bokeler, or a targe." PROLOGUE, 471.

Wimble, in Skelton's Elinor Rummin, (Sextus paſſus,) probably is the ſame with *wimple*. [4] Rot. Parl. v. 505. 4 E. 4. c. 5. [5] See p. 38 & 65. [6] Dr. Henry (Hiſt. of G. B. b. 5. c. 7.) adds breeches: hoſe, however, I conceive, included both breeches and ſtockings.

cloth..

cloth[1]. It is probable that hats were not much uſed until a century afterwards; although mention is made of them in a ſtatute of Richard the Third, by which the price of a hat is limited at 20d.[2]

From the picture given by Forteſcue, of the miſerable condition of the people in France about this period, we may collect, that the Engliſh were comparatively well provided with the eſſential neceſſaries of food and dreſs. Whatever the diet and cloathing of the labouring claſſes of of the community may have been in his days, it is fair to preſume, from his deſcription of the poverty of France, (which he aſcribes to the defects of their government,) that no ſuch extremes of wretchedneſs were known in this kingdom. Of the French, he ſays: "Thay drynke "water, thay eate apples, with bred right brown made of rye. "They eate no fleſche, but if it be ſelden[3], a litill larde, or of the "entrails, or heds of beſts ſclayne for the nobles and merchaunts of the "lond. They weryn no wollyn, but if it be a pore cote under their ut-"termoſt garment, made of grete canvas, and cal it a frok. Their "hoſyn be of like canvas, and paſſen not their knee[4]; wherfor they "be

[1] Before the reign of Queen Mary, the common covering for the head ſeems to have been a cap, very ſimilar to the Highland bonnet. [2] It is not improbable that hats, like many other improvements in dreſs, were introduced from France. Mr. Peck ſuppoſes, from a paſſage in Lord Burghley's Diary, that they were at firſt more worn by children, than men; and ſays, "they are the firſt hatts he had read of." Deſid. Curioſ. 574. "27th May 1555 bought at Callice three hats for the children at xxd. each." Deſid. Curioſ. 1. 8. He is, however, miſtaken in ſuppoſing hats to have been introduced about this period. They were known two centuries before. See Statutes 1 R. 2. c. 7.—4 H. 7. c. 9. (by which the price of a hat was fixed at 20d.) 3 H. 8. c. 15. (when the price of caps, of the beſt Leominſter wool, was fixed at 3s. 4d. and of the worſt at 12d.) and by 21 H. 8. c. 9. From the paſſage above quoted from the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, it ſeems, that, even in Chaucer's time, the broad-brimmed hat was in uſe. [3] *But if*, is frequently uſed by our old writers, for *except*, or *unleſs*. See the Viſion of Peirce Plowman, paſſim. [4] The Editor of Forteſcue is miſtaken, in ſuppoſing that *hoſyn* and *ſtockings* are ſynonymous. Peck, (Deſid. Curioſ. 572,) ſays, that Queen Elizabeth was the firſt perſon in England that wore *ſtockings*. Before her time, both men and women wore cloth trowſers, or pantaloons. A ludicrous ſtory is mentioned by Stow, of William Rufus having quarrelled with his chamberlain about a pair of hoſe, that coſt 3s. His majeſty did not think them "mete hoſe for a king;" and would not be ſatisfied till his chamberlain purchaſed him another pair; which, although far inferior to the others, pleaſed him mightily, when he was told that they coſt a mark. Stow, 128. This incident probably gave riſe to the mention

" be gartrid, and their thyghs bare. Their wyfs and children gone bare-
" fote; they may in non otherwyſe lyve; for ſume of them, that was
" wonte to pay to his lord for his tenement, which he hyrith by the
" yere, a ſcute[1], payyth now to the kyng, over that ſcute fyve
" ſkuts. Wher thrugh they be artyd [2] by neceſſite ſo to watch, la-
" bour, and grub in the ground, for their ſuſtenaunce, that their nature
" is much waſtid, and the kynd of them brought to nowght. Thay
" gone crokyd and ar feble, not able to fyght, nor to defend the
" realme; nor thay have wepon, nor monye to buy them wepon withal;
" but verely thay lyvyn in the moſt extreme povertie and myſerye, and
" yet thay dwellyn in one the moſt fertile realme of the world[3]."

mention of King Stephen, as to a matter of the ſame ſort, in the ballad, "Take thy auld cloke about thee!" See Percy's Reliques, 4th edit. i. 204. In a MSS. account of the houſhold expences of the L'Eſtrange family, who reſided in Norfolk, the price of a pair of ſilk ſtockings, in 1591, is charged £ 1. 18s. We have the following curious notices reſpecting ſtockings, in the Preface to Queen Elizabeth's Progreſſes. "From the houſhold book of Sir "Thomas L'Eſtrange, of Hunſtanton, in Norfolk, kept by his wife Ann, daughter of Lord "Vaux, it appears, that, in 1533, (25th Henry VIII.) 8s. were paid for a pair of knit hoſe "for him, and 1s. for two pair of ditto for his children; ſo that knit hoſe were not ſo great "a rarity as Stow ſuppoſed, when he ſtated in his Annals, 1564, (p. 368,) that, that year, "William Rider, apprentice to maſter Thomas Burdet, at the Bridgefoot, over againſt St. "Magnus, chancing to ſee a pair of knit worſted ſtockings in the lodgings of an Italian mer-"chant, that came from Mantua, borrowed them, and cauſed others to be made by them, "which were the firſt *worſted* ſtockings made in England, unleſs we ſuppoſe thoſe of the "L'Eſtrange family were of *thread*. In Harriſon's time, *knit hoſen* were ſo common, that the "countrywomen dyed them black with alder bark, (Deſcrip. of Brit. p. 13); and, in the "Norwich Pageant, 1570, were introduced eight children knitting yarn hoſe. Knit wool-"len hoſe are mentioned in an account of 6th Edward VI. (the year 1552). See Gent. "Mag. 1778, pp. 314, 350; 1782, pp. 76, 168, 229, 434, 471; 1783, pp. 38, 127, 139. "Stow, in his Annals, (p. 869,) ſays, the Earl of Pembroke was the firſt who wore "*worſted* ſtockings: but he does not ſay, as Mr. Granger repreſents his words, that they "were preſented him by William Rider. It is only a marginal note to the ſtory of Rider." See Preface to Queen Elizabeth's Progreſſes, xxix. [1] A *ſcute* was a French gold coin, and the ſame with an *eſcu*, or *ecu d'or*, which was denominated from the Legend, "Dieu eſt mon *eſcu*;" God is my ſhield. It was worth 3s. 4d. in Forteſcue's time. Forteſc. on a. and l. m. 19. [2] *Arcted*, compelled, or reſtrained, from the old French verb *coarcter*. [3] Forteſcue on Abſ. and Limited Monarchy, 17. His concluding obſervation will, I hope, long continue to be true: "But, bleſſid be God! this "lond ys rulid under a better lawe, and therfor the people therof be not in ſuch penurye, "nor therby hurt in their perſons, but thay be wealthye, and have al thyngs neceſſarye to "the ſuſtenaunce of nature. Wherfor thay be myghty, and able to reſyſte the adverſariis "of the realme, and to bett other realmes, that do or will do them wrong." p. 24.

Some

Some good laws were enacted during the reign of King Richard the Third, for the ſecurity of the perſon and property of the ſubject[1]. The true principles of commerce ſeem, however, as yet, to have been little underſtood, and the principal branches of manufacture were ſtill carried on by foreigners. The preamble of a ſtatute, paſſed in 1483[2], complains, that "artificers, and other ſtrangers, not born under the "king's obeyſance, do daily reſort to the city of London, and to other "cities, boroughs, and towns, of the ſaid realm, and much more than "they were wont to do in times paſt; and inhabit, by themſelves, in "the ſaid realm, with their wives, children, and houſhold; and will not "take upon them any laborious occupation, as going to the plough, "and cart, and other like buſineſs; but uſe the making of cloth, and "other handicraft, and eaſy occupations; and bring and convey, from "the parts beyond the ſea, great ſubſtance of wares and merchandizes, "to fairs, and markets, and all other places of this realm, at their "pleaſure, and there ſell the ſame, as well by retail as otherwiſe, as "freely as any of the king's ſubjects, and will in no wiſe ſuffer nor "take any of the king's ſaid ſubjects to work with them; but they take "only into their ſervice people born in their own countries, whereby "the king's ſaid ſubjects, for lack of occupation, fall into idlenes, and "be thieves, beggars, vagabonds, and people of vicious living; to the "great perturbance, both of the king, and of all his realm." Aliens are, therefore, forbidden "to make cloth[3], or to purſue any handicraft "occupation[4], except as ſervant to ſuch of the king's ſubjects as be "expert and cunning, in ſuch feats, arts, and crafts, which the ſaid

[1] 1 R. 3. c. 2. 3. [2] 1 R. 3. c. 9. [3] § 10. [4] The importance, however, of the newly-diſcovered art of printing, was fully recognized by the Legiſlature, who exempted from the penalties of the act, any artificer, or merchant, ſtranger, of what nation or country he ſhould be, for bringing into the realm, or ſelling by retail or otherwiſe, any books written or printed, from inhabiting within this ſaid realm for the ſame intent, or any ſcrivener, alluminor, reader, or printer of books. This proviſion, it is probable, was added for the ſecurity of foreign printers then in London. Machlinia and Lettou, contemporary printers with Caxton, were both foreigners. However, notwithſtanding the favour ſhewn by the Legiſlature to this civilizing art, books continued, many years after, to be very ſcarce in England. In 1514, the price of "Fitzherbert's Abridgment" was 40s.: Ames, 1ſt edit. p. 120. Mr. Daines Barrington conceives, that the readers, mentioned in the ſtatute, were book-ſellers, who received money from an audience, who were either incapable themſelves of reading, or could not afford to purchaſe books. Obſerv. on Ancient Statutes, p. 432.

"ſtrangers

"ſtrangers can occupy[1]." They are likewiſe enjoined to take only Engliſh apprentices, or ſervants, in future[2].

The Legiſlature, in 1488, ſeems to have been apprehenſive of bad conſequences ariſing, to the induſtrious Poor, from the conſolidation of ſmall farms. An Act was therefore paſſed to prohibit "pulling down farm-houſes, to which at leaſt 20 acres of land, lying in tillage or huſbandrie," were annexed; and farms that contained 20 acres, or more, of arable land, were directed to be kept in tillage for the future[3]. The language of the ſtatute is a clear proof, that the buſineſs of agriculture began now to be carried on by perſons of capital[4]. It may, however, be doubted, notwithſtanding the high commendations beſtowed by Lord Bacon on this law, whether it was ever carried into effect. For a century and a half after this period, depopulation continued to be the theme of the Legiſlature; and incloſures, and large farms, were prohibited, under ſevere penalties[5]. From the frequency of theſe laws, Mr. Hume very juſtly infers, that none of them were executed[6].

The acceſſion of Henry the Seventh to the throne may however be conſidered as the commencement of an era of internal tranquillity and induſtry. By his marriage with Elizabeth, the heireſs of the houſe of York, all apprehenſions of a renewal of the calamities of civil war were happily extinguiſhed. The race of villeins was now almoſt extinct; and the people, from this period, ſeem to have gradually advanced towards wealth and civilization. Their progreſs would, probably, have

[1] § 9. [2] § 11. [3] 4 H. 7. c. 19. [4] The preamble of the Act is an inſtance of that gloomy ſpirit, which has, in all ages, more or leſs, infected the hypocondriac inhabitants of this iſland, and repreſented the kingdom as declining, and depopulated. "The King remembreth that great inconveniences daily do increaſe, by deſolation, and "pulling downe, and wilfull waſte of houſes and townes, within this realme, and laying to "paſture, lands which cuſtomably have beene uſed in tillage, whereby idleneſſe, which is the "ground and beginning of all miſchiefes, daily doth encreaſe. For where in ſome townes "two hundred perſons were occupied, and lived by their lawfull labours, now there are oc-"cupied two or three heardſmen, and the reſidue fall into idleneſſe; the huſbandrie, which is "one of the greateſt commodities of this realme, is greatly decayed; churches deſtroyed; "the ſervice of God withdrawen; the bodies there buried not prayed for; the patrons and "curates wronged; the defence of this land, againſt our enemies outward, feebled and im-"paired, &c." [5] 4 H. 7. c. 16. 6 H. 8. c. 5. 7 H. 8. c. 1. [6] Hiſt. of England, iii. 65.

been more rapid, had the attention, which the Legiſlature ſhewed to commerce and manufactures, been equally beſtowed on agriculture. While, however, in the former, the earnings of induſtry were judiciouſly left to the fair operation of demand and competition; in the latter, the unenlightened policy of regulating wages was ſtill purſued, and agricultural labourers, and houſe artificers, were denied the invaluable privilege of carrying their labour to the beſt market. The ſtatute for regulating the wages of labourers, paſſed in the eleventh year of Henry the Seventh[1], ſtrongly marks the impolicy of the times, and muſt have operated more fatally, towards the diſcouragement of huſbandry, than the practice of encloſing, ſo much complained of by the Legiſlature. It is probable, that the difficulty of obtaining labourers, (who were enticed away into the towns by the ſuperior wages offered them by manufacturers,) was a principal cauſe of the converting arable land into paſture.

From comparing the wages appointed by this ſtatute to be given to ſervants in huſbandry, with thoſe before recited, under the year 1444, it will appear, that, notwithſtanding the increaſe of the price of the neceſſaries of life, and the increaſe of the demand for labour, which ſeems to have taken place between that year and 1496, (11th Hen. VII.) very little alteration had taken place in the price of labour. The preamble of the Act recites, what might naturally have been expected, that the former ſtatutes had not been executed, becauſe "the remedy by the ſaid ſtatutes is not very perfect;" and, to correct all the evils complained of, it is enacted, that the following wages ſhall be given:

	£.	s.	d.		s.	d.	
To a bailiff of huſbandry, by the year, not more than	9	16	8[2]	and for his cloathing,	5	0	and meat and drink.
A chief hind, or chief ſhepherd	1	0	0	ditto	5	0	Ditto.
A common ſervant of huſbandry	0	16	8	ditto	4	0	Ditto.
A woman ſervant	0	10	0	ditto	4	0	Ditto.
A child under 14 years of age	0	6	8	ditto	4	0	Ditto.

[1] c. 22. [2] This is ſo ſet down in Raſtell; but, I imagine, it is a miſtake, and ſhould be £ 1. 6s. 8d. See 23 H. 6. c. 12.

The daily wages appointed for Artificers are:

	Between Eaſter and Michaelmas.	Between Michaelmas and Eaſter.
A Free-maſon, Maſter Carpenter, Rough Maſon, Bricklayer, Maſter Tiler, Plumber, Glazier, Carver, Joiner,	with diet, 4d. — without, 6d.	with diet, 3d. — without, 5d.
Other labourers, (except in harveſt,)	with diet, 2d. — without, 4d.	with diet, 1½d. — without, 3d.
Maſter carpenters and maſons, having under them ſix men,	were allowed, with diet, - -	5d. a day. ——— without, 7d.
In harveſt, every mower by the day,	with diet, 4d.	without, 6d.
A reaper, ditto - - -	3d.	without, 5d.
A carter, ditto - - -	3d.	without, 5d.
A woman, and other labourers, ditto -	2½d.	without, 4½d.

The daily wages of ſhipwrights are particularly ſet down; and labourers and artificers, working by the half-day, are forbidden to receive wages for the whole day: if, when out of ſervice, they refuſe to ſerve at the above wages, they are to be impriſoned till they find ſurety to ſerve according to the ſtatute. The penalty for taking more, was 20s.; and for giving more, 40s. The latter part of the ſtatute regulates the hours of work, and of meals: "And, furthermore, where divers artificers and labourers, retained to worke and ſerve, waſt much part "of the day, and deſerve not their wages, ſometime in late comming "unto their worke, early departing therefrom, long ſitting at their breakfaſt, at their dinner, and noone-meat, and long time of ſleeping at "afternoone, to the loſſe and hurt of ſuch perſons as the ſaid artificers "and labourers be retained with in ſervice: it is, therefore, eſtabliſhed, "enacted, and ordained, by authority aforeſaid, That every artificer and "labourer be at his worke, between the midſt of the moneth of March "and the midſt of the month of September, before five of the clocke in the morning, and that he hath but half an houre for his breakefaſt, "and an houre and a halfe for his dinner, of ſuch time as hee hath "ſeaſon for ſleeping to him appointed by this ſaid ſtatute, and at ſuch "time as is here appointed that he ſhall not ſleepe, then hee to have "but one houre for his dinner, and halfe an houre for his noone-meate,

"and that hee depart not from his worke, betweene the midſt of the "ſaid moneths of March and September, till betweene ſeven and eight "of the clocke in the evening; and if they, or any of them, offend in "any of theſe articles, that then their defaults be marked by him, or "his deputy, that ſhall pay their wages, and at the weeke's end their "wages bee abated for ſuch rate of time as they have offended contrary "to this ſtatute. And that, from the midſt of September to the midſt of "March, every artificer and labourer be at their work in the ſpringing "of the day, and depart not till night of the ſame day; and the ſaid "artificers and labourers ſleepe not by day, but only from the midſt of "the moneth of May unto the middle of the moneth of Auguſt[1]."

The high price of corn in the following year, 1497[2], was probably the principal cauſe of this Act being repealed[3].

It is obſervable, that bricklayers are mentioned among the artificers: they do not occur in the ſtatute of 1444. Bricks, however, were very generally known in England, in Henry the Sixth's reign: we are aſſured that many caſtles were then built of brick. The above notice of bricklayers, in a Statute of Labourers, ſhews that it was then a very common occupation; and I make no doubt there were then many brick-houſes in the kingdom[4]. It ſeems a miſtake to ſuppoſe that bricks were little uſed in England till Henry the Eighth's reign. They are mentioned in the "Annals of Dunſtaple," under the year 1258[5].

Tilers are noticed in the Statute of 1350[6]; and tiles were uſed in Suffolk, as early as 1358[7]. Another occupation is likewiſe mentioned in

[1] 11 H. 7. c. 22. Raſtell's Statutes, 1. 370. [2] See the Table of Prices, in the Appendix, No. I. p. xliii. [3] 12 H. 7. c. 3. [4] Dugd. Warw. 509. Leland remarks, that Michael De la Pole, (who lived about the time of Richard the Second,) "builded a goodly "houſe of brik again the weſt end of S. Marie's chirch, (in Kingſton-upon-Hull,) like a pa-"lace, with goodly orchard and gardein at large, encloſed with brik; and three houſes in the "town beſides, whereof every one had a tower of brik." Itinerary, i. f. 55. [5] The mode of building common houſes in Henry the Eighth's reign, was, to erect wooden frames, whoſe interſtices were either filled with clay or brick. In conſequence of it's becoming a common practice to deſtroy ſuch frames, in 1545, it was made felony to cut or deſtroy frames prepared for the making of houſes, 37 H. 8. c. 6. §. 2. Ann. Dunſt. 91. [6] 25 E. 3. c. 3. [7] Cullum's Hawſted, 94. The tax upon bricks and tiles, impoſed in 1784, has been very juſtly animadverted upon by the Editor of the Annals of Agriculture, ii. 314. The duty on bricks is a great obſtacle to improvement in thoſe counties where they are uſed for draining.

The

in the ſtatute; namely, that of glaziers, who, I ſhould ſuppoſe, were chiefly foreigners. A few years afterwards, when ſeveral regulations, reſpecting foreign artificers, were made by the Legiſlature, the king's ſubjects, having £100. a year, were allowed to retain joiners and glaziers in their ſervice[1]. Notwithſtanding this early notice of glaziers, I much doubt whether glaſs, although it had long been the ornament of churches, was uſed at this time in private houſes. In 1567, glaſs was ſuch a rarity, even in the caſtles of the nobility, that great precaution was taken for it's preſervation. The following curious article occurs in a ſurvey of Alnwick caſtle, made in that year: "And, becauſe, "throwe extreme winds, the glaſſe of the windowes of this and other "my lord's caſtles and houſes here in the country, dooth decay and "waſte, yt were good the whole leights of everie windowe, at the de-"parture of his lordſhippe from lyinge at any of his ſaid caſtels, and "houſes, and dowring the tyme of his lordſhip's abſence, or others "lying in them, were taken doune and lade up in ſafety: and at ſooche "tyme as ather his lordſhipe or anie other ſholde lye at anie of the "ſaid places, the ſame might then be ſet uppe of newe, with ſmale "charges to his Lp. wher (i. e. whereas) now the decaye thereof ſhall "be verie coſtlie and chargeable to be repayred[2]."

Glaſs windows, it is probable, were not introduced into farm-houſes much before the reign of James the Firſt. They are mentioned in a leaſe in 1615[3]. In Scotland, however, as late as 1661, the windows of the ordinary country-houſes were not glazed, and only the upper parts of even thoſe in the king's palaces had glaſs; the lower ones having two wooden ſhutters, to open at pleaſure, and admit the freſh air[4].

The duty on tiles likewiſe operates as a tax on huſbandry; and, not only robs the fields of their manure, but expoſes a whole village to the perils of conflagration. Theſe injurious taxes tend to reſtore mud walls, and thatched roofs, into our cottages: they are, however, it muſt be confeſſed, not without a precedent: in 1477, the ſize of tiles was regulated by ſtatute, and ſearchers were appointed, who were to be allowed, by the tile-maker, 1d. for every 1000 plain tiles, and 1d. for every 100 roof tiles. Rot. Parl. vi. 190. The Board of Agriculture would do eſſential ſervice to thoſe counties, which are in want of materials for roads, in recommending to Parliament the repeal of this tax, or, at leaſt, a modification, that ſhould exempt bricks, uſed for making roads, from taxation; this might eaſily be effected, without ſubjecting the revenue to fraud, by directing that all bricks uſed for this purpoſe ſhould be made of a form that would render them unſerviceable for building. Tiles of a particular ſhape, uſed for draining, are exempted from the tax, by the 34th Geo. 3. c. 15.

[1] 14 & 15 H. 8. c. 2. § 14. [2] North. Houſh. book, xvii. [3] Cullum's Hawſted, 209. [4] Ray's Itin. 187, 188.

From a paſſage in Harriſon's deſcription of England, I ſhould imagine that glaſs was introduced into country-houſes in England, in the reign of Henry VIII. He ſays, "Of old time," (meaning, probably, the beginning of the 16th century,) "our countrie houſes, in ſteed of glaſſe, did uſe "much lattiſe, and that made either of wicker or fine rifts of oke in "chekerwiſe. I read alſo, that ſome of the better ſort, in and before "the time of the Saxons,—did make panels of horne [1], in ſteed of glaſſe, "and fix them in woodden calmes [2]; but as horne in windows is now "(1584) quite laid downe in everie place, ſo our lattiſes are alſo growne "into leſſe uſe, bicauſe glaſs is come to be ſo plentiful, and within verie "little ſo good, cheape, if not better then the other [3]." Glaſs is at length introduced into the windows of moſt cottages in England; and in this cold and rainy climate, it may, perhaps, be conſidered, after the neceſſaries of life, a conveniency as deſirable as it is elegant. The diſcovery and various uſes of this invention, may be ſhortly ſummed up in the elegant language of the Rambler. He ſays, "By ſome fortuitous li-"queſaction was mankind taught to produce a body at once in a high "degree ſolid and tranſparent, which might admit the light of the ſun, "and exclude the violence of the wind; which might extend the ſight "of the philoſopher to new ranges of exiſtence, and charm him at one "time with the unbounded extent of the material creation, and at ano-"ther with the endleſs ſubordination of animal life; and, what is yet "of more importance, might ſupply the decays of nature, and ſuc-"cour old age with ſubſidiary ſight. Thus was the firſt artificer in "glaſs employed, though without his own knowledge or expectation. "He was facilitating, and prolonging, the enjoyment of light; en-"larging the avenues of ſcience, and conferring the higheſt and moſt "laſting pleaſures; he was enabling the ſtudent to contemplate nature, "and the beauty to behold herſelf [4]."

[1] Horn was, anciently, uſed for many purpoſes, to which glaſs is now applied. The moſt ſingular inſtance of it's utility is to be met with in a watch, near 400 years old, (now in the poſſeſſion of his Majeſty,) which belonged to Robert Bruce, who was King of Scotland, from 1306 to 1329. It has a convex, tranſparent horn, inſtead of a glaſs. Archæologia, v. 519. [2] *Clames*, *Calmes*, or *Caums*, is the Scotch word for any kind of mould wherein metal is caſt; and, here, probably ſignifies the *Frame* or *Caſement* of the window. [3] Deſc. of Eng. 187. Harriſon adds; "heretofore, all the houſes of our princes and noblemen were often glazed with beril, a ſample whereof is yet to be ſeen in Sudely caſtle; and in divers other places, with fine criſtal." [4] Johnſon's Rambler, No. 9.

In

In the ſame year [1], in which the wages of labourers and artificers were regulated, vagabonds and beggars were again noticed by the Legiſlature, and the harſh proviſions of former ſtatutes ſomewhat modified by an Act which declared, "That the king's grace moſt entirely "deſireth, among all earthly things, the proſperitie and reſtfulnes of this "his land, and his ſubjects of the ſame, to live quietly and ſurely to "the pleaſure of God, and according to his lawes, willing alwaies of "his pitty, intending to reduce them thereto by ſofter means than by "ſuch extreme rigour therefore purveied in a ſtatute made in the "time of King Richard the Second; conſidering alſo the great charges "that ſhould grow to his ſubjects for bringing of vagabonds to the "gaoles, and the long abiding of them therein, whereby, by likelihood, "many of them ſhould loſe their lives." In moderating of the ſaid ſtatute, it was therefore enacted, That, inſtead of being, by examination, committed to the common gaol, "there to remain, as is "aforeſaid," (that is, till they ſhould find ſurety to enter into ſervice;) vagabonds, idle and ſuſpected perſons, ſhould be ſet in the ſtocks three days and three nights, and have no ſuſtenance but bread and water, and afterwards ſet at large, and obliged to leave the town. For a ſecond offence in the ſame townſhip, they were to remain in the ſtocks ſix days and nights, and to be fed on bread and water: and any perſons giving them other meat or drink, while they remained there, were ſubject to a penalty of 12d. It was alſo enacted, That every beggar, not able to work, ſhould go, reſt, and abide, in the hundred where he was beſt known, or born, on pain of like puniſhment. Scholars were liable to the penalties of the Act, unleſs they could produce letters-teſtimonial from the chancellor of their reſpective univerſities. Sailors, ſoldiers, and travellers, were ordered to bring letters from their captain, or from the town where they landed, and were directed to travel homewards by the ſtraighteſt road. Penalties were impoſed on officers not carrying the Act into execution; but a mitigation of puniſhment was allowed, in favour of offenders, if they were women with child, or perſons in extreame ſickneſs. Artificers and labourers were forbidden to play at unlawful games, except during Chriſtmas; and two juſtices were empowered to reſtrain the common ſelling of ale in towns and

[1] 1496.

places

places where they ſhould think it convenient, and to take ſurety of the keepers of ale-houſes for their good behaviour, as they might be adviſed at the time of the ſeſſions [1].

By the 19th Hen. VII. c. 12. it was enacted, That vagabonds, inſtead of being ſet in the ſtocks three days and three nights, as directed by the laſt-mentioned act, ſhould be ſet there for one day and one night; and ſhould then depart to the city, town, place, or hundred where they were born, or elſe to the place where they laſt dwelled or reſided for the ſpace of three years.

In the firſt year of Henry the Eighth, an act was paſſed for the regulation of apparel; by which (amongſt other things) it was enacted, That no ſerving man, under the degree of a gentleman, ſhould uſe or wear any gowne or coat, or ſuch like apparel, of more cloth than two broad yards and a half in a ſhort gown, and three broad yards in a long gown; and that in the ſaid gown or coat they ſhould wear no manner of fur, on pain of forfeiture of the ſaid apparel, or the value thereof. And that no ſerving man waiting upon his maſter, under the degree of a gentleman, uſe or wear any garded hoſe [2], or any cloth above the

[1] 11 H. 7. c. 2. Raſtell's Statutes, i. 357.

[2] *Garded* hoſe are probably hoſe adorned with lace or fringe:

"You are in good caſe ſince you came to court, fool; what! *guarded, guarded?*
"Yes, faith! even as footmen and bawds wear velvet."

The Malcontent, Dodſley's Coll. of Old Plays, iv. 36.

The note to this paſſage informs us, that Barret, in his Alvearie, explains a garment *garded*, to be the ſame as one *hemmed*, *plaited*, or *fringed*. So, in the Dedication to *Euphues and his England*, 1582: "If a tailour make your gowne too little, you cover his fault with a broade ſtomacher; if too greate, with a number of plightes; if too ſhort, with a fayre *garde*, &c." So in *Albumazar*, A. 3. S. 5. "two *guarded* footmen;" and in the *Merchant of Venice*, A. 2. S. 2.

"Give him a livery more *guarded* than his fellows."

It appears from the Prologue to Henry the Eighth, that the fools of the theatre were dreſſed

"In a long motley coat *guarded* with yellow." l. 16.

"Rhymes are *guards* on wanton Cupid's hoſe." *Love's Labour Loſt*, A. 4. S. 3.

The borders of lace, with which hoſe, &c. were formerly garniſhed, it is probable, were ſomewhat ſtiff and raiſed; and hence, in Grey's Hudibras, a perſon ſo equipped is called *gimp-thighed*. And in *Much Ado about Nothing*, A. 1. S. 1. "The body of your diſcourſe is ſometime *guarded* with fragments; and the *guards* are but ſlightly baſted on neither." See alſo BEN JONSON's *Bartholomew Fair*.

By

the price of 20d. the yard in his hoſe, except that it be of his maſter's wearing hoſe, upon pain of forfeiture of 3s. 4d. And that no man under the degree of a knight wear any garded pinched ſhirt, or pinched partlet[1] of linen cloth, upon pain of forfeiture of the ſame ſhirt or partlet, and for uſing of the ſame, 10s. And that no ſervant of huſbandry, nor ſhepherd, common labourer, or ſervant to any artificer out of city or borough, nor huſbandman having goods of his own not above the value of 10l. uſe or wear any cloth whereof the broad yard exceeded in price 2s. Nor that any of the ſaid ſervants of huſbandry, ſhepherds, nor labourers, wear any hoſe above the price of 10d. the yard, upon pain of impriſonment in the ſtocks for three days[2].

In the year 1514, wages were again regulated by ſtatute in the following manner:

		£.	s.	d.
A bailiff of huſbandry was allowed to take, and for his cloathing 5s. with diet.	by the year, not more than	1	6	8
A chief hind, carter, or chief ſhepherd, and for his cloathing 5s. with diet.	ditto,	1	0	0
A common ſervant, and for his cloathing 4s. with diet.	ditto,	0	16	8
A woman ſervant, and for her cloathing 4s. with diet.	ditto,	0	10	0
A child under 14 years of age, and for his cloathing 4s. with diet.	ditto,	0	6	8

Artificers were allowed,

	From Eaſter to Michaelmas,	From Michaelmas to Eaſter,
A Free-maſon, Maſter Carpenter, Rough Maſon, Maſter Tiler, Plumber, Glazier, Carver, Joiner,	by the day, with diet, 4d. without 6d.	with diet 3d. without 5d.
Every other labourer, except in harveſt,	with diet 2d. without 4d.	with diet 1½d. without 3d.

The wages of ſhip-wrights are minutely ſet down.

By the 74th Canon of the Canons of 1603, regulating the apparel of eccleſiaſtics, among other things, it is enjoined, that "all the ſaid eccleſiaſtical perſons above named ſhall uſually wear in their journies cloaks with ſleeves, commonly called prieſts' cloaks, with *guards*, welts, long buttons, or cuts." See BURN's Eccl. Law. 4to, ed. 1763. ii. 234.

[1] A pinched partlet was probably a ruff. Littleton, in his Dictionary, tranſlates *ſtrophium* as a woman's partlet. Sir Thomas Eliot, in his Dictionary, imprinted by Berthelet, 1538, renders the ſame word "a mayden's neckercheſe, or lynnen *partlette*." [2] 1 H. 8. c. 14.

In Harveſt,

A mower was allowed, by the day,				with diet,	4d.	—— without,	6d.
A reaper,	-	-	-	ditto,	3d.	—— ditto,	5d.
A carter,	-	-	-	ditto,	3d.	—— ditto,	5d.
A woman-labourer,		-	-	ditto,	2½d.		
Other labourers,	-	-	-	ditto,	2½d.		

There are other regulations, as in former ſtatutes, reſpecting the hours of work, diet, and ſleep. Perſons not retained in ſervice, and refuſing, upon application, to work, were to be impriſoned till they found ſurety to ſerve according to the ſtatute[1].

By an Act paſſed in 1530, beggars were divided into two claſſes; viz. the aged and impotent, and vagabonds and idle perſons; and juſtices of the peace were empowered to licenſe ſuch perſons of the firſt deſcription, by letter under their ſeals, to beg within a certain precinct, as they ſhould think had moſt need. Their names were directed to be regiſtered, and to be certified at the next ſeſſions. Perſons authorized to beg, and begging in any other place than the limits aſſigned them, were ordered to be impriſoned in the ſtocks for two days and two nights, and fed on bread and water, and were afterwards to be ſworn to return immediately to the place they were licenſed to beg in. Impotent perſons begging without a licence, were to be taken up, and whipped, or ſet in the ſtocks, according to the diſcretion of the juſtices, and ſworn to beg only in ſuch place as the juſtices ſhould point out[2].

While the Legiſlature thus ſanctioned mendicity in perſons incapacitated from working, they impoſed very ſevere puniſhments on vagrants, who were able to labour. Every vagabond, whole and mighty in body, who ſhould be found begging, and could give no account how he got his living, was to be tied to the cart's tail, and whipped, (more ſeverely, I ſhould imagine, than impotent beggars,) till his body was bloody by reaſon of ſuch whipping; and then ſworn to return to the place where he was born, or laſt dwelt for the ſpace of three years, and there put himſelf to labour. Perſons delivered out of gaol had

[1] 6 H. 8. c. 3. [2] 22 H. 8. c. 12. This act was only to remain in force a year; it was, however, continued by ſeveral ſubſequent Acts in this reign; but repealed by 21 Jac. 1. c. 28.

liberty

liberty to beg for their fees, on procuring a licence from the gaoler, or a teſtimonial from the clerk of the peace[1].

It is probable that inconveniences aroſe from begging being thus permitted, encouraged, and even ſanctioned by the Legiſlature; for, within five years, ſeveral material alterations were made in the laws reſpecting the impotent poor. The preamble of the 27th Henry VIII. c. 25. ſtates, That it was not provided by the Act, above quoted, how poor people and ſturdy vagabonds ſhould be ordered at their repair and coming into their countries, nor how the *inhabitants of every hundred ſhould be charged for their reliefe*, nor yet *for the ſetting and keeping in worke and labour the ſaid valiant beggers, at their repaire into every hundred of this realme*[2]. From theſe expreſſions, the Legiſlature ſeems to have been convinced of the neceſſity of a *compulſory maintenance*; and although a *regular tax* for that purpoſe was not immediately impoſed, yet a peruſal of the regulations of the ſtatute will convince us, that it was intended that the Poor, even at this period, ſhould be maintained by the Public.

"It was enacted, That the mayors, ſheriffs, conſtables, houſholders, "and all other head officers of every city, ſhire, town, and pariſh, "at the repair and coming thither of ſuch poor creature, ſhall moſt "charitably receive the ſame; and all governors and miniſters of every "ſuch place ſhall ſuccour, find, and keep every of the ſame poor peo- "ple, by way of voluntary and charitable alms, within the reſpective

[1] 22 H. 8. c. 12. [2] C. 25. Very ſimilar regulations, reſpecting the Poor, were adopted on the Continent, about this period. In 1531, the emperor Charles the Fifth publiſhed a long edict in the Netherlands, againſt vagrancy; wherein it was declared, that the trade of begging created idleneſs, and led to bad courſes; none, therefore, except mendicant friars and pilgrims were permitted to beg, under pain of impriſonment, and whipping. Poor people, however, who had ſuffered by war, fire, or inundations, were likewiſe excepted. All poor perſons, who had reſided in the provinces a whole year, were directed to remain in the places where they were ſettled, and were to ſhare in the alms that were ordered them. Collections for this purpoſe were to be made at poor-houſes, brotherhoods, and hoſpitals; and the magiſtrates were to collect alms in the churches, and in private houſes, once or twice every week. Idlers and rogues were to be compelled to work. Poor women and orphan children were to be provided for; and the latter put to ſchool, and taught, on Sundays and Holidays, their pater-noſter, creed, and ten commandments; and, at a proper age, to be placed out in ſervice, or trade.——And. Hiſt. of Comm. ii. 55.

" cities, ſhires, towns, hundreds, hamlets, and pariſhes, with ſuch " convenient and neceſſary alms as ſhall be thought meet by their " diſcretions, in ſuch wiſe as none of them of very neceſſity ſhall be " compelled to go openly in begging, on pain that every pariſh making " default ſhall pay 20s. a month.

" And the mayors and other head officers of cities, boroughs, and " towns corporate, and the church-wardens, or *two other* of every pa- " riſh of this realm, ſhall in good and charitable wiſe take ſuch diſ- " creet and convenient order, by gathering and procuring of ſuch cha- " ritable and voluntary alms of the good Chriſtian people within the " ſame, with boxes every Sunday, Holiday, and other feſtival days, or " otherwiſe, among themſelves, in ſuch good and diſcreet wiſe as the " poor, impotent, lame, feeble, ſick, and diſeaſed people, being not " able to work, may be provided, holpen, and relieved, ſo that in nowiſe " none of them be ſuffered to go openly in begging.

" And every preacher, parſon, vicar, and curate, as well in their " ſermons, collations, biddings of the beads, as in time of confeſ- " ſions, and at the making of the wills or teſtaments of any perſons, at " all times of the year, ſhall exhort, move, ſtir, and provoke people " to be liberal, and bountifully to extend their good and charitable " alms and contributions, from time to time, towards the comfort " and relief of the ſaid poor, impotent, decrepid, indigent, and needy " people, and for ſetting and keeping to work the able poor.

" And for the avoiding of all ſuch inconveniences and infections " as oftentimes have and daily do chance among the people, by com- " mon and open doles, and that moſt commonly unto ſuch doles many " perſons do reſort which have no need of the ſame; it is enacted, " That no perſon ſhall make any ſuch common or open dole, or ſhall " give any ready money in alms, otherwiſe than to the common boxes " and common gatherings in every city, town, hundred, pariſh, and " hamlet, for the putting in execution the good and virtuous purpoſes " of this act; on pain to forfeit ten times as much. And all perſons, " bodies-politick, corporate, and others, that be bound yearly, month- " ly, or weekly, to diſtribute any ready money, bread, victual, or other " ſuſtentation to poor people, in any place within this realm; ſhall

" diſpoſe

" difpoſe of the ſame, or the value thereof, to ſuch common boxes, for " the relief of the poor, in form aforeſaid.

" And to the intent that the money gathered toward the relief of po- " verty, as is aboveſaid, may be employed to ſuch charitable uſes as " by this Act is limited, and no part thereof be miſuſed by ſuch as have " the collection thereof; it is ordained, That the church-wardens of " every pariſh, calling unto them ſix or four of their honeſt neighbours, " ſhall have power, every quarter of the year, or oftener by their diſ- " cretions, to command every ſuch collector to appear before them, " and to render account of all ſums of money by them gathered, " and how employed. And if upon ſuch account it be found that " ſuch collector hath miſemployed or imbizelled any part thereof, " they ſhall carry him before a juſtice, who ſhall commit him till he " ſhall have reſtored and paid back the ſame, and alſo 6s. 8d. for a pe- " nalty, to be employed for the purpoſes of this Act.

" And books ſhall be kept, in every pariſh, of the money collected; "and how, upon whom, and in what wiſe, the ſame was diſpoſed of.

" And, two or three times in every week, two or three of every " pariſh within cities and towns-corporate, by the aſſignment of the " mayor, governor, or conſtable, ſome in one week, and ſome in " another, ſhall name and appoint certain of the ſaid poor people " found of the common alms, to collect and gather broken meats and " fragments, and the refuſe drink, of every houſholder within every " ſuch pariſh; which ſhall be by their diſcretions diſtributed evenly " among the poor people found of the ſaid common alms, as they by " their diſcretions ſhall think good.

" Item, It is ordered, that the conſtables, church-wardens, or others " the collectors of the ſaid alms, which ſhall at any time forbear their " own buſineſs and labour, and ſhall travel or take any pains in the " execution of this Act, ſhall have, for their ſo doing, ſuch compe- " tent wages, of the money of the ſaid collections, as by diſcretion " of the mayor, juſtices, and other of the pariſh, ſhall be thought " reaſonable; which ſhall be appointed to them, at the making their " accounts before the whole pariſh.

" Item, The money collected ſhall be kept in the common coffer or

" box

"box in the church; or elſe ſhall be committed to the cuſtody of any "other ſubſtantial truſty man, as they can agree upon; where it may "be delivered, to the uſes before expreſſed, from time to time as neceſ- "ſity ſhall require.

"And no church-warden, collector or collectors of the foreſaid cha- "ritable alms, ſhall continue in their ſaid office above the ſpace of one "whole year.

"And the overplus of the collections of rich and wealthy pariſhes "ſhall be ordered and diſtributed towards the ſuſtentation of the "charges of other poor pariſhes within the ſame city, borough, town, "or hundred; by the diſcretion of the mayor, juſtices, and high con- "ſtable of the ſame.

"Provided, that where the voluntary and unconſtrained alms and "charity of the pariſhioners or people, together with ſuch money as "ſhall be added and given to the ſame from any monaſteries, or other "perſons, bodies politick, corporate, or other, will not ſuffice for the "ſuſtentation of the poor within the limits of ſuch contribution; nei- "ther the magiſtrates, officers, nor inhabitants there ſhall incur the "aforeſaid penalty of 20s. a month, nor be conſtrained to any ſuch "certain contribution, but as their free wills and charities will ex- "tend, provided that what ſhall be collected be juſtly diſtributed as "aforeſaid.

"Finally, It is provided, that this Act ſhall not be prejudicial to any "abbots, priors, or other perſons of the clergy or other, that by any "means be bound to give yearly, weekly, or daily alms, in money, "victuals, lodging, cloathing, or other thing, in any monaſteries, "alms-houſes, hoſpitals, or other foundations or brotherhoods, by "any good authority or ancient cuſtom, or of daily charity by keep- "ing of poor men eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe; nor to any perſon for "receiving of the ſame, or for their abiding in ſuch hoſpitals or alms- "houſes according to ſuch foundation; nor alſo for alms in ready "money, or otherwiſe, to be given to mariners or other perſons, that "ſhall fortune to come or be ſet on land from ſhips periſhed or loſt "on the ſea; or to any perſon that, riding, going, or paſſing by the "way, ſhall after his conſcience or charity give money or other thing "to lame, blind, or ſick, aged, or impotent people."

With

With reſpect to vagabonds, (who in this ſtatute are denominated Rufflers[1] and valiant beggars,) the penalty for begging is extremely ſevere; for the firſt offence a vagabond was already ſubject to a whipping by the former ſtatute, and was to be ſworn to return to the place of his birth, or where he reſided for the laſt three years: as, however, he could have no viſible means of ſubſiſtence during his journey, the preſent ſtatute directed, that he ſhould be at liberty, at the end of every ten miles, to repair to any conſtable of a pariſh in his direct road, and, on producing a teſtimonial of his having been whipped and paſſed to his own country, ſhould be entitled to meat, drink, and lodging for one night only, or for one meal. If, after having been apprehended, whipped, and ſent home, he ſhould again wander, loiter, or idly uſe himſelf and play the vagabond, and abſent himſelf from ſuch labour as he ſhould be appointed unto; he was ordered not only to be whipped again, and ſent to the place whereunto he was firſt appointed, but alſo to have the upper part of the griſtle of his right ear cut clean off. The ſtatute adds this ſevere clauſe, that "if he "ſhall again offend, he ſhall be committed to gaol till the next ſeſſions, "and, being there convicted upon indictment, he ſhall have judgment "to ſuffer pains and execution of death as a felon, and as an enemy of "the commonwealth."

Such were the laws enacted for the maintenance of the Poor, the regulation of wages, and other matters immediately affecting the labouring claſſes, previous to the important era of the Reformation: they do not evince much knowledge of political economy in the Legiſlature that formed them, and have not been found to be practicably uſeful in ſubſequent times; nor is even the information, which they convey, reſpecting the general progreſs of ſociety, always to be depended on. A ſtranger to our hiſtory, who only peruſed the ancient ſtatute for preventing encloſures, and limiting the wages of labour, would naturally infer, from the grievous complaints, ſo often reiterated by the Commons, of ſcarcity, decay of huſbandry, and depopulation, that, in the period between the reigns of the Firſt Edward and Henry the Eighth, the

[1] Mr. Malone (in a note on King Lear,) ſays, that *ruffler*, in Shakſpeare's time, ſignified a noiſy boiſterous fellow. Here it probably means a diſorderly vagabond, or ruffian.

nation had been gradually declining in wealth and proſperity. On the contrary, however, we have every reaſon to ſuppoſe, that, during the 14th and 15th centuries, the great maſs of the people had made rapid advances in every branch of civilization. Many manufactures, formerly unknown, had been introduced, and eſtabliſhed in the country. The cloathing arts alone, (which, by the patronage of the Third Edward[1], were generally extended throughout England,) would have produced a great improvement in ſocial life, if unſhackled by prohibition or monopoly: they are the moſt beneficial, becauſe they are the moſt intimately connected with the agriculture of a country. While the conſumption of meat neceſſarily encourages the breed of ſheep, our farmers muſt feel the advantages of a manufacture which takes off a raw material, that would otherwiſe remain, in a great meaſure, uſeleſs: they cannot feed mutton without producing wool. It is from the ſale of theſe two articles, that they muſt obtain a fair profit for rearing

[1] It would ſeem, by the following paſſage, which, (with the omiſſion of ſome immaterial ſentences,) is almoſt literally tranſlated from a letter written in Spain in the year 1437, that not only wool, but ſheep, were exported in the reign of Edward the Third. This early account of the introduction of Engliſh ſheep into Spain, has not been noticed by either Anderſon or Smith, or any of our other writers on wool:

"The council appointed Gomez Carrillo to go to the admiral; and the king had named "Juan Sanchez de Tovar; and it was debated which of them ſhould go; and warm ſpeeches "paſſed between Fernan Sanchez de Berlanga, and Pedro Laſo de Mendoza, ſon of Inigo "Lopez, one of them being related to the one, and the other to the other. Pedro Laſo ſaid, "in the king's preſence, that Gomez Carrillo was ſon to one of the king's gentlemen or "pages, and grandſon to King Don Enriques, chief cup-bearer, who was ſon of Lope "Carrillo, gentleman and chief huntſman to Don Juan the Firſt, and that he was not ſon of "*a judge over ſhepherds*. This was ſaid as a ſneer, for Juan Sanchez de Tovar is deſcended "from Fernan Sanchez de Tovar, judge of the royal flocks of ſheep and folds. F. S. de "Berlanga anſwered, in the king's preſence, that he underſtood the ſarcaſm, but that it was "ill aimed, and might be retorted upon himſelf; for that F. S. whom he reproached as a "judge over ſhepherds, was his equal; that the office of judge and alcayde of the royal "floeks, was always held by gentlemen of rank. That *King Alfonſo* *, *when he firſt brought "ſheep from England by ſea*, in great ſhips, *(in naves carracas,)* appointed Inigo Lopez de "Orozco to be the firſt perſon to begin to exerciſe that office, from whom Pedro Laſo himſelf was deſcended on the part of his mother, and now being informed that himſelf was "deſcended from a judge over ſhepherds, he might mock at his pleaſure."

Written from Medina del Campo. A. D. 1437. Epiſtol. de Cibdareal, p. 126.

* K. Alfonſo the laſt (ſome hiſtorians call him the 10th, ſome the 11th) died in the year 1350.

 ſheep;

ſheep; and, conſequently, the leſs they get for the one, the more they muſt demand for the other. It is juſtly obſerved, that whatever regulations tend to ſink the price either of wool or raw hides below what it naturally would be, muſt, in an improved and cultivated country, have ſome tendency to raiſe the price of butcher's meat. That the prohibition of exporting wool from England, and from Ireland except to England, has operated in this way, can, I think, admit of little doubt[1]. Permiſſion to import it from Spain, duty free, had probably the ſame effect, and offers an encouragement to the Spaniſh, at the expence of the Engliſh farmer. I have very little doubt, that one cauſe of the high price of proviſions is the diſadvantage which farmers lie under in diſpoſing of their wool. While the manufactures are ſo thriving that they can take off all the wool produced in the kingdom, prohibition is unneceſſary; for no other country can give better prices; but if the demand for meat is greater than that for wool, the farmer, if he increaſes his ſtock of ſheep, muſt expect to have an unſaleable ſurplus of wool on his hands. If he proportions his ſtock of ſheep to the demand for wool, he will not be able to ſupply the demand for mutton. If he could raiſe wool, like cotton, unconnected with any other production, he would proportion the quantity to the demand; but as this is out of his power, he is obliged to indemnify himſelf for the reduced price of his ſuperabundant wool, by augmenting the price of the eatable part of the carcaſe[2]. It is ſaid, that an increaſe in the price of wool would exclude

[1] Wealth of Nations, i. 367. In impoſing reſtrictions on the exportation of wool, the Legiſlature ſeems to have adopted the principles of a political writer of the 16th century, who ſays, that, "in order to make tillage as well cheriſhed of every man as paſture, the firſt way is to make the wool to be of as baſe pryce to the breeders thereof as the corne is: and that ſhall be, if yee make a like reſtraint of it for paſſing over ſea unwrought as yee make of corne: another is to increaſe the cuſtome of woole that paſſeth over unwrought, and by that the price of it ſhall be abated to the breeders, and yet the price over ſea ſhall be never the leſſe." A compendious or briefe examination of certayne ordinary complaints, &c. by W. S. 1581.—This piece, in which ſeveral important branches of political ſcience, (particularly the ſubject of encloſures,) are ably diſcuſſed in a dialogue between a merchant, a knight, a huſbandman, a capper, and a doctor of divinity, has been erroneouſly aſcribed to Shakſpeare, and was reprinted with his name in 1751. The book, however, was written, not by William Shakſpeare, but by William Stafford, gentleman. See Wood's Faſti, 2d edit. i. 208; and Farmer on the Learning of Shakſpeare. [2] It is, probably, owing to the ſhackles which have been laid on the wool trade, that farmers are more ſolicitous to im-

exclude our manufacturers from the foreign market; but if we could underſell the French in cottons, even while the iſland of Tobago was in their poſſeſſion, and we were obliged to purchaſe the raw material from them, there ſeems to be leſs danger of a decline in our clothing trade, which is now almoſt, excluſively, carried on by this country: capital and ſkill, in this inſtance, as in others, would probably, even if the exportation of wool were permitted, enable the Britiſh trader to keep poſſeſſion of the market.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Poor, from the Reformation to the Revolution.

WHATEVER may have been the benefits ultimately derived from the Reformation, it is now well known, and generally admitted, (as reflecting no diſcredit on the Reformation, though it does on one of the heads of the reformers), that Henry the Eighth, in his ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, was more influenced by motives of avarice, and low prejudices, than by zeal for religion. Had he been merely intent on aboliſhing the errors of Superſtition, he would not have thought it neceſſary to pillage the Catholic and Proteſtant eſtabliſhment indiſcriminately: neither, however, were ſpared; and the parable [1] which biſhop Fiſher

prove the carcaſe, than the wool, of their ſheep. We ſeldom hear of breeders attempting to emulate the fleeces of Rouſillon or Segovia: the only queſtion reſpecting the excellence of a ſheep ſeems to be, (to uſe Mr. Burke's phraſe,) "how he cuts up; how he tallows in the cawl, or on the kidneys."

[1] When the diſſolution of the leſſer monaſteries was propoſed in convocation, biſhop Fiſher ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, and compared the king to an axe, which, wanting a handle, petitioned the great trees of the foreſt for a ſmall ſapling: which being obtained, in a ſhort time neither great nor ſmall trees were left ſtanding. The mother monaſteries, (he ſaid,) were the handle, whereby the king, at his pleaſure, would cut down all the cedars of Libanus. Bailie's Life of Biſhop Fiſher, 108.

introduced with ſo much judgment on the diſſolution of leſſer monaſteries, to intimate that the greater would not be ſpared, might have been applied with equal propriety to the church eſtabliſhment, which the king profeſſed it was his object to ſupport. When the regulars had been completely ſtripped of their poſſeſſions, he laid violent hands on the revenues of the ſecular clergy. By one Act, 70 manors belonging to the ſee of York were veſted in the crown. This is indeed denominated a ſale. The ſame Act informs us, that Cranmer, (archbiſhop of Canterbury,) had conveyed about a dozen parks and manors to the king; and we well know, that they were rather given, than exchanged for an equivalent [1]. Mr. Collier juſtly obſerves, that the clergy, in this, the next, and queen Elizabeth's reign, made bad bargains, and bartered at Glaucus's diſadvantage; but as princes bought cheap of their prelates, they ſold, (when they did ſell, and did not laviſhly and corruptly give away), good bargains to their favourites. It was obvious that the innovations which Henry projected in religion, and his determination to appropriate the revenues of religious houſes to his own uſe, could not but create murmurs in the people, who had been taught to conſider theſe inſtitutions as not more calculated to pious than charitable purpoſes. To reconcile them, therefore, to the projected alterations, and to perſuade the members of both Houſes of Parliament to acquieſce in the meaſure, it was declared, that the eſtates belonging to the abbies ſhould not be converted to the king's private uſe, but applied towards the maintenance of a military force; and that no demands thenceforward be made on his ſubjects, for loans, ſubſidies, fifteenths, and other aids. At the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, however, no proviſion was made to carry the king's promiſes into effect; and lord Coke remarks, that the king in the very year [2], when the great and opulent priory of St. John of Jeruſalem was ſuppreſſed, demanded ſubſidies both from the laity and the clergy, and made ſimilar requiſitions in the 34th and 37th years of his reign. [3] The hiſtory of theſe promiſes, and the manner in which they were ſo cavalierly diſregarded when they had anſwered the unhallowed ends of the laviſh promiſer, ſhould be a caution to mankind, in all future ages, to beware how they repoſe an implicit confidence in the moſt ſpecious promiſes made by any *reformers by violence*,

[1] Parl. Hiſt. iii. 204. [2] 32 H. 8. 1540. [3] 4 Inſt. f. 44; and Parl. Hiſt. iii. 147.

lence, whether they be overbearing deſpots like Henry the Eighth, canting puritans like the parliament and their adherents in the time of our Firſt Charles, or bluſtering and boaſtful conſtitution-mongers like many of the modern revolutioniſts.

The Act for the diſſolution of the monaſteries was drawn up with ſuch care and circumſpection, (not to ſay cunning,) that it ſeemed to be rather in compliance with the earneſt ſolicitations of the religious houſes themſelves, than to gratify Henry's avarice, that their deſtruction was reſolved on. All ſuſpicions of ſevere uſage, and forced ſurrenders, were attempted to be removed by the obſequious formality with which ſome of the abbots were prevailed upon, by offers of large penſions [1], to tender a reſignation of their houſes. Thoſe who reſiſted, were threatened with ſevere penalties; exaggerated and incredible ſtories were publiſhed of the diſorderly lives of the monks [2], and, by a promiſe of a ſhare in the plunder, the nobility were induced to countenance theſe iniquitous proceedings.

[1] The prior of St. John of Jeruſalem had a penſion of £1000. a year granted him by 32 H. 8. c. 24. The abbot of Feverſham received an annuity of 100 marks; or above half the revenue of the diſſolved abbey. Lewis's Abb. of Fav. 22. [2] In a curious little tract, entitled, "The Supplication of Beggers," written in 1524, we have a full ſpecimen of the abuſe thrown out againſt both ſecular and regular clergy. This work was put into the hands of the king by Anna Boleyn, and pleaſed him much. The chancellor, Sir T. More, thought it worthy of an anſwer. Burnet, Hiſt. of the Reformation, 2d edit. I. 160. In order to perſuade the king to confiſcate the revenues of the church, the author, Simon Fyſhe, gives the following, (probably exaggerated,) ſtatement of the ſums annually collected by mendicant friers: "Ther are within youre realme of Englande, LII thouſande paryſhe churches, and this "ſtanding that there be but ten houſeholdes in every paryſhe, yet are there fyve hondreth "thouſande, and twentye thouſande houſholdes, and of every of theſe houſeholdes hath every "of the five orders of friers a peny a quarter for everye order, that is, for all the fyve orders "five pens a quarter for every houſe; that is, for all the fyve orders, twenty pens a yeare "of every houſe. Summa fyve hundreth thouſand and twenty thouſand quarters of an-"gelles, that is cclx thouſand half angelles, ſumma cxxx thouſande angelles, ſumma "totalis xliiii thouſand poundes, and cccxxxiii *li.* vi *s.* and eyghte pens ſterlinge." This calculation of the number of the houſes, in 1524, is probably much below the truth. 520,000 houſholds multiplied by 5½, (a fair proportion of inhabitants to a houſe,) give only 2,860,000. Mr. Chalmers's Eſtimate, 2d edit. 34, has ſhewn from Harriſon's and Sir Walter Raleigh's accounts of the number of fighting men in 1577, and 1583, that the population of England, towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, muſt have amounted to 4,688.000.

"The Supplication of Beggers" alſo informs us, what was the price of labour in 1524:

"Who

ings. It is not eaſy, however, to determine upon what principle of law the eſtates, which religious bodies were thus compelled to ſurrender, were veſted in the hands of the king. Blackſtone calls this a kind of ſuicide; and obſerves, that a diſſolution is the civil death of a corporation: and in this caſe, their lands and tenements ſhould revert to the perſon, or his heirs, who granted them to the corporation, which may endure for ever; but when that life is determined by the diſſolution of the body-politic, the granter takes it back by reverſion, as in the caſe of every other grant for life: and hence it appears, how injurious, as well to private as to public right, theſe ſtatutes were, which veſted in king Henry the Eighth, inſtead of the heirs of the founder, the lands of the diſſolved monaſteries [1].

It muſt however be confeſſed, notwithſtanding the violence and injuſtice with which the abolition of the monaſtic order was conducted, that their downfall proved, in ſome inſtances, highly beneficial to the kingdom [2]. Mr. Hume has remarked, that the great increaſe of monaſteries, if matters be conſidered merely in a political light, was the radical inconvenience of the Catholic religion; and every other diſadvantage attending that communion, was inſeparably connected with their religious inſtitutions. Papal uſurpations, the tyranny of the inquiſition, the multiplications of holidays, all theſe fetters on liberty and induſtry were ultimately derived from the regular clergy [3]. Although this is certainly true, it

"Who is ſhe that wyll ſet her handes to worke to get thre-pens a day, and may have at leſte "20 pens a day to ſlepe an houre with a fryer, or monke, or a preeſte? What is he that wolde "laboure for a grote a day, and may have at the leaſt twelfe pens a day to be baude to a preeſt?"

[1] Blackſt. Comm. i.

[2] I have no doubt, however, but that many evils, which were occaſioned by other cauſes, were aſcribed by the populace to the fall of the monaſteries. In an excellent old ballad, in Percy's Reliques, 4th edit. ii. 296. "Ignorance," one of the characters, thus laments the downfall of an abbey, in the broad Somerſetſhire dialect.

"Chill tell thee what, good vellowe,
"Before the vriers went hence,
"A buſhel of the beſt wheate
"Was zold vor vourteen pence;
"And vorty egges a penny,
"That were both good and newe."

I have heard perſons talk in the ſame ſtrain, on the ill effects produced by the Albion Mills: had they ſtood 'till laſt year, I am perſuaded the high price of bread would have been aſcribed to them.

[3] Hiſt. of Engl. 1ſt edit. iii. 197.

may be doubted, whether the beſt means of removing the abuſe were adopted. Corporate bodies, whether ſole, or conſiſting of many, are truly ſtated to be more ſuſceptible of a public direction by the power of the State, in the uſe of their property, and in the regulation of modes and habits of life in their members, than private citizens ever can be, or perhaps ought to be [1]. The inconveniences that aroſe, and which muſt ever attend a violent revolution in property, might have been avoided, had Henry's obſequious parliament proceeded more gradually in their ſyſtem of eccleſiaſtical confiſcation. To correct the evils inherent in the monaſtic order, it was not neceſſary to deſtroy every thing connected with it. The inſtitution might have been overthrown without any ſenſible inconvenience, had the Legiſlature only prohibited the admiſſion of freſh members into the monaſteries. On the contrary, by proceeding with the intemperate zeal which unhappily too often diſplays itſelf in reform, the magnificent fabrics, which might have been applied to various uſeful purpoſes, were pillaged and overthrown, in order to exclude the poſſibility of reſtoration of their ancient privileges [2]. The monks, to the number of 50,000, were converted into miſerable penſioners; and, unaccuſtomed to the active exertions of induſtry, were thrown among the buſy crowd, to whoſe manners and modes of life a long ſecluſion from the world had rendered them indifferent. The neceſſary conſequence of forcing ſo many helpleſs individuals into ſociety, was the increaſe of that claſs, of which the Legiſlature had ſo often complained as a moſt grievous calamity [3].

It is juſtly obſerved, that, among other bad effects which attended the monaſtic inſtitutions, it was not perhaps one of the leaſt, (though frequently eſteemed quite otherwiſe,) that they ſupported and fed a very numerous

[1] Reflections, 11th edit. 240. [2] The Engliſh reformers reaſoned very much in the manner of John Knox: the motives aſſigned for ſuch root-and-branch deſtruction of the monaſteries had worldly knowledge, if not wit, in it; "Leave any of the neſts," ſaid one of Henry's minions, "and you may depend on it the rooks will return." [3] In a little work, entitled, "The Supplication of the Poore Commons," publiſhed with "the Supplication "of Beggars," the author thanked the king for having "weeded out a greate number of va-"liaunt and ſturdye monckes," &c. He however aſcribed the penury of the people to "the "great and infinite nombre of valiant and ſturdye beggers, which had by their ſubtyll and "crafty demaner in begging, gotten into their handes more than the third part of the yearely "reuenewſe" of the kingdom.

and

and very idle Poor, whoſe ſuſtenance depended upon what was daily diſtributed in alms at the gates of the religious houſes. But upon the total diſſolution of theſe, the inconvenience of thus encouraging the Poor in habits of indolence and beggary, was quickly felt throughout the kingdom; and abundance of ſtatutes were made in the reign of K. Henry the Eighth, for providing for the Poor and Impotent, which, as the preambles to ſome of them recite, had of late years ſtrangely increaſed [1]. Notwithſtanding this opinion and expreſſion in the ſtatutes, I very much doubt, whether the monaſteries generally and greatly troubled themſelves with relieving Poor that did not immediately belong to their own demeſnes. The ſame ſort of charity was uſually practiſed by the great nobility on their eſtates. The truth is, that the abbies were more burthened with the Rich than the Poor. Sheriffs, and other great men, often travelled from abbey to abbey, and from houſe to houſe, with great retinues, and not unfrequently, at their departure, extorted conſiderable preſents from the abbot [2].

Some of the commiſſioners, who viſited the abbies, petitioned the king to ſpare them; and declared, that the Poor received from them great relief, and the Rich good education [3]: and the bill for the ſuppreſſion of colleges and

[1] Blackſt. Comm. i. 359. The ſtatutes, however, before this period, often mention the great increaſe of the Poor. In the 22 H. 8. c. 12. it is ſaid, that, throughout the realm, "vagabonds and beggars have of long time increaſed, and daily do increaſe in great and exceſſive numbers." [2] The monaſteries often complained of this grievance; and it is probable, that, in conſequence of their repreſentations, Henry the Third, in the 42d year of his reign, 1257, obliged the ſheriffs to ſwear, upon entering into office, that they would not, by reaſon of their bailiwick, take any thing but meat, ſuch as was wont to be brought to the table, and but for one day at moſt; that they would not carry with them, to the place where they meant to lodge, above five horſes; nor would lodge with any perſon who had leſs than £40. a year in land, nor with any religious houſe that had leſs than 100 marks, £66. 13s. 4d. in land and rent. They alſo ſwore, that they would not viſit any perſons of the above deſcription above once a year, or twice at moſt; nor then, unleſs with their conſent; and that they would receive no preſent, or above 12d. in money; and carry with them no more attendants than were neceſſary for the peace of the county: they were likewiſe enjoined to cauſe their ſerjeants to be ſworn, not to receive from any man, clerk or lay, free or villein, lamb, corn, wool, moveables, money, or money's worth. Theſe injunctions concluded with a reaſon well worth the attention of modern officers of police, "That *the king gave them his own, to the intent they ſhould take nothing from any one elſe.* Madox, Hiſt. Exch ii. 147. Ryley, Plac. Parl. in App. cxxiii. 533. [3] Ld. Herbert's Hiſt. of H. 8. Dugdale (in his

and chantries, paſſed in Edward the Sixth's reign, c. 14, promiſed that the eſtates of theſe foundations ſhould be converted to good and godly uſes, in erecting grammar-ſchools, the further augmentation of the univerſities, and better proviſions for the poor and needy. The rapacity, however, of the courtiers, rendered this project impracticable.

Upon the whole, it may be doubted, whether the manner, in which the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries was conducted, did not counteract the advantages that might otherwiſe have been expected from the downfall of a ſyſtem, pregnant with many abuſes, and productive both of religious and political inconvenience.

To direct property from its ancient channel by violent and forcible expedients, and to depart at once from old eſtabliſhed ſyſtems, muſt prove a meaſure of very dubious policy; and, in the preſent inſtance, the evils reſulting from the change were immediately and very ſenſibly felt; whereas the benefits promiſed by the change were ſlow, and not ſo immediately manifeſt. There can be no doubtthat many of the inconveniencies inherent in mortmain tenure diffuſed themſelves over the poſſeſſions of the regular clergy; and the ſage policy of Henry the Seventh, which had unfettered the eſtates of the lay nobility, was certainly applicable to eccleſiaſtical property: it ſhould, however, be conſidered, that it circulates from hand to hand more rapidly than any other, and that, previous to the Reſtraining Act [1], lands belonging to the church were as much, if not more, expoſed to alienation, than a lay inheritance. The advantages which the nation derived from their revenues being transferred to noblemen, were ſtill more problematical. The revenues of monaſtic bodies, (whoſe inſtitutions, and modes of life, obliged them to reſide where the preſence of a landlord is moſt wanted,) were uſually conſumed within a large circle of tenants, and offered a ready vent to the commodities of neighbouring markets. Church lands, in the hands of noblemen, were ſtill ſhackled with the *mortmain* (if I may uſe the expreſſion) *of family ſettlements*; and their produce was generally conſumed by abſentees.

The abbots were moſt indulgent landlords, and their tenants found, to

his Warwickſhire, 803.) remarks, "that while the houſes ſtood, there was no Act for the re-"lief of the Poor, ſo amply did thoſe houſes give ſuccour to them that were in want; where-"as in the next age, (39 Eliz.) there were no leſs than eleven bills brought into the Houſe "of Commons for the purpoſe."

[1] 1 Eliz. c. 19.

their

their coſt, that (after their fall) their rents were raiſed[1], while they had not the ſame facility in diſpoſing of the produce. The money was ſpent in the capital, and the farmers living at a diſtance were expoſed to all the oppreſſions of the new maſters, or to the ſtill greater rapacity of their ſtewards[2]. Of the injury the country muſt have ſuſtained, from the expulſion of large ſocieties, who not only farmed large tracts of land themſelves, but conſumed a conſiderable portion of the produce of their tenants, we may form a tolerable idea from the inventory of the ſtores belonging to Fountain's Abbey at the diſſolution.

They conſiſted of
- 2356 horned cattle
- 1326 ſheep
- 86 horſes
- 79 ſwine
- 117 quarters of wheat
- 12 quarters of rye
- 134 quarters of oats
- 392 loads of hay

} on the demeſne lands.

- 18 quarters of wheat
- 18 quarters of barley
- 90 quarters of barley and malt
- 2 quarters of oats

} in the granaries[3].

Old Henry Jenkins lamented, with reaſon, that the days were over in which he uſed to be invited to the lord abbot's chamber, to feaſt on quar-

[1] I do not mean to ſay that high rents are (generally ſpeaking,) a diſadvantage, either to the individual tenant, or to the nation at large. The country is intereſted, that the greateſt poſſible produce ſhould be raiſed: the tenant, that he may receive a fair profit, after paying his rent, and expences of his ſtock and labour. A rent that does not prevent the attainment of either of theſe objects, is the beſt criterion of national proſperity. It's being high is the ſtrongeſt ſtimulus to the farmer to cultivate his land to the utmoſt. Able writers on this ſubject have often remarked, that, on the eſtates of landlords, who pride themſelves in demanding low rents, the moſt ſlovenly culture is obſervable: indeed it is probable, that they, who let their eſtates at half the value, with the moſt beneficent intentions, even injure thoſe whom they intend to ſerve, as much as they do the community. The intereſts of the Landlord and the State always coincide; and it is fortunate for mankind, that thoſe who are concerned in agriculture, (the moſt eſſential of the arts,) cannot promote their own private advantage, without benefiting their country. [2] Hume's Hiſt. of Engl. iii. 320. Burton, Monaſt. Ebor. 146.

ters of a yard of roaſt beef, and waſſel in a black jack [1]: he was probably not the only ſufferer. This violent transfer of property, however ultimately beneficial to the kingdom in general, muſt have at firſt materially injured the courſe of induſtry in that part of the country, of which a religious houſe formed (in ſome degree) the metropolis.

The diſſolution of the abbies was not the only Act in Henry's reign, by which the impediments to the free circulation of landed property were removed: the application of common recoveries, which, as early as the 12th year of Edward the Fourth, the Judges had declared to be a ſufficient bar to an eſtate-tail [2], had conſiderably abridged entailed eſtates of their privileges. And it was the intention of Henry the Seventh, by the Statute of Fines [3], (although, probably to avoid the jealouſy of the nobility, the language of parliament was couched in very obſcure terms,) to enable tenants in tail to alienate their eſtates. The Judges, however, (as the learned commentator on the Laws of England informs us,) although willing to conſtrue the expreſſions of the ſtatute in the way that the politic framers of it deſired, heſitated at giving fines this extenſive power by mere implication, when the Statute *de donis* had expreſsly declared that they ſhould not be a bar to eſtates-tail. But the ſtatute of Henry the Eighth, when the doctrine of alienation was better received, and the will of the prince more implicitly obeyed than before, avowed and eſtabliſhed that intention [4]: and it was accordingly declared, that a fine duly levied by a tenant in tail, ſhould be a compleat bar to him and his heirs, and all other perſons claiming under ſuch entail [5].

The attempts, however, of the Legiſlature, in this reign, to regulate the price of proviſions, do not merit equal praiſe; and, as far as they were carried, muſt have operated towards the diſcouragement of agricultural induſtry. By an Act paſſed in 1532 [6], the price of beef and pork was limited to a halfpenny, and of mutton and veal to three farthings a pound, averdupois weight.

The preamble of a ſubſequent ſtatute paſſed on this ſubject is curious, and ſeems to give a proper reaſon why the Legiſlature ought never to interfere in matters of this nature: it ſtates, "That dearth, ſcarcitie, good "cheape, and plentie of cheeſe, butter, capons, hens, chickens, and other

[1] Gilpin, North. Tour, ii. 185. [2] 1 Rep. 131. 6 Rep. 40. [3] 4 H. 7. c. 24.
[4] Blackſt. Comm. ii. 118. [5] 32 H. 8. c. 36. [6] 24 H. 8. c. 4. 25 H. 8. c. 1.

"victuals

"victuals neceſſary for men's ſuſtenance, happeneth, *riſeth and chanceth of* "*ſo many and divers occaſions, that it is very hard and difficill to put any* "*certaine priſes to any ſuch things;* and yet nevertheleſſe the prices of ſuch "victuals be many times inhanſed and raiſed, by the greedie covetuouſneſſe "and appetites of the owners of ſuch victuals, by occaſion of ingroſſing "and regrating the ſame, more than upon any reaſonable or juſt ground "or cauſe, to the great damage and impoveriſhing of the king's ſubjects." To remedy theſe ſuppoſed evils, the Lords of the Council, and others of the king's principal officers, were empowered to regulate the price at which the above-mentioned kind of victuals ſhould be ſold in groſs or by retail [1]. Of the utility of theſe Laws, it is unneceſſary to ſay more than that the firſt was ſuſpended three years after it was enacted [2], and ſwept from the Statute-book ſeven years afterwards [3]; and that the other was obliged to be often modified by the perſons authorized to carry it into execution [4].

Latymer, in his ſermons, a few years after, aſcribes the increaſe "of the price of proviſions to landlords raiſing their rents. Of this, he ſaith, "to much commeth this monſterous and portentuous dearth "made by man, notwithſtanding God doth ſend us plentifully the "fruites of the earth mercifully, contrary to our deſertes, notwithſtand-"ing to much, which theſe rich men have, cauſeth ſuch dearth, that

[1] 25 H. 8. c. 2. [2] 27 H. 8. c. 9. [3] 33 H. 8. c. 12. [4] Thus, by a proclamation in 26 H. 8. the butchers of London were empowered to ſell, between the 24th Oct. in that year, and the Nativity of St. John following, at the under-mentioned prices:

Beef and pork at $1\frac{1}{8}$d. the pound.
Mutton and Veal at $0\frac{3}{4}$d. the pound.

MISCELL. COLL. belonging to the Soc. of Antiquaries, i. 11.

And by proclamation in 36 H. 8. the prices were again altered in the following manner:

Beef not to exceed	$0\frac{5}{8}$d. the pound	Between 15th June, and 25th December.
Mutton -	1d.	
Veal -	1d.	
Beef, -	$0\frac{3}{4}$d.	Between 25th December, and 15th June.
Mutton, -	1d.	
Veal, -	$0\frac{7}{8}$d.	
Beſt lamb, all the year,	2 0	
Second lamb, -	1 8	
Meaneſt lamb, -	1 4	
Pork, the pound,	0 $0\frac{3}{4}$	

The prices of poultry were alſo fixed by this proclamation. Ibid. 183.

" poore men, (which live of their labour,) can not with the ſweate of " their face have a lyving, all kinde of victuals is ſo deare, pigges, geeſe, " capons, chickens, egges, &c.; theſe thinges with other are ſo un- " reaſonable enhaunſed[1]."

A ſubſequent paſſage from the ſame author, which has been often quoted, ſhews us the mode of living among the yeomanry, about the beginning of the 16th century. " My father, (he ſays,) was a yoman, " and had no landes of his owne, onely he had a farme of 3 or 4 " pound by year at the uttermoſt, and hereupon he tilled ſo much as " kept half a doſſen men. He had walke for an hundreth ſheepe, and " my mother milked xxx kine. He was able, and did finde the king a " harnes, with himſelf and his horſe, while (until) he came to the " place that he ſhould receave the kinge's wages. I can remember, " that I buckeled his harnes, when he went to Blackheath-field. He " kept me to ſchole, or els I had not bene able to have preached " before the kinge's majeſtie now. He maryed my ſiſters with five " pound or xx nobles a peece, ſo that he brought them up in godlynes " and feare of God. He kept hoſpitalitie for his poore neighboures. " And ſome almes he gave to the poore, and all this did he of the ſayd " farme. Where[2] he that now hath it, payeth xvi pound by the " yeare or more, and is not able to doe any thing for his prince, for " himſelfe, nor for his children, or geve a cup of drinke to the poore[3]."

Very early in Edward the Sixth's reign, the Legiſlature reiterated the old complaints againſt " idleneſs and vagabondrie." They conceived, " that the godly acts which had hitherto been framed on the ſubject, " had not had the ſucceſſe which might have been wiſhed;" that it was partly aſcribable to the " fooliſh pitie and mercie of thoſe who " ſhould have ſeene the ſaid godly lawes executed;" and partly owing to " the perverſe nature and long-accuſtomed idleneſſe of the perſons " given to loytering;" and thought that if " the vagabonds, who " were unprofitable members, or rather enemies of the common[illegible] " were puniſhed by death, whipping, impriſonment, and wi[illegible]

[1] Sermons, 31. [2] *Where* is often uſed in the Statute-book, [illegible] old writers, for *whereas*; and ſometimes *whereas* is uſed for *where*. See the old [illegible] "Sir Lancelot du Lake;" beginning, " When Arthur firſt in court began," [illegible]cy's Reliques of Ancient Engliſh Poetry, 4th ed. i. 215. [3] Latymer's [illegible]s, p. 32.

corporall

" corporall pains, it were not without their deſerts [1]." It was there-
fore enacted, " That if any man, or woman, able to work, ſhould
" refuſe to labour, and live idly for three days, that he or ſhe ſhould
" be branded with a red-hot iron on the breaſt with the letter V, and
" ſhould be adjudged the ſlaves, for two years, of any perſon who ſhould
" inform againſt ſuch idler. And the maſter was directed to feed his
" ſlave with bread and water, or ſmall drink, and ſuch refuſe meat as
" he ſhould think proper; and to cauſe his ſlave to work, by beating,
" chaining, or otherwiſe, in ſuch work and labour, *(how vile ſoever it be,)* as he ſhould put him unto:" and the ſtatute adds, that " if he
" runs away from his maſter for the ſpace of 14 days, he ſhall become
" *his ſlave for life*, after being branded on the forehead, or cheek, with
" the letter S; and if he runs away a ſecond time, and ſhall be con-
" victed thereof by two ſufficient witneſſes, he ſhall be taken as a
" felon, and ſuffer *pains of death*, as other felons ought to do [2]."

Maſters were empowered " to ſell, bequeath, let out for hire, or give
" the ſervice of their ſlaves to any perſon whomſoever, upon ſuch condi-
" tion, and for ſuch term of years, as the ſaid perſons be adjudged to
" him for ſlaves, after the like ſort and manner as he may do of any
" other his moveable goods or chattels [3]."

Another clauſe of the ſtatute directs, that " if any ſuch ſlave or
" ſlaves ſo adjudged ſhall at any time after ſuch adjudgment maime or
" wounde their maſters or miſtreſſes in reſiſting their correction or
" otherwiſe, or when they be manumitted or ſet againe free, or, in the
" time of their ſervice, ſhall conſpire with any other, or by them-
" ſelves, go about to murder and kill, or to maime their maſters or
" miſtreſſes, or thoſe that were their maſter or miſtreſs, or to burne
" their houſes, barnes, or corne, ſo that *their intent come to an act tending*
" *to the effect*, that they ſhould likewiſe be accounted felons, unleſs
" ſome perſon would take ſuch offender into their ſervice as a ſlave
" for ever."

Harſh and inhuman as the above parts of the Act may ſeem, a ſub-
ſequent clauſe is more repugnant to every juſt principle of legiſlation.
It enacts, that " although there be no man which ſhall demand ſuch

[1] See Preamble to 1 E. 6. c. 3. [2] 1 E. 6. c. 3. [3] 1 E. 6. c. 3.

" loiterer

" loiterer or loiterers, yet nevertheleſs juſtices of the peace ſhall be " bound to inquire after ſuch idle perſons; and if it ſhall appear that " any ſuch have been vagrant for the ſpace of three days, he ſhall be " branded on the breaſt with a V, made with an hot iron; and ſhall " be conveyed to the place of his birth, there to be nouriſhed, and kept " in *chains, or otherwiſe*, either at the common works in amending high- " ways, or in the ſervice of individuals, after all ſuch former condition, " ſpace of years, orders, puniſhments for running away, as are expreſſed " of any common or private perſon to whom ſuch loiterer is adjudged " a ſlave.

" If vagabonds are carried to places, of which they have falſely " declared themſelves to be natives, then for ſuch lie they ſhall be " marked in the face with an S, and be ſlave to the inhabitants or cor- " poration of the town, citie, or village, where he ſaid he was born " in, for ever."

All perſons were empowered to take idle children from vagabonds, and to retain them as apprentices, till the boys were 24, and the girls 20 years of age; and if they ran away before the end of their term, their maſters might, upon recovering them, puniſh them, in chains, *or other- wiſe*, and uſe them as ſlaves till the time of their apprenticeſhip ſhould have expired.

A maſter was, likewiſe, authorized to " put a ring of iron about the " neck, arm, or leg of his ſlave, for a more knowledge and ſurety " of the keeping of him."

The latter part of the ſtatute evidently provides a habitation, (al- though, perhaps, not a compulſory maintenance,) for the impotent poor. The officers of cities, towns, and villages, were directed to ſee them " beſtowed and provided for of tenantries, cottages, and other " convenient houſes, to be lodged in, at the coſts and charges of the " ſaid cities, towns, boroughs, and villages, there to be relieved, and " cured, by the devotion of good people;" and, in order that no place might be burthened with perſons flocking from other quarters, the magiſtrates were ordered to " enquire concerning the aged, impotent, " and lame, in their diſtrict;" and to " remove ſuch as were not born " there, and had not reſided there for the laſt three years, either on

" horſeback, in cart, chariot, or otherwiſe, to the place where they " were born, or had generally dwelt, there to be provided for and " *nouriſhed of almes*." Thoſe, however, who were at all able to work, were to be employed by the town, or by individuals, who would find them meat and drink for their work [1].

The curate of every pariſh was enjoined to exhort his pariſhioners every Sunday to relieve their poor pariſhioners.

The following clauſe is ſcarcely intelligible: " Provided always, that " if it ſhall chance any ſuch adjudged apprentice ſervant or ſlave as is " before rehearſed, to have inheritance deſcended unto him, or hir, " or any other waies by the lawes of this realme, ward or bondman, or " *niefe of bloud*, by or from any of his aunceſtors to any perſon or perſons, " that then it ſhall be lawful to any ſuch perſon or perſons, to whom " any ſuch ward, bondman, or nief ſhall apperteine, to take and ſeiſe " ſuch wards, bondmen, or niefes, and them to retain and keep as their " wards, bondmen, or niefs. And the ſaid wards, bondmen, and niefes " ſhall be diſcharged of the ſaid ſlavery or other ſervitude or bondage " above rehearſed."

It appears from this part of the ſtatute, that ſlavery by birth was not yet extinct in England, although Sir Thomas Smith, who was ſecretary to Edward the Sixth, (in ſpeaking of villeins in groſs, who were the abſolute property of their maſters, and diſpoſable like other moveables; and of villeins regardant, who, I have before obſerved, were appendages of manors;) ſays that, of the firſt he never knew any in England in his time; and that there were ſo few of the latter, that they were hardly worth mentioning [2].

An Act, ſo diſgraceful to the Legiſlature, did not remain long on the Statute-roll: by the 3d and 4th Edw. 6th, c. 16, it was compleatly repealed, and the proviſions of the 22d Hen. 8th were revived.

[1] This is the mode, by which the Poor in many of the pariſhes of the midland counties, who are able to work, are ſtill maintained in the winter. They are known under the denomination of *roundſmen*, from going *round* the town, from houſe to houſe, to ſolicit employment. In many places the rule is, that a houſholder, whoſe rent amounts to a certain ſum, ſhall, in his turn, employ a roundſman for one day, at a ſtipulated allowance. See the Second Volume of this work, 27. 29. 548. [2] Commonwealth of England, ed. 1635, 249.

By

By the 5th and 6th of Edw. 6th, c. 2. the chief officers in cities and towns, and the miniſters and church-wardens in country pariſhes, were directed annually to appoint two, or more, able perſons, to be collectors of the alms of the people for the relief of the Poor. The collectors, on the Sunday after their election, were to "gently aſk "and demand of every man and woman, what they of their charity "would be contented to give weekly towards the relief of the Poor," and to regiſter the ſum in a book: they were likewiſe entruſted with the diſtribution of the money collected; and authorized to employ the Poor in ſuch work as they were able to do. They were to account quarterly with the magiſtrates of cities, and the miniſters and church-wardens of villages; and, on quitting their office, to deliver up the ſurplus money in their hands, to be put in the common cheſt of the church, or in ſome other ſafe place. The penalty, however, for not accounting is ſo ſlight, although perhaps ſomewhat more formidable than it would now be conſidered, that, like many Treaſurers of modern Friendly Societies, the collectors for the Poor muſt have often peculated with impunity. The ſtatute ſays, "if they refuſe to account within eight days, (after the expiration of their office,) the biſhop of the dioceſe, or ordinary, ſhall compel them, *by cenſures of the church*, to account before ſuch perſons as he ſhall appoint."

The means provided by the ſtatute for the enforcing, and collecting of, alms, appear to have been equally weak and inefficacious. It is ſaid, "that if any perſon, being able to further this charitable work, "do obſtinately and frowardly refuſe to give towards the help of the "Poor, or do wilfully diſcourage others from ſo charitable a deed, the "parſon, vicar, or curate, and church-wardens of the pariſh where he "dwelleth, ſhall gently exhort him: and if he will not be ſo perſuaded, "then, on certificate of ſuch parſon, vicar, or curate, to the biſhop of "the dioceſe, the biſhop ſhall ſend for him, to induce and perſuade "him by charitable ways and means; and ſo, according to his diſ-"cretion, to take order for the reformation thereof."

While the Legiſlature were thus providing for the maintenance of the neceſſitous, they were not inattentive to the preſervation of the morals of the labouring claſſes of the community. Ale-houſes, which had

ſlightly been noticed in an Act paſſed in the 11th year of Henry the Seventh, by which Juſtices of the Peace were empowered to reſtrain the common ſelling of ale[1], were again, in 1552, placed under the direction of the magiſtrates. The Act paſſed for this purpoſe recites, "That "intolerable hurts and troubles to the commonwealth doth[2] daily grow "and encreaſe through ſuch abuſes and diſorders as are had in com-"mon ale-houſes, and other houſes called tippling-houſes;" Juſtices of the Peace are empowered "to put away common ſelling of ale and beer "in common ale-houſes; and none ſhall keep an ale-houſe but ſuch as "ſhall be admitted in open Seſſions, or by two Juſtices. And the Juſ-"tices ſhall take bond and ſurety, or recognizance, as well againſt the "uſing of unlawful games, as alſo for the uſing and maintenance of "good order, as by their diſcretion ſhall be thought neceſſary and con-"venient."

By the 2d and 3d Ph. and M. c. 5. many of the ſtatutes concerning beggars, vagabonds, and idle perſons, were enforced. The time of appointing collectors, and making collection of alms, was altered from Whitſuntide to Chriſtmas; probably not only becauſe the former was a moveable feaſt, and the duration of the office very irregular, but, likewiſe, becauſe at Chriſtmas the Poor were more neceſſitous than they were at Whitſuntide; but the Rich, it might naturally be expected, would, amidſt the good cheer of the greateſt feſtival in the year, be moſt diſpoſed to be liberal in their contributions[3]. A penalty of 40s. was alſo annexed to refuſal of the office of collector. If a pariſh had more Poor than it was able to maintain, the Juſtices were empowered

[1] So in the Act. [2] The author of a pamphlet, lately publiſhed, containing much information relative to public-houſes, remarks, that, notwithſtanding the vaſt decreaſe in the value of money, there has been no increaſe in the penalty on the forfeiture of an ale-houſe-keeper's recogniſance, which is ſtill no more than 10l.; and is, in moſt inſtances, a mere matter of form, one publican being ſecurity for another.——Obſervations and Tracts relative to public-houſes, 6. [3] So thought old Tuſſer:

"At Chriſtmas we banket, the riche with the poore,
"Who then (but the miſer) but openeth his doore?
"At Chriſtmas by labour is iittle to get;
"That wanting, the poreſt in daunger are ſet.
"——What ſeaſon then better, of all the whole yere,
"Thy needy poore neighbour to comfort and chere?"

to grant a licence to poor folks to go abroad to beg and receive alms out of their reſpective pariſhes, in their own, or in an adjoining county. The magiſtrates in cities were alſo empowered "to induce, move, and perſuade" the inhabitants of wealthy pariſhes to contribute towards the relief of the Poor in a more needy pariſh.

All poor folks, licenſed to beg out of the limits of a city or town corporate, were ordered to wear, both on the breaſt and on the back of of their outermoſt garment, ſome notable badge, or token, to be aſſigned to them by the head officer, with the aſſent of two juſtices.

Previous to the paſſing of the "Act for the relief of the Poor," in 1601, (which, having concentrated all the former laws relative to this ſubject in one point, may be conſidered as the head-ſtone of our preſent eſtabliſhment,) the Legiſlature attempted, by various means, to ſecure a maintenance to the impotent, and employment to the idle, part of the community. It is not, however, from a peruſal only of the records of parliament that we can decide on the expediency of the Acts paſſed for this purpoſe. In order to aſcertain the excellence of any law, it is extremely eſſential to advert to the manners and cuſtoms of the people, and the general circumſtances of the country at the period when it was adopted; and to conſider how far thoſe evils exiſted, for which a legiſlative remedy was propoſed: it is with this view that I ſhall notice a few circumſtances relative to the civil and domeſtic ſituation of the labouring claſſes, in the interval between the Reformation and the concluſion of the long (and, in ſome inſtances, glorious,) reign of Elizabeth.

Previous to the 16th century, the introduction of manufactures and commerce had produced very important changes in the ſtate of ſociety in England. In purſuing the various occupations of induſtry, the people had diſcovered the means of emancipating themſelves from the heavy ſhackles of vaſſalage and ſervitude: and the nobility, in judiciouſly preferring a turn of expence, which promoted the arts, to the coarſe enjoyments of baronial ſplendor, which were the ſource of idleneſs and diſorder, had neceſſarily bartered their perſonal authority for private comfort: and whilſt their individual influence over their dependents was thus gradually waſting away, their collective preponderance in the ſcale of government, which had often enabled them to reſiſt even

kingly power with ſucceſs, was completely overthrown by the deſolating effects of the civil wars between the Yorkiſts and Lancaſtrians. So many ancient families were annihilated in the conteſt; and ſo many noblemen, on both ſides, periſhed either in the field or on the ſcaffold, that Henry the Seventh could only ſummon twenty-eight temporal peers to his firſt parliament[1]: nor was the number much increaſed during his reign; only thirty-ſix temporal peers were ſummoned to the firſt parliamen of Henry the Eighth[2]. By the diſſolution of the monaſteries, the remaining branch of the ariſtocracy was deſtroyed; and, many of the obſtacles that had long oppoſed the progreſs of induſtry being thus removed, the middling ranks inſenſibly advanced to wealth and independence; although it is juſtly obſerved, that, in the interval between the fall of the nobles and the riſe of this order, many of our monarchs availed themſelves of the times, and aſſumed an authority almoſt abſolute[3].

The exerciſe of the prerogatives of the Crown, in the inſtances of purveyance and monopolies, was carried by Elizabeth to ſuch an extent, that the progreſs of improvement in every branch of induſtry was much retarded, and civil liberty might be ſaid to be completely extinguiſhed.

Of the oppreſſions ariſing from purveyance Lord Bacon has given a long detail[4]; and with regard to monopolies, there was hardly a commodity

[1] Dugd. Summons to Parl. [2] Dugd. Summons to Parl. 486. [3] Hume, 1ſt ed. iv. 737.

[4] I venture to tranſcribe the paſſage, (although a long one,) from his works, as it gives a very faithful picture of the hardſhips ſuſtained by the people from the exerciſe of this (perhaps the moſt intolerable) branch of the prerogative. In his ſpeech againſt purveyors, he ſays: "Firſt, they take in hand what they ought not to take; ſecondly, they take in "quantity a far greater proportion than cometh to your majeſty's uſe; thirdly, they take in "an unlawful manner, in a manner, I ſay, directly and expreſsly prohibited by ſeveral laws. "For the firſt, I am a little to alter their name; for, inſtead of *takers*, they become *taxers*; "inſtead of taking proviſions for your majeſty's ſervice, they tax your people *ad redimendam* "*vexationem*; impoſing upon them, and extorting from them divers ſums of money, ſometimes "in groſs, ſometimes in the nature of ſtipends annually paid; *ne noceant*, to be freed and "eaſed of their oppreſſion. Again, they take trees, which by law they cannot do; timber-trees, "which are the beauty, countenance, and ſhelter of men's houſes; that men have long "ſpared from their own purſe and profit; that men eſteem for their uſe and delight, above "ten times the value; that are a loſs which men cannot repair or recover. Theſe do they "take, to the defacing and ſpoiling of your ſubjects manſions and dwellings, except they

modity of importance that was not conſigned to the monopolizing hand of a patentee. Iron, ſteel, ſkins, pot-aſhes, ſalt-petre, glaſs, paper, ſtarch, tin, leather, wool, yarn, ſea-coals, and beer, form but a ſmall part of the long liſt of monopolies: the member[1] in the Houſe of Commons

"may be compounded with to their own appetites. And if a gentleman be too hard for "them while he is at home, they will watch their time when there is but a bailiff or a ſer- "vant remaining; and put the ax to the root of the tree, ere ever the maſter can ſtop it. "Again, they uſe a ſtrange and moſt unjuſt exaction, in cauſing the ſubjects to pay poun- "dage of their own debts due from your majeſty unto them: ſo as a poor man, when "he has had his hay or his wood, or his poultry, (which perchance he was full loath to "part with, and had for the proviſion of his own family, and not to put to ſale, taken from "him, and that not at a juſt price, but under the value, and cometh to receive his "money, he ſhall have after the rate of twelve pence in the pound abated for poundage of "his due payment upon ſo hard conditions. Nay, farther, they are grown to that extremity, "(as is affirmed, though it be ſcarce credible, ſave that in ſuch perſons all things are "credible,) that they will take double poundage, once when the debenture is made, and "again the ſecond time when the money is paid. For the ſecond point, moſt gracious "Sovereign, touching the quantity which they take, far above that which is anſwered to "your majeſty's uſe; it is affirmed unto me, by divers gentlemen of good report, as a mat- "ter which I may ſafely avouch unto your majeſty, that there is no pound profit, which "redoundeth unto your majeſty in this courſe, but induceth and begetteth three pound da- "mage upon your ſubjects, beſide the diſcontentment. And to the end they may make "their ſpoil more ſecurely, what do they? Whereas divers ſtatutes do ſtrictly provide, "that whatſoever they take ſhall be regiſtered and atteſted, to the end that, by making a col- "lation of that which is taken from the country and that which is anſwered above, their de- "ceits might appear, they, to the end to obſcure their deceits, utterly omit the obſervation "of this, which the law preſcribeth. And therefore, to deſcend, if it may pleaſe your ma- "jeſty, to the third ſort of abuſe, which is of the unlawful manner of taking, whereof "this queſtion is a branch; it is ſo manifold, as it rather aſketh an enumeration of ſome of "the particulars than a proſecution of all.

"For their price—By law, they ought to take as they can agree with the ſubject; by abuſe, "they take at an impoſed and enforced price: by law, they ought to make but one apprize- "ment by the neighbours in the country; by abuſe, they make a ſecond apprize- "ment at the court gate; and when the ſubjects cattle come up many miles, lean, and out "of plight by reaſon of their travel, then they price them anew at an abated price. By "law, they ought to take between ſun and ſun; by abuſe, they take by twilight and in the "night-time, a time well choſen for malefactors. By law, they ought not to take in the "highways, (a place by her majeſty's high prerogative protected, and by ſtatute by ſpecial "words excepted;) by abuſe, they take in the highways. By law, they ought to ſhew their "commiſſion, &c." Bacon's Works, 4to. iv. 305—6. The reader will find a curious account of the compoſitions paid by the different counties in the year 1593, in lieu of purveyance, in the Appendix to this Volume, No. iv. p. cxi.

[1] Mr. Hackwell,

Commons was well juſtified, who expreſſed his ſurpriſe that bread was not in the number [1].

Little doubt, however, can be entertained, that, during the 16th century, the nation was making unexampled ſtrides towards the attainment of opulence and comfort. The frequent proclamations enacted againſt the practice of encloſing lands that had been uſed in tillage, which, it is ſuppoſed, created a decay of huſbandry [2]; the various complaints againſt foreign manufacturers and artificers, who much excelled the Engliſh in dexterity and induſtry; and the numerous acts that were paſſed in Henry the Eighth's reign for the improvement of highways and bridges, paving of towns, draining of marſhes, and other public purpoſes; and the many private acts for regulating the property of individuals, are ſtrong proofs of the flouriſhing ſtate of the kingdom.

It muſt, however, be admitted, that, on the other ſide, there are many facts mentioned by hiſtorians, which might incline us to ſuppoſe, that the country was much impoveriſhed, did we not recollect, that, in all ages, the deſponding and diſcontented magnified the excellencies of the paſt, and undervalued the bleſſings of their own times. It was a common topic of complaint during every part of the fifteenth century, that our cities were going faſt to decay. Mr. Hume ſuppoſes that it was in conſequence of a more regular police, and a ſtricter adminiſtration of juſtice, that men of property were now induced to leave the provin-

[1] D'Ewes, Journals, 648. Hume, 1ſt ed. iv. 706. Parl. Hiſt. iv. 462. [2] Whatever may have been the effects of encloſures, it appears, from the able political dialogue, which I have before cited, that *they* had not increaſed either the price of corn or of meat. One of the ſpeakers remarks: "Synce yee have plenty of all thinges, of corne and cattell "(as yee ſay,) then it ſhould not ſeeme this dearth ſhould belonge of theſe incloſures; for "it is not for ſcarceneſſe of corne that yee have this dearth, (for, thanked bee God!) corne "is good cheape, and ſo hath bene theſe many yeares paſt continually. Than it cannot bee "the occaſion of the dearth of cattell, for incloſure is the thing that nouriſheth moſt of any "other." And again: "I cannot perceve it (encloſing) ſhoulde bee the only cauſe of this "dearth (*i. e.* dearneſs;) for this incloſynge and greate graſinge, if it were occaſion of that "dearth, of any thing it muſt be of corne chiefly; and nowe, theſe many yeares paſt, we "had corne good cheape enough; and the dearth that was then moſt, was of cattell, as "bieſes, and muttons; and the broode of theſe are rather increaſed than diminiſhed by paſ-"tures and incloſinges."——A compendious or briefe Examination of certayne ordinary complaints, &c. (publiſhed in 1581,) f. 4. and f. 20.

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cial towns, and to retire into the country[1]. I ſhould rather aſcribe the decline of corporate towns[2] to their excluſive privileges, which, although neceſſary in the infancy of their eſtabliſhment, for their preſervation, yet, when induſtry had taken a firm root in the kingdom, became not only unneceſſary, but oppreſſive; as tradeſmen were prevented from carrying on their occupations within them, unleſs they were qualified by patrimony, apprenticeſhip, or purchaſe. Of the regular police of the country, during the reigns of Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth, it does not appear that hiſtory has furniſhed us with many proofs: the nation was ſtill far from having attained what could be called a ſtate of civilization and order; and the principal difference between the enormities committed in ancient times and in the fifteenth century, ſeems to have

[1] Hiſt. of England, iii. 285. [2] The Statute-book affords many inſtances of the declining ſtate of corporate towns. In the 3 H. 8. c. 8. it is obſerved, that, by the 12 E. 2. it had been enacted, that "no miniſter (*i. e.* magiſtrate) in city or borough, which, by reaſon of his office, ought "to keep aſſizes of wines and victuals, as long as he ſhould be attendant to that office, ſhould "merchant wines and victuals." And the reaſon here given for repealing the Act is, that "many and the moſt part of all the cities, boroughs, and towns corporate within the "realm of England were fallen in ruin and decay, and not inhabited with merchants and "men of ſuch ſubſtance as they were at the time of making of that ſtatute; for, at this "day, the dwellers and inhabitants of the ſame cities and boroughs be moſt commonly bakers, "brewers, vintners, fiſhmongers, and other victuallers; and few or no other perſons of "ſubſtance be within many of the ſaid cities, other than the foreſaid victuallers, at this "day able and ſufficient to bear office within the ſame." This is exactly the picture of many a country town, in which the only buſineſs carried on is created by the conſumption of the inhabitants. The hiſtorians, however, of this period omitted to remark, that, although the manufacturer had deſerted cities and boroughs, (as he had no longer need of the protection of corporations,) he had ſettled in unprivileged places; which, even in the reign of Elizabeth, appear, in many inſtances, to have been in a very flouriſhing ſtate. Birmingham, even in Leland's time, was eminent for its cutlery; and Mancheſter, as early as 1552, appears to have been a place of conſiderable conſequence. An Act, paſſed in that year, notices its cottons, rugges, and frizes: (5 & 6 E. 6. c. 6.) In an Act paſſed in 1541, (33 H. 8. c. 15.) it is remarked, that Mancheſter had a long time been a town well inhabited; and the inhabitants "well ſet to work in making of cloths, as well of "linen as of woollen, whereby the inhabitants of the ſaid town have gotten and come "into riches and wealthy livings; and, by reaſon of great occupying, good order, ſtrict and "true dealing of the inhabitants of the ſaid town, many ſtrangers, as well of Ireland, as "of other places, had reſorted thither." 33 H. 8. c. 15. It is remarkable, that the Acts paſſed in Henry the Eighth's reign, for removing rubbiſh and nuiſances from the void places in decayed towns, almoſt univerſally reſpect corporate cities.

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been, that, in the former, large bodies of men, headed by a deſperate chieftain, carried on a ſpecies of civil war againſt their neighbours; and, in the latter, every part of the kingdom was infeſted with vagabonds and robbers. Writers, who contend that ſeverity of puniſhment is not the beſt preventive of crime, are fully juſtified by the hiſtory of this period: never were ſevere laws iſſued in greater abundance, nor executed more rigorouſly; and never did the unrelenting vengeance of juſtice prove more ineffectual. The priſoners for debt, in the different gaols in the kingdom, are ſtated by Mr. Hume, on the authority of an Act of Parliament paſſed in 1512[1], to have exceeded the number of 60,000; and Harriſon aſſures us, that the king executed his laws with ſuch ſeverity, that 72,000 "great and petty thieves were put to death during his reign[2]." He adds, that, even in Elizabeth's reign, "rogues were truſſed up apace;" and that there was not "one year, commonly, wherein 300 or 400 of them were not devoured and eaten up by the gallows, in one place and other[3]." This account of the diſorderly ſtate of the kingdom is ſtrongly corroborated by a ſtatement preſerved by Strype, which was written by an eminent Juſtice of the Peace in Somerſetſhire, in the year 1596, five years before the memorable Act for the relief of the Poor. In enumerating the diſorders which then prevailed in that county, the author informs us, that "forty perſons had "there been executed, in a year, for robberies, thefts, and other felonies; "thirty-five burnt in the hand; thirty-ſeven whipped; 183 diſcharged: "that thoſe who were diſcharged were moſt wicked and deſperate per"ſons, who never could come to any good, becauſe they would not "work, and none would take them into ſervice: that, notwithſtand"ing theſe great number of indictments, the fifth part of the felonies "committed in the county were not brought to trial; and the greater "number eſcaped cenſure, either from the ſuperior cunning of the

[1] 3 H. 8. c. 15. I, however, doubt whether the words of the Act warrant Mr. Hume's conſtruction. They are: "Where (whereas) the workers and makers of caps and hats, within "this realme of England, have daily occupied, and ſet on worke in making of caps and hats "of the king's natural ſubjects, that is to ſay, men, women, maidens, and children (borne "within this realme of England,) to the great relieſe and comforte of poor priſoners within "this realme, to the number of threeſcore thouſand perſons, and above, in carding, ſpin"ning, &c."——Raſtell's Statutes, i. 407. [2] Deſcription of England, 186. [3] Ibid.

"felons,

"felons, the remiſſneſs of the magiſtrates, or the fooliſh lenity of the "people: that the rapines committed by the infinite number of wick- "ed, wandering, idle people, were intolerable to the poor countrymen, "and obliged them to a perpetual watch of their ſheep-folds, paſtures, "woods, and corn-fields: that the other counties of England were in "no better condition than Somerſetſhire; and many of them were even "in a worſe: that there were, at leaſt, 300 or 400 able-bodied vaga- "bonds in every county, who lived by theft and rapine; and who ſome- "times met in troops to the number of ſixty, and committed ſpoil on "the inhabitants: that if all the felons of this kind were reduced to "good ſubjection, they would form a ſtrong army: and that the ma- "giſtrates were awed, by the aſſociations and the threats of confede- "rates, from executing juſtice on the offenders[1]." Such a picture of a ſingle county is ſufficient to convince us of the deplorable ſtate of the whole kingdom. It is, however, very difficult, at this diſtance of time, to diſcover the cauſes of theſe diſorders; but it is probable that they were in a great meaſure owing to the difficulty of finding regular employment for the ſuperfluous hands which were not required in agri- culture. Tillage appears to have improved very conſiderably, both in this, and in the preceding reign: in 1574, twenty buſhels of wheat an acre were eſteemed a fair average crop[2]; and ſuch a produce would, even now, in many parts of England, not be conſidered as deſpicable[3]. As huſbandry became better underſtood, the proportion of arable land was leſſened, and conſequently fewer hands were required for the ope- rations of agriculture. The uſeleſs population of the country would,

[1] Strype's Annals, iv. 290. Hume's Hiſt. of Engl. iv. 726. [2] Harriſon ſays: "The yeeld of our corne-ground is much after this rate following: Through out "the land (if you pleaſe to make an eſtimat thereof by the acre,) in meane and indif- "ferent yeares, wherein each acre of rie or wheat, well tilled and dreſſed, will yeeld "commonlie ſixteene or twentie buſhels; an acre of barlie, ſix-and-thirtie buſhels; of otes, "and ſuch like, foure or five quarters; which proportion is notwithſtanding oft abated "toward the North, as it is oftentimes ſurmounted in the South." Deſcript. of Brit. 110.—Hackluyt, in his Accounts of Voyages, (but I cannot recollect in which,) ſpeaks of forty buſhels of wheat an acre, in England, as a great, but not improbable, crop. [3] In many parts of the weald of Suſſex, the produce of wheat does not exceed twelve, fourteen, or ſixteen buſhels an acre.——General View of the Agric. of the Co. of Suſſex, 30.

however, in the natural progreſs of ſociety, have gradually reſorted to the various branches of induſtry, which were opened by the increaſing demand for manufactures, had not the injudicious ſyſtem of taxation, which was purſued at this period, thrown inſurmountable difficulties in the way of commercial exertion. The illegal extortions of gifts from the ſubject, compulſive loans, purveyance, and monopolies, were ſufficient to extinguiſh the enterpriſing ſpirit of commerce and manufacture; ſuch arbitrary proceedings (a member of the Houſe of Commons had the courage, even in Elizabeth's days, to remark) brought general profit into private hands, and ended in beggary and bondage[1]. Four licences, granted to courtiers, occaſioned the ruin of ſeven or eight thouſand of the queen's ſubjects[2]. Even Burleigh, the ableſt ſtateſman of his time, ſeems to have been an advocate for a ſyſtem of extortion. In a ſpeech he made to the queen and council, he propoſed the erection of a new court, to be intruſted with a general inquiſitorial power over the whole kingdom, for the better correction of abuſes. By ſuch methods, he aſſerted, Henry the Seventh had added greatly to his revenues; and he expreſſed his full expectations, that ſuch an inſtitution would procure a greater acceſſion to the royal treaſure, than Henry the Eighth derived from the abolition of the abbies, and the ſeizure of the property of the church[3]. This propoſition, however, fortunately for the nation, was rejected.

Even ſubſidies, which perhaps fell leſs heavily on the people than any other taxes, were levied with great partiality; and their produce was extremely variable and uncertain. A ſubſidy, which in the 8th of Elizabeth amounted to £120,000. in the 40th year of her reign was only £78,000. It was continually decreaſing; and was ſo far conſidered as a perſonal tax, that a man paid only in the county where he lived, although he poſſeſſed various eſtates in other parts of the kingdom[4]. Mr. Hume adds, that the aſſeſſors formed a very looſe valuation of a man's property, and rated him accordingly: "when "rents fell, or parcels were ſold off an eſtate, the proprietor was ſure "to repreſent theſe loſſes, and obtain a diminution of his ſubſidy; but

[1] Sinclair, Hiſt. of the Revenue, 2d ed. i. 132. [2] D'Ewes, Journals, 242. [3] Strype's Annals, iv. 234. [4] Hume, Hiſt. of Engl. v. 126.

"when rents roſe, or new lands were purchaſed, he kept his own "ſecret, and paid no more than formerly. The *ſmall proprietors, or "twenty pound men*[1], (for none of leſs income paid any ſubſidy,) went "continually to decay; and when their eſtates were ſwallowed up by "a greater, the new purchaſer increaſed not his ſubſidy." This appears to me to be far from a ſatisfactory account, either of the method of impoſing this tax, or of the cauſes of the great decreaſe in it's produce. The tax-gatherers might be (and I have no doubt they were,) extremely partial to perſons in authority; but I cannot conceive how the acquiſition of the eſtates of twenty pound men by great proprietors could poſſibly have leſſened the amount of the tax: for, in conſequence of the transfer, land, which was before exempted, became rateable to the ſubſidy; as two houſes of five windows each, if converted into one, would now, in conſequence of ſuch alteration, be ſubjected to the window-tax. Neither can the twenty pound men be conſidered as *ſmall proprietors*. A farm of £ 200. a year, even in thoſe parts of England which have been the leaſt improved, is, I conceive, not more extenſive than one of £ 20. a year in the reign of Elizabeth; and the owner of £ 200. a year in land cannot, I think, be conſidered in the light of a ſmall proprietor. A more obvious way of accounting for the falling off of the ſubſidy, is to ſuppoſe, that the ſize of eſtates was rather reduced than diminiſhed. The ſtatutes which enabled the nobility to alienate their eſtates, the ſeizure and ſale of abbey lands by Henry the Eighth, and the general effects of increaſing induſtry, muſt have powerfully operated towards a more equal diviſion of property than could poſſibly have taken place in times, when the nation was poorer, and the ſhackles of mortmain and entails more rigidly obſerved. I admit, however, that whilſt theſe powerful cauſes

[1] Latymer, in his Sermons, takes notice of this practice: "When the Parliament, "the high court of this realme, is gathered together, and there it is determined that "every man ſhall pay a XV part of his goodes to the king: then commiſſions come "forth; and he that, in ſight of men, in his cattel, corne, ſheepe, and other goodes, is worth "an C marke, or an C pound, will ſet him ſelfe at X pound; he will be worth no more to "the king, but after X pound. Tell me now, whether this be theft or no? His cattell, "corne, ſheepe, in every man's eyes, ſhall be worth two C pound; beſides other thinges, as "mony and plate; and he will marry his daughter, and give with her iiij or v C markes, "and yet, at the valuation, he will be a XX pound man."——Sermons, f. 97.

were

were gradually transferring a great portion of the eſtates of the church and the nobility into the hands of country gentlemen, (that middling claſs of proprietors, which was now increaſing very faſt both in number and opulence,) the race of *cottagers* was going faſt to decay: this muſt ever be the caſe in an improved ſtate of agriculture. The half-ſtarved proprietor of ten or twenty acres will often be perſuaded to part with his land to a rich neighbour, who farms on an extenſive ſcale. Theſe ſymptoms of increaſing wealth, however, often cauſed great alarm in the Legiſlature; and it was often attempted to "make farms and houſes of huſbandry of a ſtandard;" a device, which Lord Bacon dignifies with the appellation of "profound and admirable." Among other effects, which the Legiſlature aſcribed to great farms, the number of ſheep is particularly noticed. The Act paſſed in 1533, for reſtraining the number of ſheep to be kept in one flock to 2000, remarks, that ſome proprietors had even flocks of 24,000 ſheep[1]; and aſcribes the increaſe of the price of meat to the increaſe of ſheep[2], from flocks being monopolized by a few individuals; and yet, from comparing the prices of meat with the prices of corn, it would appear that the former were moderate. Beef and pork were ſold at a half-penny a pound[3], while wheat, uſually, exceeded 18s. the quarter[4]. Dr. Price infers from the language of the ſtatute which regulates the price of beef, veal, pork, and mutton, that theſe articles, in the 16th century, were the food of the poor[5]. I ſhould, however, imagine, that the conſumption of meat was principally confined to cities; and that bread, and that not of

[1] 25 H. 8. c. 13. [2] One of the ſpeakers in the dialogue above quoted was of the ſame opinion: "yea, thoſe ſheepe *is* the cauſe of all theſe miſchieves, for they have "driven huſbandry out of the countrey, by the which was increaſed before, all kinde of "victuals, and now altogeether ſheepe, ſheepe, ſheepe!" A Compendious or Briefe Examination, &c. F. 5. [3] 24 H. 8. c. 3. [4] See Table of Prices, Appendix, No. 1. [5] Price, on Reverſ. Payments, 5th ed. ii. 285. This may be doubted: it appears from Sir John Cullum's Hiſtory of Hawſted, that, in 1359, the poor land-holders, who were obliged by their tenures to work for the lord in hay-time and harveſt, had no other allowance of animal food than two herrings a day each, and ſome milk from the manor dairy to make them cheeſe; they had, beſides, each man a loaf, of which 15 made a buſhel, and an allowance of drink, the quantity of which was not ſpecified. Hiſt. of Hawſted, 183. In 1386, oat-meal was part of the food of ſervants: in that year, 12 buſhels were uſed for the food

 of

of the beſt quality, was the uſual and principal diet of the labouring people. The following deſcription from Harriſon affords us a very adequate idea of their mean and ſcanty fare in theſe days. "The "bread throughout the land," he ſays, "is made of ſuch graine as the "ſoile yeeldeth; nevertheleſſe the gentilitie commonlie provide "themſelves ſufficientlie of wheat for their owne tables, whileſt their "houſehold and poore neighbours in ſome ſhires are inforced to content "themſelves with rie or barleie; yea, and in time of dearth, manie with "bread made either of beans, peaſon, or otes, or of altogither, and ſome "acorns among; of which ſcourge the pooreſt doo ſooneſt taſt, ſith they "are leaſt able to provide themſelves of better. I will not ſaie that this "extremitie is oft ſo well to be ſeene in time of plentie as of dearth; "but if I ſhould, I could eaſilie bring my triall." He adds, that the artificer and labourer are "driven to content themſelves with horſſe "corne, beanes, peaſon, otes, tares and lintels[1]." Reſpecting brown bread,

of ſeven. Ibid. 184. In Henry the Eighth's reign, bacon ſeems to have conſtituted a part of the diet of labourers. Latymer ſays, it "is their neceſſary meate to feede one, which they may not lacke." Sermons, 106. I have no doubt, however, but that it formed a very inconſiderable portion of the labourer's fare; and that, even at the latter end of the fifteenth century, he lived, as the peaſants in the North do now, on oat and rye-bread, milk, and pottage. Tuſſer remarks:

"No ſpoon meat, no belly-full labourers thinke."

He adds, that, twice a week, they were allowed roaſt meat.

"Good ploughmen looke weekely, of cuſtome, and right,
"For roſt meat on Sundaies, and Thurſdaies at night."—p. 14.

I apprehend, that the ſubſtantiality of diet, for which the ſixteenth century is renowned, was confined chiefly to the tables of perſons of rank: A maid of honour, perhaps, breakfaſted on roaſt beef; but the ploughman, (in theſe good old times, as they are called,) I fear, could only banquet "upon the ſtrength of water-gruel," as many northern and robuſt peaſants do now. I have inſerted a curious ſpecimen of the good living in a nobleman's family in the year 1523, in the Appendix to this Volume, No. v. p. cxvi. The account is extracted from the original cator's book of the houſhold expences of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, (father of the celebrated, but unfortunate, ſonnetteer, who was born about 1520, and beheaded in 1547,) at his Halls of Stoke by Neyland in Suffolk, and Hunſdonn in Hertfordſhire. Some idea of the uſual diet of the Poor in Queen Elizabeth's days may be formed from the food allowed in a houſe of correction, which the reader will find particularly ſet down in the Appendix, No. viii. p. cxliii.

[1] Deſcript. of Engl. 168.

he obſerves, "there are two ſorts[1]; one baked up as it commeth from "the mill, ſo that neither the bran nor the floure are anie whit dimi- "niſhed; the other hath little or no floure left therein at all, and it is "not onlie the woorſt and weakeſt of all the other ſorts, but alſo appoint- "ed in old time for ſervants, ſlaves, and the inferiour kind of people to "feed upon. Hereunto likewiſe, bicauſe it is drie and brickle in the "working (for it will hardlie be made up handſomelie into loaves,) ſome "adde a portion of rie-meale in our time, whereby the rough drineſſe or "drie roughnes therof is ſomewhat qualified, and then it is named "miſcelin[2], that is, bread made of mingled corne, albeit that diverſe doo "ſow, or mingle wheat and rie of ſet purpoſe at the mill, or before it "come there, and ſell the ſame at the markets under the aforeſaid name[3]. "In champeigne countries much rie and barleie bread is eaten, but "eſpecially where wheat is ſcant and geſon[4]."

The

[1] Of the various ſorts of bread uſed in his time, Harriſon gives the following deſcription: "Our good workemen deliver commonlie ſuch proportion, that of the flower of one buſhel "with another, they make 40 caſt of *manchet*, of which everie loſe weigheth eight ounces "into the oven and ſix ounces out. The ſecond is the *cheat* or wheaton bread, ſo named "becauſe the colour thereof reſembleth the graie and yellowiſh wheat, being cleane and "well dreſſed; and out of this is the courſeſt of the bran (uſually called gurgeons, or pollard,) "taken. The *ravelled* is a kind of cheat bread alſo, but it reteineth more of the groſſe, and "leſſe of the pure ſubſtance of the wheat: and this, being more ſleightlie wrought up, is "uſed in the halles of the nobilitie and gentrie onlie; whereas the other either is, or ſhould "be, baked in cities and good townes, of an appointed ſize, (according to ſuch price as the "corne dooth beare,) and by a ſtatute provided by King John in that behalfe. The raveled "cheat, therefore, is generallie ſo made, that out of one buſhel of meale, after 22 pounds of bran "be ſifted and taken from it, (whereunto they ad the gurgeons that riſe from the manchet,) "they make 30 caſt, everie loſe weighing 18 ounces in the oven, and 16 ounces out; and "beſide this, they ſo handle the matter, that to everie buſhell of meale they add only 22 or "23 pound of water, waſhing alſo in ſome houſes there corne before it go to the mill, whereby "their manchet bread is more excellent in colour, and pleaſing to the eie. The next ſort "is named *browne bread*, &c." Deſcript. of Engl. 169.

[2] Much maſlin is ſtill grown in the northern counties. Moryſon, who wrote in Elizabeth's reign, remarks, that "the Engliſh huſbandmen eate barley and rye browne bread, and pre- "ferre it to white bread, as abiding longer in the ſtomack, and not ſo ſoone diſgeſted with "their labour, but citizens and gentlemen eate moſt pure white bread." Itinerary, iii part, 149. The commoneſt bread uſed in England, at this period, it is probable, was barley bread. Lord Coke mentions it as the diet allowed to criminals who ſuffered the *peine forte et dure*. 4 Inſt. c. 12.

[3] Deſcript. of Engl. 169.

[4] "Strange and *geaſon*" occurs in Spenſer's "Mother Hubberd's Tale, l. 12.: the word *geaſon* is

alſo

The accounts, however, of this author reſpecting population, it muſt be confeſſed, are ſomewhat contradictory. Depopulation, he ſays, "is growing by incroaching and joining of houſe to houſe, and laieing "land to land, whereby the inhabitants of manie places of our countrie "are devoured and eaten up, and their houſes either altogither pulled "downe or ſuffered to decaie by litle and litle, although ſometime a "poore man peradventure dooth dwell in one of them, who, not being "able to repare it, ſuffereth it to fall downe, and thereto thinketh him-"ſelfe very friendlie dealt withall, if he may have an acre of ground "aſſigned unto him, whereon to keepe a cow, or wherein to ſet "cabbages, radiſhes, parſneps, carrets, melons, pompons, or ſuch like "ſtuffe, by which he and his poore houſehold liveth as by their principall "food, ſith they can do no better. And as for wheaten bread, they "eat it when they can reach unto the price of it, contenting them-"ſelves, in the meane time, with bread made of oates or barlie, a "poore eſtate, God wot! howbeit, what care our great incrochers? "But in divers places, where rich men dwelle ſometime in good tene-"ments, there be now no houſes at all, but hop-yards, and ſheads for "poles, or peradventure gardens[1]."

"It is an eaſie matter," he ſays, "to proove that England was never "leſſe furniſhed with people than at this preſent; for if the old records "of everie manour be ſought, and ſearch made to find what tenements "are fallen either downe, or into the lord's hands, or brought and united "togither by other men, it will ſoone appeere that in ſome one manour "ſeventeene, eighteene, or twentie houſes are ſhrunke; I know what I "ſaie by my owne experience; notwithſtanding that ſome one cotage "be here and there erected of late, which is to little purpoſe. Of cities "and townes either utterlie decaied, or more than a quarter or halfe dimi-"niſhed, though ſome one be a little increaſed here and there; of townes "pulled downe for ſheepe-walks, and no more but the lordſhips[2] now "ſtanding in them, I could ſay ſomewhat[3]."

In another paſſage, however, he ſpeaks very differently; "ſome," he ſays, "do grudge at the great increaſe of people in theſe daies, "thinking a neceſſarie brood of cattel, farre better than a ſuperfluous

alſo uſed in the Fairy Queen, Book 6, Canto 4, Stanza 37. It ſeems to ſignify *remarkable* or *rare*.

[1] Deſcript. of Eng. 193. [2] Manor-houſes. [3] Deſcript. of Eng. 205.

"augmen-

" augmentation of mankind[1]. Certes a greate number complaine of " the increaſe of povertie, laying the cauſe upon God! as though he " were in fault for ſending ſuch increaſe of people, or want of wars that " ſhould conſume them, affirming that the land was never ſo full[2]."

The above accounts uniformly agree in one point, that the condition of the labouring claſſes was ſtill far from enviable. The middling ranks, however, before the end of the 16th century, appear to have advanced much in opulence and independence[3]. Harriſon himſelf, notwithſtanding his complaint of the wretchedneſs of the working people, admits, and deſcribes in animated language, the improved condition of farmers. After particulariſing the great changes that had taken place in private buildings, he adds, reſpecting the furniture of dwelling-houſes, that " ſo common were all ſorts of treene ſtuffe[4] in " old time, that a man ſhould hardlie find foure peeces of pewter, (of " which one was peradventure a ſalt,) in a good farmer's houſe; and " yet for all this frugalitie, (if it may ſo be juſtly called,) they were ſcarce " able to live, and paie their rents at their daies without ſelling of a cow

[1] Deſcript. of Engl. 183. [2] Deſcript. of Engl. 193. [3] The great decreaſe in the value of money, which was a common topic of complaint in Elizabeth's reign, appears to me to be an unequivocal proof of the increaſing proſperity of the country. A writer in 1581 remarked, that it required £200. a year to keep as good a houſe as might have been kept ſixteen years before for 200 marks, or £133. 6s. 8d. A compendious or briefe Examination, &c. F. 5. He ſays a little after: " I have ſeen a cap for " thirteen-pence as good as I can get now for two ſhillings ſixe-pence: of cloth yee have heard " how the price is ryſen. Now a payre of ſhooes coſt twelve-pence; yet in my tyme I have " bought a better for ſixe-pence. Now I can get never a horſe ſhooed under ten-pence or " twelve-pence, where I have alſo ſene the common pryce was ſixe-pence." F. 11.—" Can- " not your neighbour remember that, within theſe 30 yeres, I could buy the beſt pigge or " gooſe that I could lay my hand on for foure-pence, which now coſteth twelve-pence; a " good capon for three-pence or four-pence; a cheken for 1d.; a hen for 2d.; which now " coſteth mee double, and triple, the money: it is likewiſe in greater ware, as bieſe and " mutton." F. 14. [4] In the beginning of the ſixteenth century, " treene ſtuffe" was commonly uſed even by the nobility. The Earl of Northumberland and his Counteſs, (in 1511,) breakfaſted on trenſhers. It is probable, that they dined on pewter; as the comptroller and clerk of the ketchen were directed to purchaſe ſix dozen of *rughe pewter veſſel* for the ſervice of the houſe; and to hire 100 dozen of *rughe pewter veſſel*, at 4d. the dozen by the year, which I ſuppoſe were the commoneſt ſort of pewter plates. Two garniſh of *counterfeit veſſel* were alſo hired by the year. Northumberland Houſhold Book, 17. 75. *Counterfeit*

" cow or an horſſe or more, although they paid but 4 pounds at the " uttermoſt by the yeare. Such alſo was their povertie, that if ſome " one od farmer or huſbandman had beene at the ale-houſe, a thing " greatlie uſed in thoſe daies, amongſt 6 or 7 of his neighbours, and " there, in a braverie, to ſhew what ſtore he had, did caſt down his " purſſe and therein a noble or 6 ſhillings in ſilver unto them, (for few " ſuch men then cared for gold, bicauſe it was not ſo readie payment, " and they were oft inforced to give a penie for the exchange of an " angell,) it was verie likely, that all the reſt could not lay downe ſo " much againſt it; whereas in my time, although peradventure 4 " pounds of old rent be improved to 40, 50, or even 100 pounds[1], yet " will the farmer, as another palme or date tree, think his gaines very " ſmall, toward the end of his terme, if he have not ſix or ſeven yeares " rent lieng by him, therewith to purchaſe a new leaſe, beſide a faire " garniſh[2] of pewter on his cupbord, with ſo much more in od veſſel " going about the houſe, three or foure feather beds, ſo manie coverlids " and carpets of tapeſtrie, a ſilver ſalt, a bowle for wine, (if not a " whole neaſt,) and a dozzen of ſpoones to furniſh up the ſute[3]."

Of the dreſs about this period, Moryſon obſerves, that " huſbandmen " weare garments of courſe cloth made at home[4], and their wives " weare

veſſel ſeems to have been pewter, and other metal, gilt or waſhed over. Baſons *conterfete of latyn*, (a mixed metal reſembling braſs,) are mentioned in the Parliament rolls, vi. 141. A *garniſh* conſiſted of 12 platters, 12 diſhes, and 12 ſaucers. Harriſon, Deſcript. of Engl. 237. In 1475, the price of a garniſh of pewter veſſel was 20s. Rot. Parl. vi. 141. In ancient times, pewter veſſel was frequently hired for great entertainments. Dugdale mentions a gild in Warwickſhire, which let out their pewter for feaſts, at 4d. the dozen; which is the ſame price at which the Earl of Northumberland hired his rough veſſel. Dugd. Warw. 1 ed. 599. One of the articles of expence at archbiſhop Warham's enthronization dinner at Canterbury, in 1504, was: " de conductione v.c garniſh. vas. electr. (pewter) capient. pro le garniſh xd. Lel. Coll. vi. 31."

[1] Latymer, in his Sermons, preached before Edward the Sixth in 1549, makes a ſimilar complaint of this ſymptom of national improvement; the increaſe of rents: " that here " before went for 20 or 40 pound by yeare, (which is an honeſt portion to be had *gratis* in one " lordſhip of another man's ſweate and labour,) now is it let for L. or C. pound by yeare. F. 31.
[2] See note [4]. [3] Deſcript. of Engl. 188. [4] Ruſſet cloth, it is probable, was one of the houſhold manufactures: about the year 1514, it coſt 18. the broad yard. North. Houſh. Book, 354. Woollen-weavers of *huſwives or houſhold cloth* are exempted by

" weare gownes of the ſame cloth, kirtles[1] of ſome light ſtuffe with " linnen aprons, and cover their heads with a linnen coyfe and a high " felt hat, and, in generall, their linnen is courſe and made at home[2]:" a deſcription that is very applicable to the north-country men of the preſent day.

It is probable that the huſbandry of England, in the 16th century, was much in the ſtate that it is now in Scotland; where every little farmer has his plot of flax-ground, and the linen for the family is manufactured at home. We may be aſſured that flax, about this period, was grown on moſt farms, ſince the 24 H. 8. c. 4. obliges every perſon occupying 60 acres to ſow one rood with flax or hemp ſeed; and by the 5th Eliz. c. 5. one acre in ſixty was likewiſe directed to be ſown with hemp or flax ſeed[3]. It appears from the preamble of the firſt of theſe acts, that it's principal object was to give employment to the people; and from ſome expreſſions, which it contains, it would ſeem that the Legiſlature, even in theſe early times, had it in contemplation to adopt a policy, which has ſince been carried into execution, of employing the Poor in the ſpinning and weaving manufactures[4].

Notwith-

by the 5th Eliz. from the reſtriction impoſed on other weavers, (which was probably intended to prevent a decay of huſbandry,) not to take apprentices, whoſe parents had not £3. a year in an eſtate of inheritance or freehold. See § 30. By a ſubſequent Section it appears, that the weavers of *huſwives* cloth chiefly inhabited the counties of Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Lancaſter; and Wales. § 32. It is not uncommon for women in the Highlands, even at preſent, to weave at home many coarſe articles of domeſtic uſe. I have heard it remarked in Cumberland, where this practice ſtill exiſts, that home-made cloth is much more durable than that which is made by the regular manufacturer.

[1] A kirtle is a petticoat: the word often occurs in ancient poetry. The reader will probably recollect, (though I cannot,) the ballad in which the following expreſſive paſſage occurs:

" She kilted up her kirtle weel,
" To ſhaw her bonny queets * ſae ſma';
" An' wallopit about the reel,
" The lighteſt louper o' them a'."

[2] Moryſon, Itin. 3d part, 179. [3] This part of the 5th Eliz. was repealed by 35 Eliz. c. 7. § 21. [4] " The King's Highneſſe, calling to his moſt bleſſed remem-
" brance the great number of idle people daily increaſing throughout this his realme, ſup-
" poſeth that one great cauſe thereof is by the continual bringing into the ſame the great

* Ankles.

Notwithſtanding, however, theſe various contrivances to provide work for the able, and relief for the impotent Poor, every Seſſions preſented accumulated difficulties in this arduous branch of legiſlation.

The long reign of Elizabeth is filled with Acts for ſupplying the deficiencies, or correcting the errors, of former poor laws. The experience of a very few years had proved that the cenſures of the church were not ſufficient to compel collectors for the Poor, on quitting their offices, to account for the money remaining in their hands; and that the *gentle exhortation* of the miniſters, and *charitable perſuaſions* of the biſhops, were inadequate to raiſe the neceſſary ſums for the relief of the Poor. It was therefore enacted [1], very early in Elizabeth's reign, that, if collectors refuſed to account within eight days after requeſt made to them for that purpoſe, the biſhops of the dioceſe, or ordinary of the place, chancellors or their commiſſaries, together with a juſtice and one of the church-wardens, ſhould have power to commit them to gaol, until they ſettled their accounts, and paid over the ſums due from them: and the ſtatute adds, that if the perſons, who had been exhorted by the biſhop or his ordinary, ſhall, "of his froward, wilful mind, obſtinately refuſe to give weekly to the relief of the Poor, according to his ability; the biſhop, or his ordinary, ſhall bind him, by recogni-

"number of wares and merchandiſe made and brought out and from the parts of beyond "the ſea into this realme, ready wrought by manuell occupation: amongſt the which wares "one kinde of merchandiſe in marvellous great quantitie, which is linnen cloth of divers "ſorts, made in divers countries beyond the ſea, is daily conveied into this realme. Which "great quantitie of linnen clothes ſo brought, is conſumed and ſpent within the ſame: by "reaſon whereof, not onely the ſaide ſtrange countries, where the ſaid linnen cloth is made "by the policy and induſtry of making and venting thereof, are greatly inriched, and a mer-"ueilous great number of their people, men, women, and children ſet on worke and occupation, "and kept from idleneſſe, to the great furtherance and advancement of their common-"wealth: but alſo, contrariwiſe, the inhabitants and ſubjects of this realme, for lacke of like "policy and induſtry about the inventing, practiſing, and putting in exerciſe like occupation, "being compelled to buy all, or the moſt part of the ſaid linnen cloth continually ſpent and "conſumed within this realme, amounting to ineſtimable ſums of money, in other regions "and countries. And alſo the people of this realme, as well men as women, which ſhould "and might be ſet on worke, by exerciſing of like policy and crafts, of ſpinning, weaving, "and making of linnen cloth, live now in idleneſſe and ocioſitie, to the high diſpleaſure of "almighty God, great diminution of the king's people, and extreame ruin, decay, and impo-"veriſhment of this realme."

[1] By 5 Eliz. c. 3.

"zance,

"zance, to appear at the Quarter Seſſions: and at the ſaid Seſſions, "the Juſtices ſhall charitably and gently perſuade and move him;" and if he will not be perſuaded, they are authorized to tax him a weekly ſum, and commit him to priſon till it is paid: and, by the ſame Act, the Juſtices are empowered, if a pariſh has more Poor than it can relieve, to licenſe perſons (who are to wear badges on their breaſt or back) to beg within the county.

It was not only in an eleemoſynary point of view that the parliaments of Elizabeth ſo frequently noticed the labouring claſſes of the community; at the ſame time that they attempted to enforce the proviſions of former ſtatutes for the collection of alms for the relief of the indigent, they imitated the ſhort-ſighted policy of former Legiſlatures, in placing the moſt important of all contracts, namely, the hiring and ſervice of labourers, under the ſuperintendance of the magiſtrates. It is, however, remarkable, that the 5th of Elizabeth, which again controuls the wages of induſtry, and properly notices the abſurdity of former laws on this ſubject, gives the very reaſon, in its preamble, why the earnings of labour ſhould never have been ſubjected to regulation. It admits, that the old ſtatutes, partly "through the imperfection and "contrariety of them, and becauſe they were not anſwerable to the "time reſpecting the advancement of all things belonging to ſervants "and labourers, could not be carried into execution without the great "grief and burden of the poor labourer and hired man:" and indeed it ſeems very probable, (although hiſtory is ſilent on the ſubject,) that the injudicious proviſions of former ſtatutes, which obliged a man to accept wages, which, in times of ſcarcity, could not poſſibly maintain him, may, among other cauſes, have greatly contributed to the increaſing wants of the people, and the conſequent eſtabliſhment of the poor's rate. The preſent Act, it may be remarked, immediately follows an Act for the relief of the Poor, and I have no doubt was intended as part of the ſame ſyſtem. It's principal object ſeems to have been to check the great eagerneſs with which all ranks of people at this period ruſhed into commerce and manufacture; and to make the rating of wages, (which muſt have been a great diſcouragement to agricultural labour, and in ſome degree have operated to leſſen the proportion of arable land,) leſs burthenſome, by enabling the Juſtices to vary

the rate, from year to year, according to the difference of ſeaſons, and price of proviſions in their reſpective counties[1].

The perſons affected by it may be divided into three claſſes; menial ſervants, labourers, and apprentices. With reſpect to the firſt, all ſingle perſons

[1] The following clauſes point out the manner in which the Juſtices were to proceed in this arduous buſineſs:

§ 15. "And for the declaration and limitation what wages ſervants, labourers, "and artificers, either by the year, or day, or otherwiſe, ſhall have and receive; be it "enacted by the authority of this preſent parliament, That the Juſtices of Peace of every "ſhire, riding, and liberty, within the limits of their ſeveral commiſſions, or the more part "of them, being then reſiant within the ſame, and the Sheriff of that county, if he con-"veniently may, and every Mayor, Bailiff, or other head-officer within any city or town-"corporate, wherein is any Juſtice of Peace, within the limits of the ſaid city or town-cor-"porate, and of the ſaid corporation, ſhall, before the tenth day of June next coming, and "afterwards ſhall yearly at every general ſeſſions firſt to be holden and kept after Eaſter, "or at ſome time convenient within ſix weeks next following every of the ſaid feaſts of "Eaſter, aſſemble themſelves together; and they (ſo aſſembled) calling unto them ſuch diſ-"creet and grave perſons of the ſaid county, or of the ſaid city or town corporate, as they "ſhall think meet, and conferring together *reſpecting the plenty or ſcarcity of the time and other "circumſtances neceſſarily to be conſidered*, ſhall have authority, by virtue thereof, within the li-"mits and precincts of their ſeveral commiſſions, to limit, rate, and appoint the wages, "as well of ſuch and ſo many of the ſaid artificers, handycraftſmen, huſbandmen, or any "other labourer, ſervant, or workman whoſe wages in time paſt hath been by any law or "ſtatute rated and appointed; as alſo the wages of all other labourers, artificers, workmen, "or apprentices of huſbandry, which have not been rated; as they the ſame Juſtices, "Mayors, or head officers within their ſeveral commiſſions or liberties ſhall think meet by "their diſcretions to be rated, limited, or appointed by the year, or by the day, week, "month, or otherwiſe, with meat and drink, or without meat and drink; and what wages "every workman or labourer ſhall take by the great for mowing, reaping, or threſhing of "corn or grain, or for mowing or making of hay, or for ditching, paling, railing, or "hedging, by the rod, perch, lugg, yard, pole, rope or foot, and for any other kind of rea-"ſonable labourers' ſervice; and ſhall yearly, before the 12th day of July next after the "ſaid aſſeſſments and rates ſo appointed and made, certify the ſame, ingroſſed in parchment, "with the conſiderations and cauſes thereof, under their hands and ſeals, into the Queen's "moſt honourable Court of Chancery; whereupon it ſhall be lawful to the Lord Chancellor "of England, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal for the time being, upon declaration thereof "to the Queen's Majeſty, her heirs or ſucceſſors, or to the Lords and others of the Privy "Council for the time being, attendant upon their perſons, to cauſe to be printed, and ſent "down, before the firſt day of September next after the ſaid certificate, into every county, "to the Sheriff and Juſtices of Peace there, and to the ſaid Mayor, Bailiff, and head officers, "ten or twelve proclamations, or more, containing, in every of them, the ſeveral rates appointed "by the ſaid Juſtices and other head-officers as is aforeſaid; with commandment by the ſaid "proclamations,

perſons between 12 years old and 60 [1], and married ones under 30 years of age [2], and unmarried women between 12 and 40 [3], not having a viſible livelihood, are compellable by two Juſtices to go out to ſervice in huſbandry [4], or certain ſpecific trades [5]: and no maſter can put away his ſervants, or ſervant leave his maſter, before the expiration of his term, without the aſſent of a Juſtice [6]; nor even at the end of his term, without giving a quarter's warning [7]. Servants departing from their maſters before the end of their term, unleſs upon ſome reaſonable cauſe to be allowed by a Juſtice, or refuſing to ſerve for the wages appointed by the magiſtrates, are puniſhable with impriſonment, till they conſented to ſerve [8]. The givers of greater wages than what were allowed by

"proclamations, to all perſons, in the name of the Queen's Majeſty, her heirs or ſucceſſors, "ſtrictly to obſerve the ſame; and to all Juſtices, Sheriffs, and other officers, to ſee the "ſame duly and ſeverely obſerved, upon the danger of the puniſhment and forfeiture limited "and appointed by this eſtatute: upon receipt whereof, the ſaid Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, "and the Mayor and head-officers in every city or town-corporate, ſhall cauſe the ſame "proclamations to be entered of record by the Clerk of the Peace, or by the Clerk of the "city or town corporate: And the ſaid Sheriffs, Juſtices, and other the ſaid Mayor and head "officers, ſhall forthwith, in open markets, upon the market-days before Michaelmas then next "enſuing, cauſe the ſame proclamation to be proclaimed in every city or market-town within "the limits of their commiſſion, and the ſame proclamation to be fixed in ſome convenient "place of the ſaid city and town, or in ſuch of the moſt occupied market-towns, as to the ſaid "Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, and to the ſaid Mayor and head officer ſhall be thought meet."

§ 16. "And if the ſaid Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, or the Mayor, or head-officer, ſhall, "at their ſaid General Seſſions, or at any time after within ſix weeks then following, upon "their aſſembly and conference together, think it convenient to retain and keep, for the year "then to come, the rates and proportions of wages that they certified the year before, or to "change or to reform them, or ſome part of them; then they ſhall, before the ſaid 12th day "of July, yearly, certify into the ſaid Court of Chancery their reſolutions and determination "therein, to the intent that proclamations may accordingly be renewed and ſent down. And "if it ſhall happen that there be no need of any reformation or alteration of the rates of the "ſaid wages, but that the former ſhall be thought meet to be continued, then the proclama-"tions for the year paſt ſhall remain in force, until new proclamations, upon new rates, con-"cerning the ſaid wages, ſhall be ſent down, according to the form of this eſtatute." 5 Eliz. c. 4. § 15. 16.—The reader will find ſeveral inſtances of Juſtices rating wages under this Act, in the Appendix, No. III. I have no doubt but that many orders of Juſtices, relative to wages, might be found in the Offices of the Clerks of the Peace in many counties in England. Gutch mentions "a bundle of rates of ſervants' wages" of the 5th of James the Firſt, as extant, in the Records of the Chancery, at Durham. Miſcel. Cur. ii. 164.

[1] § 7. [2] § 4. [3] § 24. [4] § 7. [5] § 3. [6] § 5. [7] § 6. [8] § 9.

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the ſtatute were made liable to ten days[1], and the takers to 21 days impriſonment[2].

Labourers and artificers, hired by the day or week, are bound to work, in ſummer, from five in the morning till between ſeven and eight at night, and, in winter, from day-light till dark; they are allowed the ſame time for meals as in former ſtatutes[3]. Artificers are compellable to ſerve in getting in the harveſt[4]. Labourers, who cannot procure harveſt-work in their own countries, are permitted to go into other countries, during the hay and corn harveſt, provided they carried with them a teſtimonial from a Juſtice of Peace[5].

The ſtatute enables houſholders, in time of huſbandry, to receive apprentices under the age of eighteen, to ſerve till twenty-four years of age, by indenture[6]; and the houſholders in corporate towns, exerciſing any art, myſtery, or manual occupation there[7], and all perſons elſewhere uſing the trades ſpecified in the ſtatute[8], are empowered to take apprentices under certain qualifications, to ſerve them for ſeven years, provided the term does not expire before the apprentice is twenty-four years of age[9].

And male children of poor perſons, by a ſubſequent ſtatute, may be apprenticed out by the overſeers, with conſent of two Juſtices, till twenty-four years of age, and females till twenty-one, to ſuch perſons as are thought fitting[10]. Blackſtone remarks, that "gentlemen of fortune, and clergymen, are equally liable with others to ſuch compulſion[11]; and that the ſtatutes for the regulation of wages extend only to

[1] § 18. [2] § 19. [3] § 12. [4] § 22. [5] § 23. [6] § 25. [7] § 26. [8] § 30. The trades enumerated in the Act are: "A ſmith, wheel-wright, plough-wright, mill-wright, carpenter, rough maſon, plaiſterer, ſawyer, lime-burner, brick-maker, bricklayer, tiler, ſlater, helier, tile-maker, linen-weaver, turner, cooper, millers, earthen-potters, woollen-weavers, weaving huſwives or houſhold cloth only, and none other cloth; fuller, otherwiſe called tucker or walker; burner of oare and wood-aſhes, and thatcher or ſhingler." See Appendix, No. viii. p. cliii.——An *helier*, I conceive, is a coverer of houſes. In the *Liber Legum* of the city of Worceſter, tilers are called *hilliars*. See Green's Worc. App. to ii vol. p. liii.——In "the articles of the good governaunce of the cyte of London," in Arnold's Chronicle, the queſt of wardmote, in every ward, is directed to enquire "yf ther be ony houſe in ye warde yt is *hylled* wt ony other thyng than tyle, or ſlat, "or led, for pyl (peril) of fire: Alſo, if ther be ony chemeni yt hath a reerdos made un-"comly other wyſe than it ought to be for pyl of fyre." [9] § 26. [10] 39 Eliz. c. 3. [11] Comm. i. 426.

ſervants in huſbandry; it being impoſſible for any magiſtrate to be a judge of the employment of menial ſervants, or, of courſe, to aſſeſs their wages [1]." However, by a ſubſequent ſtatute, the 5th of Eliz. was interpreted to extend to weavers, ſpinſters, and all workmen and workwomen whatſoever [2].

The Legiſlature, at length, in 1572, directed, that a general aſſeſſment, for the relief of the impotent Poor, ſhould be made in every city, village, and hamlet; and that, if any ſurplus-money remained after providing for their maintenance, it ſhould be applied to ſetting rogues and vagabonds [3] to work, under the ſuperintendance of overſeers. With regard, however, to the correction of this claſs, the law did not proceed with equal moderation, nor endeavour to amend them, as they had done in the caſe of refractory pariſhioners, who refuſed to contribute to the collection for the Poor, by gentle exhortations and admonitions.

Begging, if the offender was above fourteen years of age, was puniſhed, in the firſt inſtance, by grievous whipping, and burning through

[1] Comm. i. 428. This obſervation is applicable to many kinds of agricultural work. By the 5th Eliz. the Juſtices are empowered to rate "other kinds of reaſonable labour or ſervice" (in huſbandry,) beſides threſhing, &c.; yet it muſt be obvious to every one the leaſt acquainted with farming, that caſes muſt often occur, in the nice and operoſe branches of agriculture, in which none but the employer and workman can be adequate judges of the difficulty, and conſequently of the value, of the ſervice. [2] 39 Eliz. c. 12. expired. [3] To prevent any doubt reſpecting the term *rogues* and *vagabonds*, the ſtatute is very particular in ſpecifying who ſhall be conſidered as ſuch, and divides them into the following claſſes:

1. All perſons pretending to be proctors, or procurators, *i. e.* perſons employed by the clergy to collect the fruits of their benefices.
2. Idle perſons, uſing ſubtile, crafty, and unlawful games, and plays.
3. All pretenders to palmiſtry, phyſiognomy, and fortune-telling.
4. All perſons who can give no account of themſelves, and who refuſe to work for reaſonable wages.
5. Fencers, bearwards, common players in interludes, minſtrels, not in the ſervice of a baron of the realm, jugglers, pedlers, tinkers, and petty chapmen travelling without licence from two Juſtices.
6. Counterfeiters of licences to beg.
7. Scholars begging without licence.
8. Shipmen pretending loſſes at ſea.
9. Perſons delivered from gaol, who beg without licence.

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the griſtle of the right ear, unleſs ſome creditable perſon would take the beggar into his ſervice for a year; and if a vagabond, above eighteen years old, offended a ſecond time, he was liable to ſuffer death as a felon, unleſs ſome creditable perſon would take him into ſervice for two years; and, if he offended a third time, he was to be adjudged a felon.

By the 18 Eliz. c. 3.[1] the Juſtices in every county are empowered to purchaſe or hire buildings, to be converted into houſes of correction, and to provide a competent ſtock of wool, hemp, flax, iron, or other ſtuff, "to the intent," as the Act ſays, "that youth might be accuſtomed and brought up in labour, and then not like to grow to be idle rogues; and that ſuch as be already grown up in idleneſs, and ſo rogues at this preſent, may not have any juſt excuſe in ſaying that they cannot get any ſervice or work;" and that other poor and needy perſons, being willing to labour, may be ſet on work, the keepers of the ſtock were authorized to ſupply poor perſons with materials for work, and to pay them for the work they ſhould perform; and the profits ariſing from the ſale of the goods thus produced, were directed to be laid out in keeping up the ſtock. Idlers were ordered to be ſent to the houſe of correction, there to be kept at hard work.

In the year 1597, ſeveral Acts were paſſed relative to vagrancy and mendicity, and the various regulations of former ſtatutes, in ſome degree, moulded into an uniform ſyſtem. Their ſevere penalties, however, were ſomewhat modified; inſtead of being burnt through the ear, a rogue, vagabond, or ſturdy beggar, was ordered to be "ſtripped naked, from the middle upwards, and to be whipped until his body was bloody, and to be ſent from pariſh to pariſh, the next ſtraight way to the place of his birth;" and, if that was not known, "to the pariſh where he dwelt laſt, one whole year[2]." Incorrigible offenders might be

[1] The reader will find the rules and regulations reſpecting a work-houſe at Bury in Suffolk, appointed by the Juſtices in the year 1588, in the Appendix, No. VII. It contains ſeveral curious particulars reſpecting the mode of taxing the hundreds, the diet, puniſhment, and employment of vagrants, &c. There is a trifling erratum in the laſt line but one of the preamble, in p. cxxxvi.—"28th year" ſhould be "18th year."

[2] 39 Eliz. c. 4. "In order to which he ſhall, after whipping, have a teſtimonial, mentioning the day and place of his puniſhment, the place whereunto he is limited to go, and the time allowed for his journey thither." The ſtatute adds: "And if he do not accompliſh the order appointed by the

be baniſhed by the Juſtices at Quarter-ſeſſions to ſuch places without the realm as the Privy Council ſhould aſſign, or condemned to the gallies[1] for

" the ſaid teſtimonial, then to be eftſoons taken and whipped; and, ſo often as any default " ſhall be found in him, contrary to the form of this ſtatute, in every place to be whipped " till he be repaired to the place limited." Shakſpeare, it is probable, alluded to the 1 Jac. c. 7. (1604-5) which continues this ſtatute, in Edgar's ſpeech: " Poor Tom! who is whipp'd from tything to tything, and ſtock'd, puniſh'd, and impriſon'd." *King Lear*, A. 3. S. 4.—This paſſage corroborates Mr. Malone's idea, that the play did not make it's appearance on the ſtage before the year 1605.

It will, perhaps, gratify the reader to ſee the form of a teſtimonial, which was given to a vagrant after whipping. The following one is copied, *verbatim*, from a MS. among the miſcellaneous papers in the Britiſh Muſeum:

" How valyant beggers ough to
" be punyſshed accordinge to Kinge's ſtatute.

" Wm Payne whipped for a vagraunt ſtrong begger at Cheſter in the county of the citty " of Cheſter according to the law the xiii day of February in the xxix yere of the reigne of " or moaſt dred ſoveigne Lord H. th'eight was aſſigned to paſſe forth wh and dyrectly from " thens to Chippen Warren in the countie of Northampton where he ſaith he was borne and " he is lymittyd to be there wthin xvi dayez then next enſuying at his pell. I witnez wherof " the ſeale of the offyc of the mairaltie of the citie aforſeid and place where he was ponyſshed " herunto is ſett."——Harleian MSS. 2057.

" A paſſe for a begar whipped accordinge to law. 29 H. 8."

The magiſtrates appear to have been as particular, in requiring a receipt from a beggar, who had been whipped, as the late King of Pruſſia is ſaid to have been, with Voltaire, on a ſimilar occaſion.

[1] Being ſent to the gallies, it would appear, was a puniſhment actually inflicted at this period. In the 42d year of Eliz. a ſpecial commiſſion was iſſued, " pro condempnatis ad galeas transferendis."—Rym. Fœd. vii. pt. 2. p. 36. Howel, in his Londinopolis, p. 49. mentions a place called Galley-Row, near Tower-Street, where galley-men dwelt. A quay, near Billingſgate, is ſtill called Galley-Quay.—Barrington on the Anc. Stat. 93.—In a MS. in my poſſeſſion, containing the various expences for the equipment of a fleet, under John of Gaunt, about the year 1373, (ſee the Appendix, No. I. p. xxiv.) the equipage and furniture of the King's new galley are particularly ſet down. Her crew, it appears, conſiſted of about 160 Engliſh ſailors, and 20 Spaniards, and about 70 Genoeſe croſs-bow-men, beſides officers, carpenters, &c. She muſt therefore have been a large veſſel, and had probably been built after a Genoeſe model. In this MS. the wages of a croſs-bow-man, for a calendar month, are ſtated at - - - - - £ 1 11 8

The wages of a ſeaman, for a calendar month, were, from - -	1	2	2
to - - - - - - - - -	0	19	0
The wages of a Spaniſh ſeaman, a day, were - - - -	0	0	3
Beſides his diet, which was valued at - - - -	0	0	1

for life; and perſons returning from baniſhment were to be adjudged felons[1].

By the ſame ſection, four overſeers were directed to be choſen in each pariſh, for ſetting poor children, and others in want of employment, to work; and for raiſing weekly, or otherwiſe, a ſtock of materials for that purpoſe. Juſtices were empowered to levy the rate by diſtreſs; and for the relief of the impotent poor, the church-wardens and overſeers were authorized, with the permiſſion of the lords of manors, to build convenient houſes on the waſte, at the general charge of the pariſh; and to place inmates, or more families than one, in each cottage. Parents of old, blind, lame, and other poor perſons, were bound to relieve their children or ſick men, as ſhould be directed at the General Quarter-ſeſſions, on penalty of 20s. for every month they failed ſo to do: and begging, unleſs for victuals in the pariſh, (ſoldiers and ſailors with proper teſtimonials being excepted,) was entirely prohibited[2].

Several Acts were made for the relief of ſoldiers and mariners, upon incontrovertible principles of humanity and juſtice. Every feeling mind muſt aſſent to the preamble of the ſtatute, which declares, "That it "is agreeable with Chriſtian charity, policy, and the honour of our "nation, that ſuch as have adventured their lives, and loſt their limbs, "in the ſervice of the State, ſhould be relieved and rewarded, to the "end that they may reap the fruits of their good deſervings, and others "may be encouraged to perform the like endeavours." The Legiſlature properly conſidered, that their maintenance was a national concern; and therefore every pariſh was charged to pay ſuch a ſum weekly, for their ſupport, as the Juſtices in Seſſions ſhould appoint[3].

The following charges occur relative to the King's galley:

in xxx virg' panni rub' empt' p'la Poupe dce galee pc' v' g' iiis iiiid et in blanket empt p' bordura ejuſde' xiiiid. et xlv uln' canabi p' uln vid. et in uno corio equino pro pannis emendand' et ligan' pc' vis. iiiid.

In King John's reign the Sheriff of Norfolk provided 1000 oars for the King's gallies. Mad. Exch. 4to. i. 371.—Three gallies are mentioned in the liſt of Queen Elizabeth's navy. Harriſon's Deſcript. of Engl. 201.

[1] With benefit of clergy. See Co. 3 Inſt. c. 40.

[2] 39 Eliz. c. 4.

[3] 35 Eliz. c. 4. No pariſh was to be rated above 6d. nor under 1d. weekly; and the ſum-total in any county, where there were above 50 pariſhes, was not to exceed the rate of 2d. each pariſh. The above ſums were increaſed to 8d. 2d. and 4d. reſpectively, by 39 Eliz. c. 21.

Increaſing inconveniences at length produced the memorable 43d of Elizabeth, which concenters in one point the accumulated expences of a long reign, and has continued near two centuries to be the groundwork of every regulation affecting the Poor [1]. By comparing this ſtatute with the 39th Eliz. c. 3. it will appear, that it's moſt material proviſions were not, as many perſons erroneouſly ſuppoſe, originally framed in 1601: on the contrary, the principal clauſes of the former Act, reſpecting the appointment of overſeers, levying the rate, ſetting the able to work, providing relief for the impotent, and binding out children apprentices, were copied almoſt verbatim; and the following ſeem to be the principal alterations introduced by the 43d of Elizabeth.

Inſtead of ſending thoſe who refuſe to work to the houſe of correction, which ſeems the proper place, Juſtices were empowered to commit them to the common gaol. The Act, however, does not ſpecify how they ſhall be employed.

In addition to the clauſe reſpecting the erection of cottages on the waſte, it is directed, that ſuch buildings ſhall not, at any time after, be

[1] Although Scotland is now exempted from the heavy burthen of a Poor's Rate, (a tax, which, in England, I have no doubt, exceeds three millions a year,) it is remarkable that a compulſory proviſion for the Poor was eſtabliſhed by law, in the former kingdom, two-and-twenty years before the paſſing of the 43d of Elizabeth. In King James the Sixth's ſixth parliament, held at Edinburgh in 1579, an Act was paſſed "for puniſchment of ſtrang and idle beggars, and reliefe of the pure and impotent;" in which every branch of the poor ſyſtem,—the puniſhment of vagabonds; of runaway ſervants;—the mode of paſſing ſoldiers and ſeamen to their pariſhes;—the regulation of hoſpitals for aged and impotent perſons;—the ſettlements of the poor;—their maintenance by the pariſh;—the appointment of overſeers and collectors;—the manner of treating thoſe who refuſe to work;—and of putting out poor children apprentices; are more fully detailed than in any Engliſh Act of Parliament. The aſſeſſment for the Poor is very general: "the haill inhabitantes within the parochin" are to be "*taxed and ſtented*, according to the eſtimation of their ſubſtance, "without exception of perſones, to ſik ouklie (weekly) charge and contribution, as ſall be "thocht expedient, and ſufficient to ſuſteine the ſaidis pure peopil." Scottiſh Acts, ed. 1682, i. 417. As the collection, in which this curious Act is contained, is rather ſcarce, I have inſerted it at length in the Appendix, No. X. where the reader, who has leiſure and inclination to learn how other nations have managed their Poor, will find a ſhort account, (which, however, was too long for a note in this place,) of the earlieſt Scotch Acts relative to this ſubject, and the preſent ſtate of the Poor in Scotland. I have very little doubt, but that many of the proviſions of Engliſh parliaments, in the reign of Elizabeth, reſpecting the Poor, were framed in conformity with the policy of their Northern neighbours.

uſed for any other habitation, but only for the impotent poor, who ſhall be placed there from time to time by the churchwardens and overſeers.

Grandfathers and grandmothers, as well as parents and children, if not of ſufficient ability, are reciprocally called upon to maintain each other.

The clauſes relative to the prohibition of begging and vagrancy are entirely omitted.

Beſides the ordinary rate for relieving and ſetting the Poor to work, a ſum of money was directed to be raiſed from every pariſh, by a weekly rate, not exceeding ſixpence, or under twopence, for the relief of the poor priſoners in the King's Bench and Marſhalſea, and alſo ſuch hoſpitals and alms-houſes as ſhall be in each county; ſo as that there be ſent out of every county, yearly, not leſs than twenty ſhillings to each of the above gaols: the ſurplus money is directed to be diſtributed, at the diſcretion of the Juſtices, for the relief of the poor hoſpitals of the county, and of thoſe who ſhall ſuſtain loſſes by fire, water, or other caſualties: and to ſuch other purpoſes, for the relief of the Poor, as the major part of the Juſtices at the Quarter-ſeſſions ſhall think convenient.

Various penalties, from 20s. to £5. are annexed to the non-performance of the duties impoſed on the Juſtices, church-wardens, and overſeers; and the ſums, which may thus accrue, are ordered to be applied in aid of the fund appropriated for relieving and employing the Poor.

An appeal to the Quarter-ſeſſions is given to perſons who find themſelves aggrieved by any ceſs, tax, or other act done by church-wardens or other perſons, or by the Juſtices of the Peace, under colour of this Act.

Officers ſued for any thing done in execution of the Act, are empowered to plead the general iſſue; and in caſe they recover, they are allowed treble coſts.

The iſland of Foulneſs in Eſſex, being extra-parochial, was noticed in a particular clauſe, and made ſubject to the general regulations of the Act.

From the laſt clauſe in the ſtatute, it appears, that it was only intended

tended to be experimental: it was, however, continued by ſubſequent ſtatutes, and by the 16th Car. 1. c. 4. made perpetual [1].

It is impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, to form any accurate idea of the comparative number of the receivers and payers of parochial contributions, immediately after the eſtabliſhment of the Poor's Rate. Were I permitted to hazard a conjecture on this ſubject, I ſhould eſtimate the number of the Poor, (i. e. perſons either receiving, or wanting parochial relief,) at the cloſe of the ſixteenth, and beginning of the ſeventeenth, century, to have borne a leſs proportion to the other claſſes of the nation, than the number of thoſe in ſimilar circumſtances do at preſent. London, about the year 1590, (according to the information of a foreign hiſtorian,) contained about 160,000 inhabitants [2]. In 1595, (a year of great ſcarcity,) a ſurvey was made, by the direction of the Lord Mayor, of the number of poor houſholders within his juriſdiction: they were found to amount to 4132 [3]; but the annaliſt does not explain whether the number includes all the individuals of each poor family; neither does he mention, what number of Poor, who did not fall within the denomination of houſholders, was contained in London. Making, however, a very fair allowance for theſe omiſſions, we ſhall be juſtified in ſuppoſing, that the increaſe of the metropolis has not kept pace with the increaſe of it's Poor. If we examine the condition of many of our country towns, and even thoſe which are conſidered as the moſt advanced in opulence and induſtry, we ſhall find a proportion of Poor far exceeding any thing noticed in the reigns of Elizabeth, or James. In the pariſh of Burwaſh, in Suſſex, for inſtance, one fourth of the inhabitants appears to be chargeable, and one third of the rental to be appropriated to their maintenance [4]: in Caldewgate quarter, in Carliſle, one third of the population partook of the contributions raiſed laſt year for the relief of the neceſſitous [5]: and in Shrewſbury, which is eſtimated to contain about 20,000 [6] ſouls, between 5 and 6000 individuals, excluſive of the regular Poor, received charity in the courſe of the year 1795 [7].

[1] The reader will find the 43d of Elizabeth, at length, in the Appendix, No. VIII. p. clxvii.
[2] Botero; ſee Anderſon's Hiſt of Commerce, ii. 176. [3] Strype's Stow. [4] See 2d vol. p. 727. [5] See 2d vol. p. 62. [6] See a pamphlet printed at Sheffield, entitled, "The Subſtance of Mr. Ward's Speech at the Town-hall in Sheffield, on 6th April 1791;" p. 8. [7] See 2d vol. p. 641.

It is probable, that the dearth of corn, and other articles of ſubſiſtence, which took place towards the cloſe of Elizabeth's reign, greatly accelerated the paſſing the Act in 1601, for providing a compulſory maintenance. In 1587, wheat roſe to £ 3. 4s. the quarter; in 1594, it was £ 2. 16s.; and in 1595, £ 2. 13s. 4d. the quarter. Blomefield, in his hiſtory of Norfolk, informs us, that the ſcarcity at Norwich, in the year 1595, was ſo great, that the magiſtrates were obliged to ſend for a large quantity of rye from Denmark: but the winds hindering it's coming, the project was of no ſervice till late in the year. When it arrived, it was ſold to the Poor, at the reduced price of 4s. the buſhel. This charitable act coſt the corporation above £ 200. I ſubjoin Blomefield's account of the prices of ſeveral other articles of diet, at Norwich, this year; as it corroborates the aſſertions of other hiſtorians reſpecting the dearth of this period: wheat was £ 2. the quarter; rye, £ 1. 10s.; barley, £ 1.; oatmeal, £ 2.; beef, 3s. the ſtone; the beſt ſheep, 14s. a piece; a lamb, 5s.; a calf, £ 1.; a fat capon, 3s. 4d.; a pigeon, 3d.; a rabbit, 8d.; and cheeſe 4d. the pound. Blomefield adds, that, in the beginning of 1596, prices fell; "but, by reaſon of a wet May, they roſe "again, ſo that wheat was ſold in the market at 28s. a comb, in the "beginning of Auguſt, but fell to 18s. the ſame month; and in the "month following all things roſe again to ſuch large prices, that it was "a very hard year with the Poor; and ſo continued to the next harveſt, "when, by God's mercy, things fell, on account of their plenty, to "their uſual prices [1]." Even in thoſe articles, the production of which was not affected by the ſeverity of the ſeaſons, the Poor experienced an artificial ſcarcity, in conſequence of the unjuſtifiable privileges granted to monopoliſts.

In

[1] Blomef. Norf. ii. 250. The ſcarcity appears to have been equally great in other parts of the kingdom. The following extract from a MS. chronicle relative to Briſtol, (in the poſſeſſion of Joſeph Harford, Eſq. of Stapleton, in the county of Glouceſter,) exhibits very extravagant prices in the year 1596. It ſhould, however, be recollected, that Norwich was ſituated in the center of a corn country, which was not the caſe with Briſtol.

"1596. WILLIAM YATE, Mayor. JOHN BOUTCHER, ROBERT ALDWORTH, } Sheriffs.

"This yeare was ſuch a dearth of all ſortes of graine throughout our land, that if the "Lord of his mercy had not ſupplied our want with rye from Danſke, moſt miſerable had our "caſe bene, as well with rich as poore. Wheat was ſould for xviii *s.* and xx *s.* a buſhell; "rie

In the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, various expedients were propoſed in both Houſes of Parliament, for employing and providing for the Poor [1]; but amongſt the many debates which occurred on this ſubject, it does not appear that any ſpeaker ever properly noticed what ſeems to have been the principal cauſe of the diſtreſs of the labouring claſſes of the people at the cloſe of the ſixteenth century;---an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of bad weather, and ſcanty crops for ſeveral years. In the year 1601, however, in which the Act was paſſed for the relief of the Poor, the ſeaſon was more favourable; and, I have no doubt, but that many ſhort-ſighted politicians, ſeeing the Poor were leſs clamorous after the paſſing of the Act, thought the wiſdom of the Legiſlature had produced what was aſcribable ſolely to the benign operations of Nature. The ſituation of the Poor, in the two or three laſt years of Elizabeth's reign, ſeems to have been more comfortable than it had been for ſeveral years. In a debate on the propriety of continuing the Statute of Tillage, a member [2] obſerved, that corn was cheap: Sir Walter Raleigh, (who inſiſted, with great good ſenſe, that the beſt courſe was to ſet tillage at liberty,) added, that France had offered to ſupply Ireland with corn at 16s. the quarter [3].

It was not only to the decay of tillage that Elizabeth's parliaments fancifully aſcribed the diſtreſſes of the Poor: the increaſe of poverty was alſo imputed (as it has been in modern times,) to the great ſize of the metropolis. So ſerious an evil was this unequivocal ſymptom of national proſperity conſidered, that, in 1581, a proclamation was iſſued,

"rie at x s.; malt at viii s. a bouſhell. To relive the poore every alderman and worſhip-
"full man, and every burgiſſe of this cittie that was of any worth, were apointed every daie
"to finde with victuall at his table, ſo many poore people that wanted worcke, whereby the
"poore of our cittie were all relived, and kept from ſtarving or riſing."

[1] See D'Ewes's Journals.

[2] Mr. Johnſon—Much good ſenſe is contained in his ſpeech. It is thus ſhortly reported by D'Ewes: "In the time of dearth, when we made this ſtatute, it was not conſidered that "the hand of God was upon us; and now corn is cheap: if too cheap, the huſbandman is "undone, whom we muſt provide for, for he is the ſtaple man of the kingdom." Journal, 674.

[3] D'Ewes, Journal, 674. The ſame ſpeaker, in a debate on monopolies in 1601, aſſured the Houſe, that, before the grant of a patent to him of the wardenſhip of the ſtannaries in Cornwall, the workmen in the mines could only earn 2s. a week, finding themſelves. He adds; "ſince my patent, whoſoever will work, may; and, buy tin at what price ſoever, "they have four ſhillings a week truly paid." Id. p. 646.

forbidding

forbidding the erection of new buildings within three miles of the city gates, and limiting the number of inmates in a houſe to one family. This proclamation was enforced, with ſome additions, by an Act paſſed in 1593; and in 1602, the Queen iſſued a proclamation[1], which, as it collects all the abſurd reſtrictions of former laws againſt enlarging the capital into one view, and notices ſeveral particulars illuſtrative of the circumſtances of the poorer part of the inhabitants of London, I ſhall tranſcribe at length.

It directed: That no new buildings ſhould be erected within three miles of London or Weſtminſter:

That one dwelling-houſe, either in London or Weſtminſter, ſhould not be converted into more:

That inmates ſhould quit ſuch tenements as had been divided within the preceding ten years, unleſs they had an eſtate therein for life or years; in which caſe, at the expiration of ſuch terms, the tenement ſhould be reduced to it's former ſtate:

That all ſheds and ſhops, erected within ſeven years, ſhould be pulled down:

That empty houſes, built within ſeven years, ſhould not be let to any perſon, unleſs the owners of the houſes ſhould be content to diſpoſe of them, for the reception of the Poor of the pariſh, at ſuch rent as the pariſh ſhould allow:

That buildings on new foundations, in an unfiniſhed ſtate, ſhould be pulled down.

[1] Rym. Fœd. xvi. 448. In the beginning of the proclamation, her majeſty declares, "that "foreſeeing the great and manifold inconveniences and miſchiefs which daily grow, and "are likely more and more to increaſe unto the ſtate of the city of London, and the ſub-"urbs and confines thereof, by acceſs and confluence of people to inhabit the ſame, not "only by reaſon that ſuch multitudes could hardly be governed by ordinary juſtice to "ſerve God and obey her majeſty, without conſtituting an addition of more officers, and "enlarging of authorities and juriſdictions for that purpoſe; but alſo, could hardly be pro-"vided of ſuſtentation of victual, food, and other like neceſſaries for man's relief, upon "reaſonable prices: and finally, for that ſuch great multitudes of people inhabiting in ſmall "rooms, whereof many be very poor, and ſuch as muſt live by begging or worſe means; "and being heaped up together, and in a ſort ſmothered, with many families of children "and ſervants in one houſe, or ſmall tenement, it muſt needs follow, if any plague, or other "univerſal ſickneſs come amongſt them, it would preſently ſpread through the whole city "and confines, and alſo into all parts of the realm." See Anderſon's Hiſt. of Comm. ii. 209.

In

In the year 1630, Charles the Firſt iſſued a ſimilar proclamation againſt building houſes on new foundations, in London or Weſtminſter, or within three miles of the city gates, or the king's palace. The proclamation alſo forbade the receiving of inmates in houſes there, which, (it was ſaid,) would multiply the inhabitants to ſuch an exceſſive number, that they could neither be governed nor fed. There are, however, ſome judicious regulations in this proclamation, for the prevention of fire, and the preſervation of the health of the inhabitants. All new houſes were directed to have party-walls, and fronts of brick; and the windows to be higher than wide, both for the admiſſion of air, and for rendering the piers between them more ſolid and ſubſtantial than they would otherwiſe have been [1]. Theſe proviſions have been conſiderably enlarged by ſubſequent ſtatutes; particularly by the Building Act [2], the enforcing of which, (there can be no doubt,) has greatly contributed towards the health, the ſafety, and the beauty, of the metropolis.

Among the various funds appropriated to the relief of the Poor, previous to the eſtabliſhment of a compulſory maintenance by the 43d of Elizabeth, I ſhould mention a branch of ſupply, which, although perhaps inconſiderable in it's produce, even amidſt the much complained of profligacy of modern times, has been thought worthy of notice by every Legiſlature during the two laſt centuries. I allude to pecuniary forfeitures, which, for many ſtatutable offences, and particularly for thoſe relative to profaneneſs or immorality, are now applied in aid of the Poor's Rate. As early as the year 1558, church-wardens were empowered to levy twelve-pence upon every pariſhioner who omitted going to church on a Sunday [3]: in 1570, a moiety of the forfeitures for detaining goods belonging to a bankrupt's eſtate, was directed to be diſtributed, by the commiſſioners, to the Poor within the hoſpitals in the city or town where the bankrupt happened to be [4]: and in the ſame parliament, half the penalty for not wearing a woollen cap on a Sunday was appropriated to the ſame purpoſe [5]. In 1581, the fines impoſed for ſaying maſs, for neglecting to attend divine ſervice, and for other acts

[1] Rym. Fœd. xix. 177. Miſcell. Collection belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, vi. 17.
[2] 19 Car. 2. c. 3. 22 Car. 2. c. 11. 6 Ann. c. 31. 33 Geo. 2. c. 30. 14 Geo. 3. c. 78. (uſually called, "The Building Act.")
[3] 1 Eliz. c. 3. § 11.
[4] 13 Eliz. c. 7.
[5] 13 Eliz. c. 19.

againſt the eſtabliſhed church, were given, one third to the informer, one third to the Queen for her own uſe, and one third to her for the uſe of the Poor of the pariſh in which the offence was committed[1]; and by a ſubſequent ſtatute, the Lord Treaſurer, Chancellor, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, were authorized to diſpoſe of a third part of the forfeitures incurred for not coming to divine ſervice, towards the "relief and maintenance, as well of the Poor, and of the houſes of correction, as of impotent and maimed ſoldiers[2]." It was perhaps owing to the recollection of the intimate connection that had formerly ſubſiſted between the Church and the Poor, which the diſſolution of the monaſteries had recently deſtroyed, that the Legiſlature, inſtead of dividing the penalty between the crown and the informer, thus diverted it from it's uſual courſe, and made the omiſſion of religious duties conducive to charity.

Other ſources of penal contribution were gradually opened; and the laws for preſervation of game and of fiſh, preventing tippling, ſwearing, diſorderly conduct on the Lord's Day, and many other offences, were, even in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, enforced by pecuniary fines; of which a moiety was uſually allotted to the Poor of the pariſh where the offence was committed[3]. No information is to be met with relative to the annual amount of the penalties applied to this purpoſe, at any period of our hiſtory. The lovers of good order may, however, be aſſured, that the Poor's Rate has never derived much aid from the puniſhment of immorality, notwithſtanding the innumerable ſtatutes paſſed of late years, ſome of which appropriate a part, and others the whole, of a pecuniary forfeiture towards the relief of the Poor. Parlia-

[1] 23 Eliz. c. 1.

[2] 29 Eliz. c. 6. § 7. On the ſame principle, as it would ſeem, in an Act againſt prophaneneſs, made in the Parliament of Scotland, in the year 1695, ratifying ſundry preceding Acts of a like tenor, it was enacted, that "ſuch of the ſaids Judges as ſhall refuſe, neglect, "or delay to put the ſaids laws in execution, upon application of any miniſter, or kirk-ſeſſion, "or any perſon in their name, giving information, and offering ſufficient probation againſt "the offender—ſhall, *toties quoties*, be ſubject and lyable to a fine of one hundred pound "Scots, to be applied for the uſe of the Poor of the pariſh where the ſcandal complained on "was committed, &c. &c." Made in the fifth ſeſſion of the firſt Parliament of King William. Edinburgh, ed. 1695, p. 420. See 3d volume of Scottiſh Acts, &c.

[3] 23 Eliz. c. 10. 2 Jac. c. 9. & 27. 3 Jac. c. 12. 4 Jac. c. 4 & 5. 7 Jac. c. 11. 21 Jac. c. 20. 3 Car. c. 1. &c.

ment ſeems to have been aware, that the produce was not worth attending to, ſince, among the queſtions, to which the overſeers of the Poor were obliged to make returns upon oath, in the years 1776 and 1786, no query was inſerted in order to aſcertain the receipts ariſing from penal forfeitures.

During the reign of James the Firſt, a few additions were made to the laws reſpecting vagrancy and mendicity. The Act of Elizabeth, for the puniſhment of rogues and vagabonds, was continued and explained; and it's proviſions were enforced by additional ſeverities [1]. One of the clauſes of King James's Act, reſpecting rogues, who, having been baniſhed, ſhould return into the kingdom, merits inſertion. It ſays, that the ſtatute of Elizabeth, reſpecting them, was ſomewhat defective; "for that the ſaid rogues, having no mark upon them to be known by, "may return or retire themſelves into ſome other part of this realm "where they are not known, and ſo eſcape the puniſhment which the "ſaid ſtatute did intend to inflict upon them." It was therefore enacted, that rogues, adjudged incorrigible and dangerous, ſhould be "brand-"ed on the left ſhoulder with a hot iron of the breadth of a ſhilling, "having a Roman R upon it, and placed to labour; and if, after ſuch "puniſhment, they were found begging and wandering, they were to "be adjudged felons, and to ſuffer death without benefit of clergy [2]." The harſh penalties of this Act continued in force till the 12th of Anne [3], when they were ſomewhat modified; and, at length, a juſt diſtinction was made between idle diſorderly perſons, and rogues and vagabonds. It is not my intention to review the various Acts that have been paſſed on this ſubject; but I cannot avoid remarking, that the proviſions, even of modern ſtatutes, relative to this branch of Penal Law, appear to me, in ſome inſtances, unneceſſarily ſevere. By the Vagrant Act, a perſon wandering abroad and begging, is deemed a rogue and vagabond; and the Juſtices at Quarter-ſeſſions are empowered to inflict a public whipping, and ſix months impriſonment, for the firſt offence; and, for the ſecond, two years impriſonment; and, during ſuch impriſonment, whipping, in ſuch manner, and at ſuch times and places

[1] See 2 Jac. c. 7. This Act was continued by 3 Car. c. 4. and 16 Car. c. 4. but repealed by 12 Ann. ſt. 2. c. 23. § 28. [2] 2 Jac. c. 7. [3] 12 Ann. c. 23.

within their juriſdiction, as, according to the nature of ſuch perſon's offence, they, in their diſcretion, ſhall think fit[1]. A woman wandering and begging, if delivered of a child in a pariſh to which ſhe does not belong, is made liable to public whipping, and ſix months impriſonment[2]. It is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the great diſproportion between the offence and the puniſhment is the principal reaſon why this ſtatute is ſo ſeldom carried into execution.

King James's firſt parliament appears to have been guided by the ſame principles which influenced former Legiſlatures to attempt the difficult, though ſpecious, taſk of regulating the wages of induſtry. The 5th of Elizabeth, we have ſeen, had already empowered the Juſtices to rate the wages of artificers, handicraftſmen, huſbandmen, and *other labourers, whoſe wages had, in times paſt, been rated:* it is probable, that this general expreſſion in the Act had occaſioned ſome doubts as to the extent of the power of the Juſtices. The preamble to the ſtatute of James therefore declares, that "whereas the ſaid Act (of Elizabeth) had "not, according to the true meaning thereof, been duly put in execution, "whereby the rate of wages for poor artificers, labourers, and other per-"ſons, whoſe wages was meant to be rated by the ſaid Act, have not "been rated and proportioned according to the plenty, ſcarcity, neceſ-"ſity, and reſpect of the time, which was politickly intended by the "ſaid Act, by reaſon that ambiguity and queſtion have riſen and been "made, whether the rating of all manner of artificers, workmen, and "workwomen, his and their wages, other than ſuch as by ſome ſtatute "and law have been rated, or elſe ſuch as did work about huſbandry, "ſhould or might be rated by the ſaid law: Foraſmuch as the ſaid law "hath been found beneficial for the commonwealth," the powers of rating wages were extended to "labourers, weavers, ſpinſters, and work-"men or workwomen whatſoever, either working by the day, week, "month, year, or taking any work at any perſon's hand whatſoever, to "be done in great, or otherwiſe[3]." Mr. Ruggles conceives, that this enlargement of the powers of the 5th of Elizabeth is a proof of the good effects ariſing to the public from the rating of wages; becauſe, if the experience of forty years had proved it to be replete with more miſchief

[1] 17 G. 2. c. 5. §3. 4. 9. [2] §9. 25. [3] 2 Jac. c. 6.

than

than uſe, it could not be ſuppoſed that the Legiſlature would have extended the practice, and made the power general, which had hitherto been confined to particular claſſes of workmen [1]. This ſuppoſition is unneceſſary to account for the conduct of the Legiſlature. King James's parliaments may have reaſoned in the ſame manner, that many modern

[1] At the ſame time he admits, that Juſtices ſeldom inforced the execution of theſe Acts; a circumſtance which proves, that the proviſions of the ſtatute, however ſpecious, were not reducible to practice. Ruggles' Hiſt. of the Poor, i. 105.——I have no doubt, however, but that, in addition to inſtances which the reader will find in the Appendix to this Volume, No. III. antiquarian induſtry might, on ſearching the Offices of the Clerks of the Peace, collect the rates of wages, appointed by Juſtices, in various parts of England. I however much doubt whether the Juſtices of any county, after they had once ſettled the aſſize of labour, in purſuance of the 5 Eliz. altered it once in the courſe of half a century. The clauſe, which directed the Rate, fixed on by the Juſtices, to be continued, if there ſhould be "no need of any reformation or alteration," afforded them a fair loop-hole to eſcape from the moſt arduous taſk, that (in my opinion) can be impoſed on any ſet of magiſtrates, (however diligent or enlightened,) of proportioning the reward of labour, from year to year, *to the plenty or ſcarcity of the time, and other circumſtances neceſſary to be conſidered:* nor do I think the following clauſe of the Act, (although the penalty it impoſes was a heavy one,) when it is conſidered *who* were to decide on the remiſſneſs of the Juſtices, was much calculated to enforce the ſetting of the aſſize, from time to time, according to change of circumſtances: "And be it fur-
"ther enacted, by authority of this preſent parliament, That if all the ſaid Juſtices of Peace,
"reſiant within the counties where they are or ſhall be Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, and head
"officers, do not, before the tenth day of June next coming, and afterward yearly, appear and
"aſſemble at the ſaid General Seſſions, or within ſix weeks next after the ſaid General Seſ-
"ſions, and limit and rate the wages of the ſaid ſervants and labourers, or ſhall not conſider
"whether the former Rates made be meet to be continued, or to be altered and reformed in
"manner and form aforeſaid, or be negligent or remiſs in the certificate thereof, in form
"above written; that then every Juſtice of Peace of the county, and every Mayor or head
"officers of the city or town-corporate, in whom any ſuch default or negligence ſhall be
"found, being within the ſaid county, city, or town-corporate, at the time of the ſaid next
"aſſembly, or at the time of the ſaid Seſſions, or the times of the ſaid Rates of Wages to be
"ſet, within ſix weeks next after every ſuch Seſſions, and not viſited with any ſuch ſickneſs
"as he could not travel thither without peril and danger of his life, or not having any other
"lawful and good excuſe, to be allowed by the Juſtices then aſſembled for the rating and
"taxing of wages, as is aforeſaid, or by the more part of them, upon a corporal oath and
"affidavit, to be taken and made openly before the ſaid Juſtices, upon the Holy Evangeliſts,
"by ſome credible perſon aſſeſſed and taxed in the Book of Subſidy of that county, to the
"clear value of five pounds at the leaſt, or by ſuch other perſon as the moſt part of ſuch
"Juſtices ſhall allow and accept to take ſuch oath, ſhall, for ſuch default or negligence, for-
"feit, unto the Queen's Majeſty, her heirs and ſucceſſors, ten pounds of lawful money of Eng-
"land." 5 Eliz. c. 4. § 17. The reader will find the whole of this ſtatute in the Appendix, No. VIII. p. cliii.

politicians

politicians attempt to prove, that great benefits have been derived from taxation:—"during the laſt 100 years increaſing taxes have been followed by increaſing improvement; therefore taxes have been beneficial." So, too, before the independence of America, it was ſaid, that the colonies were the great ſource of wealth to the mother-country; yet, ſince their emancipation, the induſtry and commerce of England have been greater than ever; and, I verily believe, that they might ſtill increaſe, without the aid of a new tax, or a new colony. They have thriven in ſpite, and not in conſequence, of impoſts and colonial monopoly: and there is equal reaſon to believe, that the condition of labourers, in Elizabeth's reign, was improved in ſpite, and not in conſequence, of the ſtatutes for the rating of wages.

It is not one of the leaſt objections to this ſtatute, that, by extending the authority of Juſtices to the rating of the wages of *any workmen or workwomen whatſoever*, it muſt have frequently afforded maſter-manufacturers ample means of domineering over their workmen. In thoſe parts of England, where the opulence of ſuch perſons enabled them to acquire the rank of Juſtice of the Peace, it is probable the workmen were placed entirely under the controul of their employers. The Legiſlature ſeems to have been aware that this evil would occur in one branch of buſineſs at leaſt; for it was provided by the laſt clauſe of the Act, "That no "clothier, being a Juſtice of Peace in any precinct or liberty, ſhould "be any rater of any wages for any weaver, tucker, ſpinſter, or other "artiſan, that depended upon the making of cloth: and in caſe there "were not above two Juſtices of the Peace within ſuch precinct, but ſuch "as were clothiers, that, in ſuch caſe, the wages ſhould be rated and "aſſeſſed by the major part of the common council of ſuch precinct or "liberty, and ſuch juſtice, or juſtices, as were not clothiers [1]." The Act alſo rendered the return of the certificate of the rates of wages into Chancery unneceſſary, by directing them to be proclaimed, ſealed, engroſſed, and preſerved among the records of the city or county in which they were appointed [2].

At the ſame time that the Legiſlature thus controuled the earnings of induſtry, it manifeſted its anxiety that no part of the maximum of

[1] § 9. [2] § 8.

wages,

wages, which Juſtices were authorized to regulate, ſhould be ſquandered in the haunts of idleneſs and immorality. In the ſame Seſſions, an Act was paſſed to reſtrain inordinate tippling in ale-houſes: the preamble of which juſtly obſerves, that "the ancient, true, and principal uſe of inns, "ale-houſes, and victualling-houſes, was for the receipt, relief, and lodg-"ing of wayfaring people travelling from place to place, and for the "ſupply of the wants of ſuch people as were not able, by greater quan-"tities, to make their proviſion of victuals; and not meant for enter-"tainment and harbouring of lewd and idle people, to ſpend and con-"ſume their money and their time in lewd and drunken manner." It was therefore enacted, That if any inn-keeper, victualler, or ale-houſe keeper, permitted any perſon, in any city, town, village, or hamlet, to continue drinking and tippling in his inn or ale-houſe, "other than "ſuch as ſhould be invited by any traveller, and ſhould accompany him "only during his neceſſary abode there; and other than labourers and "handicraftſmen in cities and towns corporate, and market-towns, upon "the uſual working days, for one hour at dinner-time to take their diet "in an ale-houſe; and other than labourers and workmen, who, for the "following of their work by the day, or by the great, in any city, town "corporate, market-town, or village, ſhall, for the time of their ſaid con-"tinuing to work there, ſojourn, lodge, or victual in any inn, ale-houſe, "or other victualling-houſe, other than for urgent and neceſſary occa-"ſions, to be allowed by two Juſtices of Peace; he ſhould forfeit ten "pounds to the uſe of the Poor of the pariſh where ſuch offence was "committed[1]."

From theſe expreſſions it appears, that, at this period, it was common, even for country labourers, both to eat their meals and to lodge in inns and ale-houſes; but whether this mode of living was occaſioned by the injudicious regulations of Elizabeth's parliaments, which prohibited the erections of cottages, and the ſtatutes of inmates, which, (in the city of London, and probably in other corporate towns,) limited the number of inmates, in a houſe, to one family[2]; or whether it was the natural

[1] 2 Jac. c. 9. This Act, alſo, limited the price of a full ale-quart of the beſt beer to one penny, and of ſmall-beer to one halfpenny; § 3. By a ſubſequent Act, however, ſome encouragement was given to brewers of beer. See 3 Jac. c. 11. [2] In the debate on continuing the ſtatutes reſpecting tillage, before alluded to, the Secretary of State, (Cecil,) who ſpoke

natural and intermediate ſtep, in the progreſs of ſociety, from the abſolute dependance of the ſlave on his maſter for both diet and habitation, to the improved condition of the free labourer, who, at preſent, rarely reſides under the ſame roof with his employer; I ſhall not pretend to determine.

The 43d of Elizabeth, which, Lord Coke ſays, was but a probationer[1], was continued by ſeveral ſtatutes[2], paſſed in this and the following reign, and received ſome inconſiderable additions, relating, principally, to the binding poor children apprentices[3]. Of the amount of the rate annually levied under this Act, at this period, hiſtory is ſilent. The ſituation of the Poor, even after the paſſing of the 43d of Eliz. for providing a compulſory maintenance for them, is repreſented, by ſome authors, as exceedingly deplorable; and the aſſeſſments for their relief are ſaid to have been ſo low, that many periſhed for want[4]. The Act of James, which directed, that houſes of correction ſhould be provided in every ſhire, for ſetting idle and diſorderly perſons to work[5], muſt have occaſioned a conſiderable increaſe to the Rate; for, although it does not ſpecify what fund ſhall be applied to erect, or otherwiſe provide, houſes of correction, yet it directs, that all the ſtatutes in force for erecting and building of houſes of correction ſhall be put in execution; and it may be preſumed, that, by the 18th of Elizabeth[6], (which was ſtill in force), the expence was to be defrayed from a County Rate, not exceeding two years taxation; a very indefinite expreſſion; but which probably ſignified a ſum equal to two years collection for the Poor[7]. A ſub-

ſpoke in favour of the propoſed bill, remarked: "If we debar tillage, we give ſcope to the depopulator; and then if the Poor, being thruſt out of their houſes, go to dwell with others, "ſtraight we catch them with the Statute of Inmates; if they wander abroad, they are with-"in the danger of the Statute of the Poor to be whipt."—D'Ewes, Journal, 674.

[1] 2 Inſt. 733. [2] 2 Jac. c. 25. § 23. 21 Jac. c. 28. 3 Car. c. 4. [3] 2 Jac. c. 25. § 23. 7 Jac. c. 3. [4] Sinclair, Hiſt. of the Revenue, 2d edit. i. 136. Stevens, Hiſt. of Taxes, 254, 262. The author of a pamphlet, publiſhed in 1698, entitled, "Bread for the Poor," ſays, that "though pariſhes were enabled (by the 43d of Elizabeth) to make rates, and "the owners of eſtates obliged to the payment, yet, in many places, no ſuch rates were made in "20, 30, or 40 years after; and when they were firſt made, and, in many years after, the mo-"ney, ſo riſen, was inconſiderable to the preſent charge." See "A Collection of Pamphlets concerning the Poor," printed in 1787. 4to, p. 59. [5] 7 Jac. c. 4. [6] 18 Eliz. c. 3. entitled, "An Act for ſetting of the Poor on work, and for the avoiding of idleneſs." [7] See an inſtance of Juſtices acting under this Act, in the Appendix, No. VII. p. cxxxvi.

ſequent

ſequent ſtatute authoriſed individuals to endow hoſpitals and houſes of correction; notwithſtanding which, it appears, from the preamble to the 7th of James, that they had not been built according to the intention of the Legiſlature; and the proviſions of former ſtatutes were therefore enforced by a penalty of five pounds, which was impoſed on every Juſtice within every county where a houſe of correction was not built or provided [1]. The ſalaries of the maſters and governors were directed to be paid by the treaſurer of the Poor [2]; and thoſe alone muſt have added heavily to the county charges.

Lord Coke was of opinion, that Juſtices of the Peace were authoriſed, by this Act, to commit to the houſe of correction idle or diſorderly perſons, although they had lawful means to live by. He conceived, that houſes of correction were the only poſſible means of compelling them to labour; and that this excellent work (as he called it,) was, without queſtion, feaſible; for, he ſays, that, "upon making of the 39th of Eli-"zabeth [3], and a good ſpace after, whilſt Juſtices and other officers were "diligent and induſtrious, there was not a rogue to be ſeen in any part "of England; but when Juſtices became remiſs, rogues ſwarmed again [4]." He adds, that few were committed to the houſe of correction without coming out better [5]. This is an effect directly contrary to that which, I fear, is produced by this ſpecies of coercion in modern times.

That the Poor Laws, even as early as the reign of James the Firſt, were ſuſpected to operate as a premium upon idleneſs, ſeems manifeſt from the language of a ſtatute paſſed in 1609 [6], which declares, "that "many wilful people, finding that they, having children, have ſome hope "to have relief from the pariſh wherein they dwell, and being able "to labour, and thereby to relieve themſelves and their families, do "nevertheleſs run away out of their pariſhes, and leave their families "upon the pariſh;" it was therefore enacted, That all ſuch perſons, running away, ſhould be deemed incorrigible rogues; and that, if any man or woman, able to work, ſhould *threaten* to run away, they ſhould be ſent to the houſe of correction, and treated as wandering rogues.

The many other ſalutary laws which were paſſed during this reign for furthering the adminiſtration of juſtice [7], for preventing frauds in

[1] 7 Jac. c. 4. §3. [2] § 6. [3] 39 Eliz. c. 4. [4] 2 Inſt. 729. [5] 2 Inſt. 734.
[6] 7 Jac. c. 4. [7] 2 Jac. c. 10. c. 23. 3 Jac. c. 7. c. 8. 4 Jac. c. 3. 7 Jac. c. 1. c. 5. 21 Jac. c. 8. c. 12. c. 13. c. 14. c. 15. c. 16. c. 23. c. 26.

manufactures [1], encouraging agriculture [2], and promoting foreign commerce [3], demonſtrate, that a ſpirit of induſtry had taken deep root in the nation; and although its domeſtic economy at this period is little noticed by hiſtorians, we may infer, from the natural operation of ſuch powerful cauſes as the extenſion of manufactures and commerce, that the condition of the people was much improved.

It was fortunate for the nation, that the folly of their Sovereign was chiefly diſplayed in court ſplendour, and in laviſh bounties to undeſerving favourites: his profuſion, however, was counterbalanced by his averſion to war, which produced a longer peace than, I am ſorry to obſerve, has been enjoyed in any ſubſequent reign. Two-and-twenty years of almoſt uninterrupted tranquillity muſt (as Mr. Chalmers very juſtly obſerves,) have produced the moſt ſalutary effects on the induſtry of the people; though this circumſtance has caſt an unmerited ridicule on the king [4]. As James, however, did not, (except on preſſing occaſions for money,) conſult his parliament, between 1609 and 1623, we cannot obtain much knowledge of the ſtate of the kingdom, during that period, from a peruſal of the Statute-book. Of the laws enacted towards the cloſe of this reign, the Act for ſecuring the ſubject againſt antiquated claims, of the crown, on lands which had been enjoyed 60 years [5]; the Act for putting down monopolies [6]; and the Act for repealing the abſurd laws of Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth, for promoting tillage [7], merit great commendation. It is, however, mortifying to a philoſophic mind, to reflect, that, whilſt ſo many wiſe meaſures were adopted by the great council of the nation, neither a Coke, nor a Bacon, ſhould oppoſe the law, ſuggeſted by royal ſuperſtition, for making it felony *to conſult, covenant with, entertain, employ, feed, or reward, any evil and wicked ſpirit* [8]. It is ſtill more mortifying to reflect, that the enlightened Sir Matthew Hale left a man for execution who was convicted on this act [9]; and that even in the preſent century, a Britiſh Jury could be perſuaded that the crime of witchcraft

[1] 2 Jac. c. 22. 4 Jac. c. 2. 7 Jac. c. 7. 21 Jac. c. 18. [2] 4 Jac. c. 11. c. 13. 7 Jac. c. 3. c. 18. c. 20. [3] 3 Jac. c. 6. c. 11. 4 Jac. c. 9. 21 Jac. c. 9. [4] Eſtimate, 2d edit. 37. [5] 21 Jac. c. 2. [6] 21 Jac. c. 3. [7] 21 Jac. c. 28. § 11. [8] 2 Jac. c. 12. repealed by 9 Geo. 2. c. 5. [9] See the "Tryal of Witches" at Bury St. Edmonds, on March the 10th, 1664, before Sir Matthew Hale, knight, edit. 1716.

could

could exiſt; and that a woman could converſe with the devil in the ſhape of a cat[1].

The high price of butcher's meat in King James's reign, (the neceſſary conſequence of improvement,) is an indubitable proof, that fleſh meat muſt have conſtituted a very inconſiderable portion of the diet of labourers at the beginning of the laſt century. Mr. Hume remarks, that he had not been able, by any enquiry, to learn the common price of butcher's meat during the reign of James the Firſt[2]. Mr. Birch, however, in the life of Prince Henry, publiſhed in 1760, has collected the prices paid for fleſh by the purveyors of the prince's houſhold, (probably about 1610,) from which it appears, that beef was about

[1] See the trial of Jane Wenman for witchcraft before Mr. Juſtice Powell, at Hereford, on March the 4th, 1711—12.; and Arnot's Criminal Trials in Scotland, p. 369. The 9th of George the Second (c. 5.) has put an end to all executions for what Blackſtone (Comment. iv. 61.) calls a *dubious crime*. It is ſaid, this Act paſſed in conſequence of an old woman's being drowned at Tring, by hertoo credulous neighbours, who ſuſpected her of witchcraft. In Ireland, there is ſtill a ſtatute, inflicting capital puniſhment upon witches, unrepealed. It was paſſed in the 28th Eliz. and deſcribes every ſpecies of the crime as minutely as the Engliſh ſtatute: and even provides for the trial of Peers, who might happen to be charged with the crime. See Chriſtian's Blackſtone, iv. 61. note; and 1 Ld. Mountm. Hiſt. of Iriſh Parl. The Scotch law againſt witches is ſtill ſeverer than the Engliſh. It ſubjects both the witch and her conſulter to the penalty of death. The Act is but a ſhort one; and as the Collection of Scotch Laws is become a ſcarce book, I think the curious reader will be gratified with a ſight of it. It paſſed in Mary's ninth parliament held in 1563, and probably ſuggeſted the Engliſh Act to her ſuperſtitious ſon.

"Item, For-ſa-meikle as the Queenis Majeſtie and the Three Eſtaites in this preſent "parliament, being informed that the heavie and abominable ſuperſtition uſed by diverſe "of the lieges of this realme, be uſing of witchcrafttes, ſorcerie, and necromancie, and cre-"dence given thereto in times by-gane, againſt the law of God; and for avoyding and "away-putting of all ſik vaine ſuperſtition in times to-cum, it is ſtatute and ordained by the "Queenis Majeſtie, and the Three Eſtaites foreſaidis, that na maner of perſon nor perſones, "of quhat-ſum-ever eſtaite, degree, or condition they be of, take upon hand, in onie times "hereafter, to uſe onie maner of witchcraftes, ſorcerie or necromancie, nor give themſelves "furth to have onie ſik craft or knawledge theirof, their-throw abuſand the people: nor that "na perſoun ſeik onie helpe, reſponſe or conſultation at onie ſik uſers or abuſers foreſaidis "of witchcraftes, ſorceries, or necromancies, under the paine of death, asweil to be execute "againſt the uſer, abuſer, as the ſeiker of the reſponſe or conſultation. And this to bee put to "execution by the Juſtice, Schireffis, Stewards, Baillies, Lordes of Regalities and Royalties, "their Deputes, and uthers ordinar Judges competent within this realme, with all rigour, "haying power to execute the ſamin." Scottiſh Acts, ed. 1682, i. 321.

[2] Hiſt. of Engl. 1ſt ed. v. 128.

$3\frac{3}{4}$d. and mutton $3\frac{3}{8}$d. the pound [1]. At this time the wages allowed by Juſtices, in a midland county, to men employed in agricultural work, were from 6d. to 10d. the day, without meat; and to women hay-makers, 4d. the day, without meat [2]. In theſe rates of wages, the Juſtices ſeem to have calculated that half the day's earnings were equivalent to diet for one day: in modern times, however, a much greater proportion of the daily pay of a labourer is appropriated to the purchaſe of the ſingle article of bread. Some idea of the general diet of the labouring claſſes in King James's reign, may, perhaps, be formed from the following particulars, (reſpecting a ſeaman's diet,) extracted from a little tract, entitled, "Britaine's Buſſe," publiſhed in 1615; in which the author recommends the fitting out buſſes to enable the Engliſh to rival the Dutch in the herring-fiſhery. As this publication is not often to be met with, I flatter myſelf that a ſhort ſection, in which the prices of various articles are minutely ſet down, will not be unacceptable to the reader.

"Victual and Fuell for 16 men and boyes ſerving in the buſſe for
"the herring-fiſhing time, and the time of her ſetting out, and of
"her return home; viz. from the 24th of May, untill the 21ſt
"of September, which is 112 dayes; that is, 16 weeks; that is,
"four months.

"BEERE.

[1] "The prices of fleſh as the Prince payeth, and the weight, as they are agreed for with "the purveyors.

"An ox ſhould weigh 600 lb. the four quarters; and commonly £9. 10s. or thereabouts.

"A mutton ſhould weigh 46 lb. or 44 lb. and they coſt by the ſtone 2s. 3d.*, the ſtone be-"ing 8 lb.

"Veals go not by weight, but by goodneſs only: their price is commonly 17s. or thereabouts.

"Lambs at 6s. 8d. the piece." Birch's Life of Prince Henry, 449: See alſo Ordinances of the Royal Houſhold, 339; and Archæologia, ii. 200.

The uſual weight of oxen now ſold in Smithfield is 800 lb.; and of ſheep 80 or 85 lb. The prices of many other articles of proviſion, in King James's reign, may be found in a MS. containing the expences, &c. of Queen Anne of Denmark's houſhold. Harleian MSS. No. 157. Brit. Muſ.

[2] See Appendix, No. III. p. xcv.

* Owing to a typographical error, which the reader is requeſted to correct with his pen, this is printed £2. 3s. in the Table of Prices, in the Appendix, No. I. p. lxix.

" BEERE.—To allow for every man and boy a gallon of
" beere a day, (which is the allowance made in the king's
" ſhips[1],) that is, for the ſaide 16 perſons, 16 gallons; that
" is juſt halfe a herring-barrell-full a day, that is for the
" whole voyage, or 16 weekes, or 112 dayes, 56 ſuch bar-
" rels of beere. Seven of theſe herring-barrels containe
" a tun of beer; ſo as the ſaide 56 herring-barrelles-full
" of beere do make juſt 8 tun of beere, which, at 40s.
" a tun, come to - - - - £16 0 0

" BISKET.—To alow for every man and boy (as in his Ma-
" jeſty's ſhips) a pound of biſket a day, that is for every
" man and boy for the ſaide four moneths or 112 daies
" an 100 waight of biſket, that is for the ſaide 16 perſons
" 1600 waight of biſket, which, at 13s. 4d. a 100 weight,
" will come to - - - - - 10 13 4

" OATMEALE or PEAZE.—To alow, amongſt the ſaid 16
" perſons a gallon a day, that is halfe a pint a peece eve-
" ry day, that is 112 gallons for them al for the ſaid 112
" daies, or 4 months, which comes to juſt 14 buſhells;
" which, at 4s. a buſhell, will coſt - - 2 16 0

" BACON.—To allow alſo for each man and boy 2 pounds
" of bacon for 4 meales in a weeke, that is for each per-
" ſon for the ſaid 16 weekes 32 pounds, that is 4 ſtone of
" bacon; and ſo, for the ſaide 16 perſons, 64 ſtone of ba-
" con; which, at 2s. 2d. a ſtone, will come to - 6 18 8

Carried over - £36 8 0

[1] The contract between King James and two undertakers, in the year 1622, for victualling the Navy, ſpecifies not only the kind of proviſions, but the quantity allowed to each ſailor. Some compariſon may, perhaps, be drawn from it, of the uſual diet of labourers in that age.

The record ſays: " Every man's daily allowance was one pound of biſcuit, one gallon of " beer, and two pounds of beef, with ſalt, four days in the week; or elſe, inſtead of beef, " for two of the four days, one pound of bacon, or pork ſalted, and one pint of peaſe, as " heretofore hath been uſed and accuſtomed; and, for the other three days of the week, one " quarter of ſtock-fiſh, half a quarter of a pound of butter, and a quarter of a pound of " cheeſe; except that on Friday only, one meal of fiſh, butter, and cheeſe, was allowed. " Herrings, or other fiſh, according to the ſeaſon, were to be provided in lieu of ſtock-fiſh."

The allowance to the contractor was, for every man's victuals, in harbour, ſeven-pence halfpenny, and, at ſea, eight-pence the day. Rym. Fœd. xvii. 443. 445.

	Brought over -	£ 36	8 0

" FRESH FISH.—They may take, daily, out of the sea, as " much fresh fish as they can eate.

" BUTTER.—To allow every man and boy (to butter their " fish, or otherwise to eate as they like,) a quarter of a " pound of butter a day, that is for each person 28 pounds " of butter, that is halfe a firkin of Suffolk butter; and so, " for the sayd 16 men, 8 firkins of butter, at 20s. the firkin 8 0 0

" CHEESE.—To allow every of the said men and boyes " halfe a pound of Holland cheese a day, that is for each " person 56 pounds, that is halfe a hundred waight of " cheese; and so, for the said 16 persons, to allow 800 " weight of Holland cheese; which, at 2½d. the pound, " that is 1l. 3s. 4d. the hundred, will cost - 9 6 8

" VINEGER.—To allow, amongst the said 16 persons, three " pintes of vinegar a day, that is for the said 112 dayes " 42 gallons, that is a teirce of vinegar; which, at 6l. " a tunne, caske and all, will cost - - 1 10 0

" FUELL.—To allow, for the dressing and boyling of their " victuall, 800 of Kentish faggots, that is seaven faggots " a day, and 16 faggots over in the whole time; which " 800 faggots, at 8s. the 100, coms to - - 3 4 4

" Summe of all the said foure months victuall is £ 57 19 0"

The wages of the crew are high, compared with the contemporary earnings of agricultural labour.

The monthly pay of the master or captain of the busse was estimated at - -		£ 5	0 0
Two mates, each - -		1	4 0
Six other men, each - -		1	0 0
Six other men, each - -		0	16 0
A boy - - -		0	6 0

The author had great expectations that his project of a herring-fishery[1] would convert beggars and vagabonds into rope-makers, ship-wrights,

[1] A herring-fishery was a favourite project with several writers about this period. The Author of "England's Way to win Wealth," &c. published in 1614, warmly recommends the establish-

wrights, and other uſeful artiſans: that it would "encourage the ma-"giſtrate to puniſh idleneſs; and enable the nation to relieve the poor, "aged, and impotent, more plentifully, than could be done, whilſt *va-*"*liant rogues* ſhared in the alms of the charitable." The plan, however, miſcarried; and, notwithſtanding the ſage advice of Sir Walter Raleigh, and other great men, on this ſubject of the utmoſt national importance, little attention was paid to the fiſheries till the reign of Charles the Second.

The price of corn, during King James's reign, (Mr. Hume informs us,) was rather higher than it was in the middle of the following century. By a proclamation, iſſued in 1523, for eſtabliſhing public magazines whenever wheat fell below thirty-two ſhillings a quarter, rye below eighteen, and barley below ſixteen, the Commiſſioners were empowered to purchaſe corn for the magazines [1]. Theſe prices, therefore, may be conſidered as low: it appears, from the Windſor Table of Prices,

eſtabliſhment of a herring fiſhery as the beſt employment for the Poor of this nation, and the beſt means of reviving the trade of the towns on the eaſtern coaſt of the kingdom; which he repreſents as greatly decayed from what they were in former times. According to his report, the fiſhing towns of Colcheſter, Harwich, Orford, Aldborough, Dunwich, Warderſwich, Swold *, Yarmouth, Blackley, Wells, Lynn, Boſton, and Hull, were exceeding poor and beggarly. At Yarmouth, he ſays, there were, in the preceding winter, three hundred idle men, who could get nothing to do, living very poor for lack of employment; who, moſt gladly, would have gone to ſea in pinks, if there had been any for them to go in.

He concludes with the following advice: "Wherefore, ſeeing that we can excel all other "nations waſtefully to ſpend money, let us, in one thing, learn of other nations to get thou-"ſands out of his Majeſty's ſeas, and to make a general profit of the benefits that Almighty "God doth yearly ſend unto us in far greater abundance than the fruit of our trees; which "although they be more chargeable in the gathering together, yet is the profit far greater "unto this kingdom and commonwealth of all his Majeſty's ſubjects, increaſing the wealth "of the adventurers; as alſo, for the inriching of merchants, and maintaining of trades, oc-"cupations, and employing of ſhips, and increaſing of mariners, which now do but little or "nothing; as alſo, for the ſetting of poor and idle people on work, which now know not "how to live; and to teach many a tall fellow to know the proper names of the ropes in a "ſhip; and to hale the bow-line, that now, for lack of employment, many ſuch, by the in-"convenience of idle living, are compelled to end their days with a rope by an untimely "death; which, by the employment of the buſſes, might be well avoided, and they, in time, "become right honeſt, ſerviceable, and truſty ſubjects." Harleian Miſcellany, iii. 390. See likewiſe a pamphlet, entitled, "The Trades Increaſe," printed in 1615, in the Harleian Miſcellany, iv. 202.

[1] Rym. Fœd. xvii. 526.

* Probably Southwold in Suffolk.

that

that the average price of middling wheat, (Winchester measure,) from 1606 to 1625, was £ 1. 14s. 1⅛d. the quarter; whereas the average price for 20 years, ending in 1745, was £ 1. 9s. 10⅘d.; and, for 19 years ending in 1764, £ 1. 11s. 8⅘d[1]. It is not easy to conceive, that, whilst such high prices continued, a labourer, whose wages, on an average, it is probable, were about 8d. a day, could have been as well provided with the most important necessaries of life as he is at present. It should likewise be remarked, that many esculent plants, which are now cultivated in the fields, and, in a scarcity of corn, are found to be admirable substitutes, even for wheaten bread, were, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, either little known, or exclusively confined to the tables of the rich. Potatoes, which are now, very generally, used by the Poor in every part of England, where fuel is cheap, were, in King James's reign, considered as a great delicacy[2]. They are noticed among the different articles provided for the Queen's household; the quantity, however, is extremely small, and the price is 2s. the pound[3]. In 1619, two cauliflowers cost 3s. and sixteen artichokes 3s. 4d.; prices which would now be deemed extravagant[4]; but they were then regarded as rarities, as they are still in the remote parts of the kingdom. Tea and sugar, which are now to be met with in most cottages in the southern parts of England, were still greater rarities. The latter is, indeed, noticed by many authors, even as early as the fourteenth century[5], but continued to be very dear, even in James's reign. Tea, it is probable, was then scarcely known; and, certainly, was little used in England. Botero, who wrote about 1590, seems to allude to tea, in the following remark: "The Chinese," he says, "have also an herb, out of which they press a "delicate juice, which serves them instead of wine; it also preserves "their health, and frees them from all those evils that the immoderate "use of wine doth breed unto us." Mr. Munn, in his Treatise in favour of the East India Trade, published in 1620, enumerates most of

[1] See Appendix, No. I. p. lxxix. By 21 Jac. c. 28. § 3. it was enacted, That, when wheat was not above one pound twelve shillings the quarter; rye, twenty shillings; pease, beans, and malt, sixteen shillings, at the port to which they were brought to be shipped, they might be exported. There is a similar regulation in 3 Car. c. 4. § 24. [2] Harl. MSS. No. 157. Brit. Mus. [3] Alleyn's Diary, Lysons's Environs of London, i. 98. [4] See Appendix, No. I. p. xxxvii. note 2d; and Forme of Cury, xxvii. [5] Anderson, Hist. of Commerce, ii. 178.

the commodities then imported from India into Europe, but does not notice tea. The India Company, eſtabliſhed in 1600, does not appear to have traded to China for ſeveral years; but the eſtabliſhment of a new company, in 1637, with permiſſion to trade to China, and Japan,[1] may, perhaps, have contributed to the introduction of tea into England. No notice is taken of tea in the Book of Rates annexed to the Act[2] paſſed in 1660, for granting Charles the Second a ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage upon all merchandize exported and imported; but, in a ſubſequent Act, paſſed in the ſame Seſſions, tea, coffee, and chocolate, were ſubjected to an exciſe. It is, however, ſingular, that the duty was impoſed on the *liquor* compoſed from theſe articles, and not on the ſimple articles themſelves[3]: from which I infer, that none of theſe liquors were made by private families, but were purchaſed, ready mixed, from the compounder. Theſe duties were repealed by the 1ſt of William and Mary, which declares, that the collecting of them was "not only very "troubleſome and unequal upon the retailers, but required ſuch attend-"ance of officers, as to make the neat receipt very inconſiderable[4]."

The prices of the raw material of our ſtaple manufacture appears to have been very high during the greateſt part of King James's reign. It fell, however, in 1622, from £1. 13s. the tod, to 18s.[5] This ſeems to have been the conſequence of a proclamation[6], which the King iſſued on

[1] Anderſon, Hiſt. of Commerce, ii. 372. [2] 12 Car. 2. c. 4. [3] "For every gal-"lon of coffee made and ſold, to be paid, by the maker thereof, four-pence. For every gallon "of chocolate, ſherbet, and tea, made and ſold, to be paid, by the maker thereof, eight-"pence." 12 Car. 2. c. 24. § 15. [4] 1 W. & M. Stat. 2. c. 6. [5] Smith on Wool, 2d ed. ii. 242.

[6] On this meaſure, the Author of the Memoirs of Wool, makes the following judicious obſervations: "If we look into the hiſtory of this part of King James's reign, we ſhall find, "that, having quarrelled with his parliament, he had diſſolved it, and was determined to go-"vern without the advice and aid of that great council; and that, being in the utmoſt diſ-"treſs for money, he had recourſe to extraordinary and illegal meaſures for extorting it from "his ſubjects. Now, that, under theſe circumſtances, he ſhould chooſe to prohibit, in good "earneſt, the exportation of wool, and thereby forego a revenue that probably brought him "ſomething, and to which he was legally entitled, is what all perſons acquainted with "thoſe circumſtances, the character and diſpoſitions of that prince, will think ſtrange, or "rather incredible. It is, therefore, to be ſuſpected, that the real intention of the procla-"mation mentioned, was not to prevent the exportation of wool, but either to exact, under

on the 20th of July, in that year, to prohibit the tranſportation of wool from England, and from Ireland, except to England. I do not ſuppoſe, that, in general, the dramatic effuſions of Shakſpeare would be admitted as good evidence of the price of commodities in his time; nor ſhould I venture to quote him, but that Mr. Hume (very properly in my opinion,) has not thought it beneath the dignity of hiſtory to remark, that Dame Quickly "tells Falſtaff, that the ſhirts which ſhe "had bought him were holland, at eight ſhillings an ell[1]; a very high "price at this day, even ſuppoſing, what is not probable, that the beſt "holland, at that time, was equal in goodneſs to the beſt which can "now be purchaſed[2]."

I cannot meet with any publication immediately concerning the Poor in King James's reign before 1622. In that year, there appeared a ſmall pamphlet, intitled, "Greevous Grones for the Poore, done by a "Well-wiſher, who wiſheth that the Poore of England might be ſo "provided for, as none ſhould neede to go a beggin within this realme." By M. S. London.

"the colour of licences, more money, from ſuch as ſhould be deſirous of exporting it, than "by ſtatute they were obliged to pay; or elſe, by taking leſs than the ſtatute required, to "promote the exportation of wool by licences, rather than in a clandeſtine manner, without "paying any duty. This is a rational ſuppoſition, both from the circumſtances premiſed, "and from the tenour of this commiſſion, and from other circumſtances, which will appear "hereafter." Memoirs of Wool, 2d ed. i. 114.

[1] Hume has *a yard*; erroneouſly. See 1ſt part of Henry the Fourth, A. 3. S. 3. In the ſame play, (A. 2. S. 4.) we have the following charges for a tavern ſupper:

Item, a capon - - - -	2s. 2d.
Item, ſauce - - - - -	0s. 4d.
Item, ſack, two gallons - - -	5s. 8d.

Shakſpeare (it has been remarked,) has here fallen into an anachroniſm in furniſhing his tavern with *ſack* in the time of King Henry the Fourth, which was not ſold by *vintners* till the 33d year of King Henry the Eighth, 1543. Mr. Malone, on the authority of Florio's Firſt Fruits, publiſhed in 1578, informs us, that twenty years before the appearance of this play, "claret wine, red and white, is ſold for five-pence the quart, and *ſacke* for ſix-"pence; muſcadel and malmſey for eight." He, therefore, conjectures, that, in the courſe of twenty years, ſack had riſen to eight-pence, or eight-pence halfpenny the quart, and that Shakſpeare's computation was right. This was probably the caſe; for, although the learned editor adds, that, a few years after Shakſpeare's death, ſack was two ſhillings the quart, I find, that, by a proclamation in 1632, it's price was fixed at nine-pence the quart by retail. Rym. Fœd. xix. 405.

[2] Hiſt. of Engl. 1ſt ed. v. 127.

The author of this tract complains, that the Statutes reſpecting the Poor, although excellent, were not enforced. He is aſtoniſhed that "although the commons with common commodities in ſome towne "be woorth an hundred, or two hundred pounds a yeere, or more; yet "the Poore of the ſame towne, unto the third part of the towne in "number, ſhall not be thereby releeved to the value of fortie ſhillings "in a yeare: ſo are the commons ſurcharged by the rich; and the "profit of their towne-lands employed to beare other common charges "withall." He adds, that "though the number of the Poore do "dailie encreaſe, there hath beene no collection for them, no not theſe "ſeven yeares, in many pariſhes of this land, eſpeciallie in countrie "townes; but many of thoſe pariſhes turneth forth their Poore, yea "and their luſtie labourers that will not worke, or for any miſdemeenor "want worke, to begge, filtch, and ſteale for their maintenance, ſo that "the country is pittifully peſtered with them: yea, and the maimed "ſouldiours, that have ventured their lives, and loſt their limbes in our "behalfe, are alſo thus requited: for when they return home, to live "by ſome labour in their naturall countrey, though they can worke "well in ſome kinde of labour, everie man ſayeth, Wee will not bee "troubled with their ſervice, but make other ſhifte for our buſineſſe. "So are they turned forth to travaile in idleneſſe, (the highway to hell,) "and ſeeke their meate uppon meares, (as the proverbe goeth,) with "begging, filching, and ſtealing for their maintenance, untill the law "bring them unto the fearfull end of hanging[1]."

During the reign of Charles the Firſt, the Legiſlature were too much occupied in redreſſing ſenſible grievances, and in diſcuſſing queſtions of high conſtitutional importance, to attend to the ſubordinate calls of internal police. We therefore meet with little information, either in or out of parliament, relative to the circumſtances of the Poor, before the reſtoration of Charles the Second. The Acts for the puniſhment of rogues and vagabonds, and for the relief of the Poor, were continued[2]; and the laws againſt drunkenneſs enforced[3]: but few additions to the exiſting laws were made.

[1] Greevous Grones, &c. 15. [2] 3 Car. c. 4. [3] 3 Car. c. 3.

Charles imitated the example of his father, in attempting to govern without the aſſiſtance of his parliament. We ſhould, therefore, in vain examine the Statute Book for information relative to the labouring claſſes of the people at this period. The following rules and orders, however, which were iſſued by the Privy Council in 1630, for the regulation of many important branches of police, will afford us ſome inſight into the ſtate of the Poor, and the progreſs of the Poor's Rate: I ſhall, therefore, as they are not very long, without apology, lay the whole of them before the reader.

"ORDERS.

1. THAT the Juſtices of Peace of every ſhire within the realme doe divide themſelves, and allot amongſt themſelves what Juſtices of the Peace, and what Hundreds, ſhall attend monethly at ſome certaine places of the ſhire. And, at this day and place, the High Conſtables, Petty Conſtables, and Church-wardens and Overſeers for the Poore of thoſe Hundreds, ſhall attend the ſaid Juſtices. And there inquirie ſhall be made, and information taken by the Juſtices, how every of theſe officers in their ſeveral places have done their duties, in execution of the lawes mentioned in the commiſſion annexed, and what perſons have offended againſt any of the ſaid lawes.
2. Where neglect, or defect, is found in any of the ſaid officers, in making their preſentments, condigne puniſhment to be inflicted upon them by the Juſtices, according to law.
3. When offences are preſented at one meeting, then the penalties of the lawes offended, to be leavied and brought to the Juſtices at their next meeting.
4. When the penalties are leavied, the Juſtices are to take care that the ſame be imployed accordingly as by the ſtatutes are appointed.
5. For incouragement to men that doe informe and proſecute others for offending againſt theſe lawes, or any of them, libertie to bee left to the Juſtices of Peace, that doe meete, to reward the informer or proſecutor, out of part of the money leavied upon his or their preſentments or information.

Though the Statute doe not preſcribe this, yet this is not againſt the law that gives the penaltie to the Poore, which penaltie, nor no part thereof, would elſe come unto the Poore, but by this meanes.

6. That the ſeverall Juſtices of Peace of every ſhire doe, once every three moneths, certifie an account in writing to the High Sheriff of the countie, of their proceedings in this way; whom they have puniſhed, what they have levyed, and how they have imployed it.

7. That the High Sheriffe, within foureteene dayes after this account delivered, doe ſend the ſame over to the Juſtices of Aſſize for that county, or to one of them; and the Juſtice, or Juſtices, that receive the ſame, to certifie it in the beginning of every terme next after to the Lords Commiſſioners. And if any of the Juſtices of Peace ſhall faile to make ſuch account to the Sheriffe, then the Sheriffe ſhall certifie ſuch default to the Lords Commiſſioners.

8. The Juſtices of Aſſize in every circuite are to enquire, and ſpecially to marke, what Juſtices of the Peace are carefull and diligent in execution of theſe lawes, and the directions given, and who are negligent and remiſſe. And what other things of note happen in their circuits, to make report thereof to the King, upon their returne from their circuits every halfe yeare."

"DIRECTIONS.

1. THAT the Lords of manours and townes take care that their tenants, and the pariſhioners of every towne, may be releeved by worke, or otherwiſe at home, and not ſuffered to ſtraggle, and beg up and downe in their pariſh.

2. That ſtewards to lords and gentlemen, in keeping their leetes twice a yeere, doe ſpecially enquire upon thoſe articles that tend to the reformation, or puniſhment, of common offences and abuſes; as of bakers and brewers for breaking of aſſizes: of foreſtallers and regraters: againſt tradeſmen of all ſorts, for ſelling with under-weights, or at exceſſive priſes, or things unwholſome, or things made in deceipt: of people, breakers of houſes, common theeves, and their receivers: haunters of taverns or alehouſes; thoſe that goe in good clothes, and fare well, and none knowes whereof they live; thoſe that

that be night-walkers, builders of cottages, and takers in of inmates; offences of victuallers, artificers, workemen, and labourers.

3. That the poore children in every parish be put forth apprentices to husbandry, and other handy-crafts; and money to be raised in the parishes for placing them, according to the law; and if any party shall refuse to take the said apprentice, being put out according to the law, such party as shall refuse to take the said apprentice, to be bound over to the next quarter-sessions, or assizes, and there to be bound to his good behaviour, or otherwise ordered, as shall be found fit.

4. That the Statute of Labourers, for retaining of servants, and ordering of wages betwixt the servant and the master, be not deluded by private contracts, before they come to the statutes[1]; and the common fashion of essoynging many absent, not to bee allowed of course, as is used.

5. That the weekely taxations for the relieſe of the Poore, and other purposes mentioned in the 43d Elizabeth, bee, in these times of scarcitie, raised to higher rates in every parish, than in times tofore were used; and contributions had from other parishes to helpe the weaker parishes, especially from those places where depopulations have beene, some good contribution to come, for helpe of other parishes. And where any money, or stocke, hath beene, or shall be given to the relieſe of the Poore in any parish, such gift to be no occasion of lessening the rates of the parish.

6. That the petty constables in all parishes be chosen of the abler sort of parishioners; and the office not to bee put upon the poorer sort, if it may be.

7. Watches in the night and warding by day, and to bee appointed in every towne and village, for apprehension of rogues and vagabonds, and for safety and good order.

8. And because it is found by dayly experience, that the remisseneſſe and negligence of petty constables is a great cause of the swarming of rogues and beggars[2]: therefore the high constables in their severall divisions,

[1] See p. 32.

[2] The great increase of beggars, about this time, was probably owing to King Charles's having, in 1629, disbanded his army in Ireland; the consequence of which was, that swarms of vagabonds immediately flocked over into England. To remedy this

diviſions, are ſpecially to be charged to looke unto the petty conſtables, that they uſe diligence in their offices, and the high conſtables to preſent to the Juſtices of Peace, the defaults of the petty conſtables, for not puniſhing the rogues, or not preſenting thoſe that are relievers of the rogues and beggars, the law inflicting a penalty upon the conſtable for not puniſhing them, and upon ſuch party as ſhall relieve them.

9. If in any pariſh there be found any perſons that live out of ſervice, or that live idly and will not worke for reaſonable wages, or live to ſpend all they have at the ale-houſe, thoſe perſons to be brought by the high conſtables, and petty conſtables, to the Juſtices at their meetings, there to bee ordered and puniſhed as ſhall be found fit.

10. That the correction-houſes in all counties may bee made adjoining to the common priſons, and the gaoler to be made governor of them, that ſo he may imploy to worke priſoners committed for ſmall cauſes, and ſo they may learne honeſtly by labour, and not live idly and miſerably long in priſon, whereby they are made worſe when they come out, then they were when they went in; and where many houſes of correction are in one county, one of them, at leaſt, to bee neere the gaole.

11. That no man harbour rogues in their barnes or out-houſings. And the wandering perſons with women and children, to give an account to the conſtable or juſtice of peace, where they were married, and where their children were chriſtened; for theſe people live like ſalvages, neither marry, nor bury, nor chriſten; which licentious libertie make ſo many delight to be rogues and wanderers.

12. And becauſe the highways in all counties of England are in great decay, partly ſo growne, for that men think there is no courſe by the common law, or order from the ſtate to amend the ſame: and the worke days appointed by the ſtatute are ſo omitted, or idly performed, that there comes little good by them. Therefore the Juſtices of Peace

this evil, a proclamation was iſſued, commanding them to return to Ireland; and ordering them to be conveyed from conſtable to conſtable to one or other of the following ſea-ports, viz. Briſtol, Minehead, Barnſtaple, Cheſter, Liverpool, Milford, and Workington: if they were found begging afterwards, they were to be puniſhed as rogues and vagabonds. Rym. Fœd. xix. 72.

at

at theſe monethly meetings, are to take ſpeciall care of; and not only to cauſe the ſurveyors of the highwayes to preſent the ſame; but by their owne viewe, to informe themſelves, that at the next quarter ſeſſions after every meeting, they may preſent all ſuch neglects and offences, (as upon their owne view,) and the offenders there to bee puniſhed according to law[1].

The year 1630 is alſo diſtinguiſhed for a very ſingular expedient for relieving the Poor, which was recommended to the good people of London and Weſtminſter in a proclamation iſſued in that year for preventing the dearth of corn and victual. It requires no great knowledge of human nature, nor much acquaintance with the modes and habits of life of the inhabitants of this great city, to diſcover, that ſuch a plan, even at the preſent moment, (when the incentives and diſpoſition to charity are certainly not leſſened,) could not poſſibly be carried into execution. I ſhall, however, on account of it's curioſity, lay a part of the proclamation before the reader. Our wonder at it's contents may probably be leſſened, when we recollect, that this recommendation to the citizens of London, to abſtain from their uſual meals, was made at a period when they permitted their houſes to be ranſacked, and could be perſuaded to "preſerve carefully in proper veſſels, all human urine, and as much of other animals as could be collected," for the uſe of his Majeſty's patentees of ſalt-petre[2].

"Whereas by an ancient and laudable cuſtom no ſuppers were wont "to bee kept on Fridayes, or the eves of feaſts commanded to be faſted, "nor upon Wedneſdayes or Saturdayes in the Ember weekes and time "of Lent, but a generall abſtinence from ſuppers on thoſe nights: and "the ſame courſe is to this day, for the moſt part, obſerved, not only in "his Maieſtie's moſt honourable houſhold, and in the families of moſt "of the nobilitie and great men of the kingdome; but alſo in the innes "of court and chancerie, and in the colledges and halls of both univer-"ſities, and all other publique places of good order, and in the houſes "of many knights and eſquires that are moſt commended for good "houſe-keeping according to the ancient manner of England, for

[1] Printed by Robert Barker, &c. London, 1630. (In the Britiſh Muſeum.)

[2] Rym. Fœd. xviii. 813.

"which

" which this realme hath heretofore been ſo much honoured. Howbeit " that good and laudable cuſtome is daily more and more neglected, " and that good order broken, eſpecially in tavernes, innes, ordinaries, " houſes of dicing and playing, cookes' houſes, and other victualling- " houſes, where commonly there is more waſte and exceſſe on the faſt- " ing nights, than in any time of the weeke beſides.

" His Majeſtie therefore doth ſtraightly charge and command, that " his ſaid ancient and laudable cuſtome be ſtrictly obſerved in all and " ſingular tavernes, innes, ordinaries, houſes of dicing and play, cookes' " houſes, and other victualling-houſes; and that no ſuppers be in them " or any of them, or by the owners of them or any of them, or their " ſervants had dreſſed or provided for to be eaten either in their owne " houſes, or elſewhere, upon any the faſting nights aforeſaid; and that " in the bonds or recognizances to bee taken of them for obſervation " of Lent and fiſh-dayes, this article be ſpecially remembred and pro- " vided for.

" And as his Majeſtie doeth commaund this courſe to be obſerved in " the places aforeſaid, ſo he doth, with the advice of his Privie Counſell, " commend the ſame courſe to the reſt of his ſubjects in their private " families, in this time of ſcarcity; and that they would, out of that " which ſhall be ſaved by this abſtinence, and by their ſober and mode- " rate dyet at other times, charitably and bountifully employ ſome good " proportion towards the reliefe of thoſe that ſhall be in penury and " want, and would be glad to be refreſhed with the meaneſt of that " foode which is ſuperfluouſly ſpent in rich men's houſes.

" And for the ſame end, his Majeſty, by like advice of his Privie " Counſell, doeth will and ordayne, that the uſuall feaſts at the halles of " companies in London, which at other times have beene, and may be " uſed, be, during the time of ſickneſſe or dearth, this yeare forborne.

" And becauſe the ſayd ſocieties and companies ſhall, by this meanes " of putting over their feaſts, ſpare much money of that which hath " beene heretofore uſually ſpent that way, his Majeſtie doeth ſpecially " recommend it unto them, that thoſe who ſhould have borne the " charge of thoſe feaſtes, would allow, if not more, yet at the leaſt " the one halfe of what that charge would have come unto, towards " the reliefe of the Poore; which being orderly diſburſed, will be a

"great comfort unto them, and will be a matter of great charitie in "the doers thereof; and being by them accordingly performed, his "Majeſtie will graciouſly accept thereof, and will find meanes to give "them their due commendation and right; as on the contrary, hee "ſhall have cauſe to remember the hardneſſe of their hearts, which in "this time of want ſhall ſhew themſelves ſo mercileſſe, as not to diſtri-"bute upon the Poore, one halfe of that which they would be content "to ſpend on a feaſt, which may well bee ſpared[1]."

We may form ſome idea of the general expences of living about the middle of King Charles's reign, from the prices directed, (by proclamation, in 1633,) to be obſerved in London, by poulterers, victuallers, and wood-mongers. They are thus ſet down in the Fœdera:

	£	s.	d.
A fat cignet, of the beſt ſort, until All-hallontide	0	7	0
The like cignet, from All-hallontide to Lent	0	9	0
The beſt pheſant cocke	0	6	0
A pheſant henne	0	5	0
A pheſant pout	0	3	4
A turkey-cocke, the beſt in the market	0	4	4
The like beſt turkey-cocke at the poulterer's ſhop	0	4	4
The beſt turkey-henne in the market	0	3	0
The like beſt turkey-henne in the poulterer's ſhop	0	3	4
A turkey-cocke, of the ſecond ſort, in the market	0	3	6
The like turkey-cocke, of the ſecond ſort, at the poulterer's ſhop	0	3	8
A turkey-chicken	0	1	6
A godwitt	0	3	0
A ruffe	0	2	6
A heron	0	2	6
A bitterne	0	2	6
A curlew	0	2	6
A wild ducke	0	0	8
A tame ducke	0	0	8
A teale, a widgeon, or a whynder	0	0	5
A duckling	0	0	5
A partridge	0	1	0
A woodcocke	0	0	8
A dozen of larkes	0	0	10
A quaile	0	0	8
A pewit	0	0	10
A ſnipe	0	0	4
A baſtard plover	0	0	4
A greene plover	0	0	6
A dozen of blackbirds, fieldfares, or thruſhes	0	1	0
A dozen of greene birds	0	0	4
A dozen of all other ſmall birds	0	0	3
The beſt fat gooſe in the market	0	2	0
The like beſt fat gooſe at the poulterer's ſhop	0	2	4
A greene gooſe	0	1	2
A capon, fat and crammed, of the beſt ſort, in the market	0	2	4
The like beſt fat and crammed capon at the poulterer's ſhop	0	2	6
A capon, or caponet, fat, of the ſecond ſort, in the market	0	1	10
A capon, or caponet, fat, of the ſecond ſort, at the poulterer's ſhop	0	2	0
A pullet, fat and crammed, of the beſt ſort, in the market	0	1	6
The like beſt fat and crammed pullet at the poulterer's ſhop	0	1	8
A pullet, of the ſecond ſort, in the market	0	1	4
The like pullet, of the ſecond ſort, at the poulterer's ſhop	0	1	6
A henne, of the beſt ſort, in the market	0	1	0
The like henne at the poulterer's ſhop	0	1	2
A chicken, of the beſt and largeſt ſort, in the market	0	0	5
The like beſt and largeſt chicken at the poulterer's ſhop	0	0	6
A chicken, of the ſecond ſort, in the market	0	0	4
The like chicken, of the ſecond ſort, at the poulterer's ſhop	0	0	5
A rabbit, of the beſt ſort, until All-hallontide	0	0	7

[1] Miſcell. Coll. belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, vi. 217. Rym. Fœd. xix. 195.

	£	s.	d.
A rabbit, of the beſt ſort, from All-hallontide to Lent - -	0	0	8
A rabbit, of the ſecond ſort, until All-hallontide - - -	0	0	6
A rabbit, of the ſecond ſort, from All-hallontide to Lent - -	0	0	7
A rabbit ſucker - - -	0	0	3
A dozen of wilde pigeons - -	0	1	8
A dozen of tame pigeons - -	0	6	0
Three eggs - - -	0	0	1
A pound of the beſt ſalt butter -	0	0	3½
A pound of the ſecond ſort of ſalt butter - - -	0	0	4
A pound of the beſt freſh butter, from All Souls to the 1ſt of May -	0	0	6
A pound of the ſecond ſort of freſh butter, from All Souls to the 1ſt of May - - -	0	0	5
A pound of the beſt freſh butter, from the 1ſt of May to the feaſt of All Souls - - -	0	0	5
A pound of the ſecond ſort of freſh butter, from the 1ſt of May to All Souls - - - -	0	0	4
A pound of tallow candles, made of wicke, - - -	0	0	3½
A pound of tallow candles, made of cotton - - -	0	0	4
A ſack, containing 4 buſhels of the beſt old charcoals - -	0	1	2
A ſack, containing 4 buſhels of the middle ſort of charcoals - -	0	0	10
A ſack, containing 4 buſhels of the ſmalleſt ſort of charcoals - -	0	0	8
A ſack, containing 4 buſhels of the beſt and largeſt ſmall coals -	0	0	6
1000 of the beſt Kentiſh billets, of the true aſſize, at the water ſide	0	16	0
Ditto, Eſſex billets, ditto -	0	18	0
Ditto, Weſtern billets, ditto -	0	14	0
100 Kentiſh faggots, ditto -	0	7	0
100 Eſſex faggots, ditto -	0	6	0
100 Weſtern faggots, ditto -	0	6	0

Of the wages of labour, we have very little information, that can be depended on. In 1626, the King's maſter-ſadler's daily pay was twelve-pence a day for himſelf, and three-pence halfpenny a day for his ſervant. The maſter-maſon, at Windſor-caſtle, alſo received twelve-pence a day [1].

Theſe wages, of twelve-pence a day to maſter-workmen, appear to be moderate ſalaries; but as they were probably made up by ſome other perquiſites, no juſt concluſions can be drawn from them reſpecting the ordinary price of labour. Three-pence halfpenny a day, the allowance to the ſervant, may, perhaps, have been ſufficient to provide a man with a bare ſubſiſtence; and I am inclined to think, that the ſum was ſufficient for that purpoſe, as, in a ſmall tract, publiſhed in 1646, the diet and maintenance of a drunken vagabond is eſtimated at 3d. a day [2]. In 1636, ſeamen, in the King's navy, were allowed, in harbour, ſeven-pence halfpenny a day, for their proviſions; and, when at ſea, eight-

[1] Rym. Fœd. xviii. 675. [2] See p. 167. At this period, the uſual bread-corn of the poorer ſort of the people, was barley. The King availed himſelf of this circumſtance, in order to eſtabliſh a new monopoly, by ſubjecting the brewers and maltſters to a royal licence. His reaſons for this meaſure are declared to be;—for the *relief of the poorer ſort of his people, whoſe uſual bread was barley*; and for the reſtraining of innkeepers and victuallers, who made their ale and beer *too ſtrong and heady*. Rym. Fœd. xix. 102. xx. 157.

pence halfpenny [1]. The wages, in the common branches of the woollen manufacture, were, probably, at this time, (as they are at preſent,) exceedingly low; for, in 1635, the King ordained, that two-pence ſhould be advanced on every ſhilling paid to the reelers and ſpinners employed in the woollen manufacture [2].

Owing to the ſcarcity in 1632, the expence of living ſeems to have riſen very conſiderably in the metropolis. This, and the increaſe of the Poor's Rates, were attributed to the nobility and gentry reſiding conſtantly with their families in London [3]. In the following year, ſeveral regulations were made by the Star-chamber, for keeping down the prices of proviſions, and of horſe-meat, in London and Weſtminſter. The wretchedneſs of the Poor was, in ſome degree, aſcribed to the fraudulent practices of bakers. Ordinaries were limited to two ſhillings a head for dinner, (wine included,) and to eight-pence a head for a ſervant attending his maſter. Reſpecting innkeepers, it is ſaid, that, "conſidering the preſent prices of hay and oats, ſix-pence a night for hay and ſtable-room, and ſix-pence a peck for oats, were ſufficient, without any thing being allowed for litter [4].

During the firſt ten years of Charles's reign, the labouring Poor, it ſeems, were often paid their weekly wages in farthing tokens, which were much below their nominal value [5]. In the preceding reign, theſe tokens were the only copper coin in circulation. Vintners, chandlers, and other retailers of ſmall wares, in London, circulated their own tokens, (uſually of lead,) among their cuſtomers. Sir Robert Cotton remarks, that, in and near London, above three thouſand people, one with another, caſt yearly five pounds a piece in leaden tokens [6]. In conſequence of his advice, King James granted a patent for the coinage of copper tokens [7]; and, in 1625, King Charles, in conſideration of a fine of

[1] Rym. Fœd. xx. 103. [2] Rym. Fœd. xix. 730. [3] By the King's proclamation, which, in very peremptory language, directs them to depart from London and Weſtminſter within forty days, and to reſide on their eſtates. Rym. Fœd. xix. 374. [4] Rym. Fœd. xix. 476. [5] Miſcell. Collection belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, vi. 323. [6] Anderſon. Hiſt. of Comm. ii. 238. [7] This was, probably, about the period that King James was extremely deſirous for an union of the two kingdoms. It appears, from Ruddiman's Preface to Anderſon's Diplomata Scotiæ, that the Scots, who had copper coins before the Engliſh, objected to the union; becauſe, if the Scotch coins were to be the ſame as the Engliſh, their Poor

of one hundred marks, for ſeventeen years, permitted the Ducheſs Dowager of Richmond, and Sir Francis Crane, to fabricate farthing tokens of copper. Private tokens, however, continued in circulation till the year 1635, when they were put down by proclamation [1].

In 1646, there was publiſhed a ſmall quarto tract, in ſix pages, intitled, "Stanleye's Remedy: or, the Way how to reform Wandring "Beggers, Theeves, High-way Robbers, and Pick-pockets." As this little work (which, owing, as may be ſuppoſed, to it's ſcarceneſs, has ſeldom been quoted,) contains ſeveral not incurious particulars relative to the circumſtances of the Poor in thoſe unhappy times, it is preſumed that a tranſcript of the greater part of it will not be deemed unſuitable to the nature of this work; and, I truſt, not prove unacceptable to the reader.

"STANLEYE's REMEDY: Or, the Way how to Reform Wand-
"ring Beggers, Theeves, High-way Robbers, and Pick-pockets:
"Or, an Abſtract of his Diſcoverie; wherein is ſhewed, that So-
"dome's Sin of Idleneſſe is the Poverty and Miſery of this King-
"dome: By ſome Well-wiſhers to the Honour of God, and the
"Publike Good, both of Rich and Poore. London, printed for
"the Good of the Poore. 1646."

"THE recantation and converſion of Mr. Stanley, ſometimes an inns-
"of-court gentleman: (he) afterwards by lewd company became a high-
"way robber in Queen Elizabeth's reign. Having his life pardoned,
"hee loaths his wicked courſe of life, and writes to King James, ſhew-
"ing a meanes and remedy, how the Poore of his kingdom may be
"greatly relieved, by the means of work-houſes, in all cities, market-
"townes, and all able pariſhes in the kingdome; and how, by this
"meanes, wandring, begging, idleneſſe, and an untimely ſhamefull

Poor would loſe the great conveniency of their copper coins. The King remarks, in his proclamation, that the Scotch copper coins, in conſequence of their general currency through both England and Ireland, had been productive of general benefit. Anderſon, Hiſt. of Comm. ii. 314.

[1] Rym. Fœd. xix. 760. It appears, however, from Drake's Hiſtory and Antiquities of York, that private copper coins continued to paſs till the year 1672.

"end,

" end, will be much prevented amongſt manie. Idleneſſe and prodi-
" gality being the grand cauſes [1]."

" Maſter Stanley, a gentleman of the innes of court, a great high-way
" robber, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, being taken, and having made
" manie friends to the queen for his life, the queen pardoned him: it
" pleaſed God to reforme his life, that he writ a booke, and dedicated
" (it) to King James [2], wherein he revealed abundance of wickedneſſe
" in this kingdome, which is a great impoveriſhing to the common-
" wealth.

" The grand wickedneſſe of this kingdome, which makes the king-
" dome not onely poore, but alſo verie wicked, he ſheweth to be three
" ſorts, viz.

" 1. All ſorts of roaguiſh wandring vagrants.

" 2. All ſorts of theeves, high-way robbers, pick-pockets, and ſuch
" like.

" 3. All ſuch houſes as maintaine bawderie, and ſuch like idleneſſe,
" which doth not only waſt men's eſtates, over-throw men's bodies by
" the French pox, but alſo dangers their ſoules. Now to reforme theſe
" three grand ſins of this kingdome, he ſaith will be very eaſie, if his
" majeſtie will ordaine houſes of correction, or work-houſes, in everie
" county, both in cities and market-townes, and ſo in theſe words fol-
" lowing, he writes to the king.

" The common-wealth of England ſhall ſave as much yearly, as
" your majeſtie's ſubſidies amount unto, by providing work-houſes, and
" houſes of correction, in everie countie, according to the intent of the
" ſtatute, beſides the quietneſſe and ſafetie it will bring to every county,
" where ſuch houſes ſhall be erected and provided. For I do account
" there are about 9725 pariſhes in England; and if there were but two
" vagrant perſons, or idlers, or drunkards, or other diſſolute people,
" which do not labour for their living, in every pariſh of the kingdome,

[1] Here follow ſeveral quotations from the Proverbs, and a wooden cut repreſenting a cripple. [2] I have ſome doubts, whether this tract is not a tranſcript of ſome parts of Mr. Stanley's book, written in King James's reign: if it is ſo, it clearly proves, that the principal object of the 43d of Elizabeth, the ſetting the Poor to work, was little attended to, even in the beginning of the laſt century.

" the

" the number were 19450 ſuch idle perſons. Now if we eſteem the diet
" and maintenance of theſe numerous idle, theeviſh, drunken perſons, to
" be at 3d. a day a-piece, which theſe idle perſons ſpend in the common-
" wealth, and get nothing, it amounteth to £243. 2s. 6d. everie day;
" and by the weeke it comes to £1701. 17s. 6d. and by the yeare it
" amounteth to £88740. 12s. 6d. This great ſum of money is ſpent idly,
" beſides the great ſums of money the vagrants, and idlers, get by begging,
" ſtealing, and other miſdemeſnours; and the common-wealth loſeth
" that now, which might bee well ſaved by their labours, if they were
" ſet to work. But it is thought by ſome honourable, grave, and wiſe
" counſellours of ſtate, that there are not ſo few as 80,000 idle vagrants
" in this land, that prey upon the common-wealth; which loſſe being
" eſtimated and valued, would amount to a very great ſum, which
" reckoned comes to £1000. a day, which by the year amounts to three
" hundred threeſcore and five thouſand pounds; and there is left no
" other way to reforme them, but by ſetting them, or the greateſt
" number of them, to worke, in all market-townes, in houſes of in-
" ſtruction, or correction; and thoſe that will not worke in neither of
" theſe houſes, but are reſolved to live a refractorie life, they may be
" ſent either to ſea, (to rid the land of them,) or ſold to the Engliſh
" plantations, to ſee whether God will turne their hearts, and amend
" their lives, that they may not come to a ſhamefull end, but rather
" hope they may returne to their countrey againe with joy.

" Another great ſingular profit the erection of theſe houſes would
" bring to your majeſtie's poore ſubjects of this realm, that if anie honeſt
" poore man or woman had buſineſſe to travell from anie remote place
" of your dominions, to your majeſtie's houſe and court, or any of your
" majeſtie's courts of Weſtminſter, or upon their urgent occaſions, and
" wanting meanes to beare their charges in their journey, they may,
" for their better reliefe and comfort, repaire everie daye's journey to
" one of the work-houſes, and there be honeſtly lodged; and ſtaying
" there two or three daies, they may earne money by their worke, to
" carrie them to another work-houſe, and ſo forwards to the place
" whereunto they would repaire, without being diſtreſſed, or wanting
" reliefe, or troubling the conſtables with paſſes, and not to give them-
" ſelves to begging or ſtealing, as thouſands doe in this land, pretending

" diſtreſſes

" diſtreſſes in their journey, whereas in truth they are verie idle va-
" grants, and counterfeit begging, maunding ſouldiers.

" I will now divert my pen from ſpeaking any further in theſe
" cauſes, for the reforming of this kingdom in generall, and come
" neare to the famous city of London, with the two counties of Mid-
" dleſex and Surrey, being the ſuburbs and confines of the ſame, where-
" in are a number of the king's majeſtie's pallaces, noblemen's houſes, as
" alſo houſes of men of worth, and merchants houſes are ſeated; in
" which counties, as alſo in other counties of this kingdome, a number
" of gentlemen have left their dwellings in the countrey, and repaire
" to the city of London, who thereby doe bereave the Poore of verie
" great reliefe: I would it were amended!

" But for a good example to all gentlemen in citie and countrey, I
" will embolden my ſelfe to ſpeak of a godly and charitable gentleman,
" one Mr. Harman, a Warwickſhire gentleman, dwelling about Sutton-
" Colfill, who ſeeing his pariſh to be peſtred extreamly with ſturdy
" beggars and wandring rogues, did take order, that they ſhould be all
" ſent to his houſe, and preſently he ſet them to work, to gather ſtones
" forth of his grounds, and gave them ſome ſmall releefe in meat and
" drink, and a penny a day, and held them hard to work, (having luſtie
" ſtout ſervants to ſee to them,) and when he had made an end of ga-
" thering his owne grounds, hee ſet them to work in his neighbours'
" grounds, and paid them their wages; which thing, when all the reſt
" of the wandring beggars and rogues underſtood, they durſt not one of
" them come a begging in that pariſh, for feare they ſhould be made to
" work: and for the younger ſort of the idle poore in his own pariſh,
" this was ſuch a diſcipline for them, that they did betake themſelves to
" honeſt labour, and ſo the old, aged, and true poore of his pariſh, were
" verie much the better releeved.

" I would to God there were more ſuch Harmans in England! but I
" feare there are either too few, or none at all, that do take the like
" care for the abandoning of idleneſs as he did.

" The generall rule of all England is to whip and puniſh the wan-
" dring beggars, and to brand them according to the forme of the new
" ſtatute, and ſo mark them with ſuch a note of infamie, as they may
" be aſſured no man will ſet the mon work, and ſo many Juſtices execute

" one branch of that good ſtatute, (which is the point of juſtice;) but " as for the point of charitie they leave undone, which is to provide " houſes and convenient places to ſet the Poore to work, which ought " to be done in equitie and juſtice, as well as the other.

" The Poore may be whipped to death, and branded for rogues, and " ſo become felons by the law, and the next time hanged for vagrancie, " (by an act made in the dayes of Queen Elizabeth, of famous memo- " rie,) before any private man will ſet them to work, or provide houſes " for labour, and ſtock and materialls for them. The publike muſt " joyne their ſhoulders to the work, elſe it will never be done.

" The right end and intent of puniſhing of rogues, is but the deſtruc- " tion of vices, and ſaving of men; but here is no care taken to releeve " them. The ſtatute commands, that the vagrants ſhould repaire to " the places where they were borne, or laſt dwelled: there are thou- " ſands of theſe people, that their place of birth is utterly unknowne, " and they had never any abiding place in their lives, or ever retained in " ſervice; but were and are vagrants by deſcent.

" To conclude, it is verie lamentable that poore rogues and beggars " ſhould be whipped, or branded according to law, or otherwiſe puniſhed, " becauſe they are begging, or idle, and do not work, when no place is " provided for them to ſet them to work. I have heard the rogues and " beggars curſe the magiſtrates unto their faces, for providing ſuch a law " to whip and brand them, and not provide houſes of labour for them; " for ſurely many would go voluntarily to the work-houſes to work, if " ſuch houſes were provided for them: ſo that the penalties which the " ſtatute appoints, were verie fit to be ſeverely put in execution upon " ſuch perſons that do releeve a rogue, or other vagabonds at their " doores, that may go unto a work-houſe and will not, where hee " may have reaſonable and comfortable maintenance for his labour.

" I make no doubt, (moſt gracious Soveraigne!) but it is evident to " all men, that beggerie and theeverie did never no more abound within " this your realme of England; and the cauſe of this miſerie is idleneſſe, " and the only meanes to cure the ſame muſt be by his contrarie, which " is labour; for tell the begging ſouldier, and the wandering and ſturdy " beggar, that they are able to work for their living, and bid them go to " work, they will preſently anſwer you, they would work if they could

" get it. But if work-houſes were ſet up in all able pariſhes, it will
" take away all ſuch defenſorie and ufuall anſwers, and then it will be
" tryed whether they will work or not.

" Chriſtian reader! if this direction of Mr. Stanley's doth reliſh well
" with you, as a little meanes for the ſtirring up of the committee of al-
" dermen and common-councell men of the citie of London, who do with
" all earneſtneſſe endeavour to ſet up wayes and meanes to employ all
" the Poore in and about the citie of London, that ſo it may be a pre-
" ſident to all the kingdome: wee ſay, if this paper doth reliſh well,
" then we ſhall endeavour to print the whole work of Mr. Stanley's,
" which will contain about three ſheets of paper, which will diſcover
" much wickedneſſe, which being ſuppreſſed by godly authoritie, will
" be great joy to godly people.

" And whereas the Dutchmen in the low countries do much deſire
" England to go on with the work of charitie, in employing and re-
" leeving the Poore, as they do theirs. Therefore it ſhall be our prayer,
" that this good work may be countenanced by the Parliament, becauſe
" it tends much to reformation, which our happie and honourable Par-
" liament doth much deſire and ſeek after."

Of the poverty and diſtreſs of the kingdom at this period, there can be no doubt, but the civil war muſt have been one principal cauſe. The heavy contributions exacted by the Parliament, and the extraordinary ſupplies furniſhed to the King by thoſe who remained attached to his cauſe, at the ſame time that they demonſtrated the great reſources of the country[1], muſt needs have much impeded the ſubſequent progreſs

[1] The ſums levied on the nation in the courſe of eight years, (including confiſcations, compoſitions for eſtates, and other ſources of revenue,) fell little ſhort of 100 millions ſterling. Chalmers, Eſtimate, 2d ed. 40.

Lord Clarendon ſpeaks in the following animated language, of the proſperity of England before the year 1640, notwithſtanding the unwiſe and unwarranted exertions of prerogative, or the no leſs unwiſe and unwarranted means unhappily taken to oppoſe ſuch encroachments: " I muſt be ſo juſt as to ſay, that, during the whole time that theſe preſſures were
" exerciſed, from the diſſolution of the Parliament in the fourth year, to the beginning of this
" (the long) Parliament, which was above twelve years, this kingdom enjoyed the greateſt
" calm, and the fulleſt meaſure of felicity, that any people in any age, for ſo long time to-
" gether, have been bleſſed with, to the wonder and envy of all other parts of Chriſtendom.

" In

greſs of induſtry and improvement. It is, however, conſolatory to reflect, that, amidſt the deſolating effects of civil diſſenſion, the nation got rid of the prejudice, (which had too long prevailed both in England and on the Continent,) that the purſuits of trade were incompatible with high rank. Hume remarks, from Lord Clarendon, that the prevalence of democratic principles engaged the country gentlemen to bind their ſons apprentices to merchants [1]; and indeed, even before this period, induſtry had taken ſo deep a root in England, that it was not poſſible for the ſhock of domeſtic warfare, however violent, to annihilate it. It continued to ſend forth ſuch vigorous ſhoots, (even after the ſubverſion of the government,) that, in 1651, the legal rate of intereſt was reduced from 8 to 6 per cent.[2] Mr. Chalmers juſtly remarks, that "the civil wars, which began in 1640, unhappy as they were, while "they continued, both to king and people, produced in the end the "moſt ſalutary influences, by bringing the higher and lower ranks "cloſer together, and by continuing in all a vigour of deſign, and "activity of practice, that in prior ages had no example[3].

Of the thriving condition of England during the ſhort period of the commonwealth, we have the concurrent teſtimony of ſeveral contemporary authors[4]. The great increaſe of trade, high price of wool,

"In this compariſon I am neither unmindful of, nor ungrateful for, the happy times of "Queen Elizabeth and King James. But—the happineſs of the times I now mention, was "invidiouſly ſet off by this diſtinction, that every other kingdom, every other ſtate, was en-"tangled and almoſt deſtroyed by foreign or domeſtic wars, while theſe kingdoms were "alone looked upon as the garden of the world. Scotland in a competency at leaſt, if not "exceſs of plenty, and in a temper free from rebellion. Ireland, which had been a ſponge "to draw, and a gulph to ſwallow, all that could be got from England, was reduced to that "degree of huſbandry and government, that it not only ſubſiſted of itſelf, and gave this king-"dom all that it might have expected from it, but really increaſed the revenue forty or fifty "thouſand pounds a year, beſides a conſiderable advantage to the people by the trade and "traffic from thence. When theſe out-works were thus fortified, it was no wonder if Eng-"land was generally thought in a ſtate of ſecurity and great happineſs. Trade increaſed to "that degree, that we were the exchange of Chriſtendom, (the revenue from thence to the "Crown being almoſt double to what it had been in the beſt times,) and the bullion of neigh-"bour Kings brought to receive a ſtamp from the mint of England."

[1] Hiſt. of Eng. 1ſt ed. vi. 123. [2] Thurloe's State Papers, i. 472. [3] Eſtimate, 2d ed. 40.

[4] "When this late tyrant, or protector, (as ſome calls him,) turned out the Long Par-"liament, (in April, 1653,) the kingdom was arrived at the higheſt pitch of trade, wealth,

wool[1], and advance of rents about the year 1652[2], are indubitable proofs, that induſtry, and its attendant comforts, had not deſerted the land.

It is probably owing to theſe circumſtances that we meet with little information, except what can be collected from pamphlets, relative to the condition of the Poor, and the operation of the Poor Syſtem, which had now continued in force half a century. In a tract, publiſhed in 1650, intitled, "A cleare and evident way for enriching the Nations "of England and Ireland, and for ſetting very great numbers of Poore "on work," the author, who ſigns himſelf I. D. among other projects for employing the Poor, recommends the fitting out buſſes: he calculates, that, if 20 buſſes are built and put into a ſea-coaſt town, where there is not one ſhip before, "there muſt be, to carry, recarry, tranſport, "and make proviſion for one buſſe, three ſhips; likewiſe every ſhip "ſetteth in work 30 ſeveral trades and occupations, and 400 perſons

"and honour, that it, in any age, ever yet knew. The trade appeared by the great ſums "offered then for the cuſtoms and exciſe; nine hundred thouſand pounds a year being refuſed. "The riches of the nation ſhewed itſelf in the high value that land and all our native com-"modities bore, which are the certain marks of opulency." The World's Miſtake in Oliver Cromwell; Harleian Miſcellany, i. 281.

	£.	s.	d.	
[1] In 1641, three years wool, in Lincolnſhire, was	1	4	0	the tod.
1648, wool was - - -	1	17	6	
1649, wool was - - -	2	0	0	
1651, ordinary Engliſh wool - -	1	8	0	
After 1650, and before 1660, wool was from -	1	2	6	
to -	3	0	0	
In 1660, from -	1	17	4	
to -	2	2	0	
1670, - - -	1	8	0	
1677, - - from -	0	13	0	
to -	0	15	0	

Smith, Memoirs of Wool, 2d ed. ii. 242.

During the time of the commonwealth, the price of wheat was very fluctuating: in 1649, the price of nine buſhels of the beſt wheat in Windſor market was £4.; in 1650, £3. 16s. 8d.; in 1651, £3. 13s. 4d.; in 1652, £2. 9s. 6d.; and in 1653, £1. 15s. 6d. See Appendix, No. I.

[2] Child, Diſcourſe of Trade, 1ſt ed. 49. He ſays, that, in 1621, the current price of land in England was twelve years purchaſe: p. 44. It appears from Davenant, that the price of land, in 1666, had riſen to 14 or 16 years purchaſe. Whitworth's edit. i. 359. Grant, in his Obſervations on the Bills of Mortality, written in the beginning of Charles the Second's reign, remarks, that, in the north of England, lands are worth but ſixteen years purchaſe; and in the weſt, above eight-and-twenty.

"by

"by ſea and land, inſomuch as 300 perſons are not able to make one "fleet of nets in four months for one buſſe, which is no ſmall employ-"ment; thus, by 20 buſſes, are ſet on work near 8000 perſons by ſea "and land, and an increaſe of above 1000 mariners, and a fleet of 80 "ſail of ſhips belonging to one town where none were before." Among other circumſtances to which he aſcribes the increaſe of Poor, he dwells much on our neglect of the herring fiſhery, and the ſuperior ſkill and induſtry of the Dutch. On the ſubject of manufactures, he complains bitterly againſt the practice of ſending undreſſed cloths abroad[1]. He therefore adviſes the dreſſing and dying cloths at home, and the promoting the fiſheries, which he thinks will give employment to the "blind, lame, and others by ſea and land, from 10 or 12 years and upwards." It is probable that the repeated complaints and convincing ſtatements of this and other writers, of the profit that was to be obtained from the fiſheries, induced the Rump Parliament, in the following year, 1651, to paſs the celebrated Navigation Act, by which it was enacted, that no fiſh ſhould be imported into England or Ireland, nor exported from thence to foreign parts, nor even from one port of the kingdom to another, but what was caught by our own fiſhermen[2].

In 1662, the important ſtatute, which is the foundation of the preſent law of ſettlements, was enacted, not only for the purpoſe of determining who ſhould be conſidered as the Poor of each pariſh, but to prevent labourers, in general, before they became actually chargeable, from wandering from their uſual places of abode; leſt particular pariſhes, which, from their ſituation, their privileges, or other circumſtances, held out inviting proſpects to new comers, ſhould, in the end, be overburthened with Poor[3]. Previous to the paſſing of

[1] "There hath been," he ſays, "about 80,000 undreſt and undyed cloths yeerly tranſ-"ported; which, in 55 years, is neere 20 millions that would have been gained by the la-"bour of poore workmen in that time, with the marchants gains," &c.—"There would "have been gained in that time about three millions, by increaſe of cuſtome upon commodi-"ties returned for clothes dreſſed," &c.—"There hath been alſo tranſported in that time "yearly by bayze, five Northern, and Devonſhire kerſies white about 50,000 clothes, ac-"counting three kerſies to a cloth, whereby hath been loſt about five millions, which would "have come to poor workmen," &c.

[2] Anderſon, Hiſt. of Commerce, ii. 416.

[3] "Whereas the neceſſity, number, and *continual increaſe* of the Poor, not only within the "cities of London and Weſtminſter, with the liberties of each of them, but alſo through the "whole

of this act, the induſtrious Poor were at liberty to ſeek employment wherever it was to be had: none were obliged to reſide in the places of their ſettlement, but ſuch as were unable, or unwilling, to work[1]; and thoſe places of ſettlement, it will appear from a brief enumeration of the various alterations which took place in the law on this ſubject, were, at the paſſing of the 13 & 14 Car. II. only ſuch where they were born, or had made their abode, (if they were impotent Poor,) for three years, or, if vagabonds, one year only.

In 1388, impotent beggars were directed to repair to the place of their birth, in order to be maintained there[2]. In 1494, the law became extremely vague: beggars, and others not able to work, were ordered to repair to the place where they had laſt dwelled, or were beſt known, or were born[3]. A few years afterwards the law was again altered; and they were compelled to abide in the place where they were born, or had "made laſt their abode by the ſpace of three years[4]:" this was afterwards explained to be the place where they had been "for the moſt part converſant, and abiding, for the ſpace of three years[5]." By an act paſſed in 1597, rogues and vagabonds were to be ſent to the place of their dwelling, if they had any; if not, to the place where they "laſt dwelt, by the ſpace of one year;" if that could not be known, then to the place of their birth[6]. So that, as Dr. Burn obſerves, there were two kinds of ſettlement all along; by birth, and

"whole kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales, is very great, and exceeding burthen-
"ſome, being occaſioned by reaſon of ſome defects in the law concerning the ſettling of the
"Poor, and for want of a due proviſion of the regulations of relief, and employment, in ſuch
"pariſhes or places where they are legally ſettled, *which doth enforce many to turn incorrigible*
"*rogues*, and others to periſh for want, together with the neglect of the faithful execution
"of ſuch laws and ſtatutes as have formerly been made for the apprehending of *rogues and*
"*vagabonds*, and for the good of the Poor: for remedy whereof, and for the preventing the
"periſhing of any of the Poor, whether old or young, for want of ſuch ſupplies as are
"neceſſary,—be it enacted, That whereas by reaſon of ſome defects in the law, poor people
"are not reſtrained from going from one pariſh to another, and therefore do endeavour to
"ſettle themſelves in thoſe pariſhes where there is the beſt ſtock, the largeſt commons o
"waſtes to build cottages, and the moſt woods for them to burn and deſtroy; and when
"they have conſumed it, then to another pariſh; and, at laſt, become *rogues and vagabonds*:
"to the great diſcouragement of pariſhes to provide ſtocks, where it is liable to be devoured
"by ſtrangers." Preamble of the 13th and 14th Car. 2. c. 12.

[1] Blackſt. Comm. i. 361. [2] 12 R. 2. c. 7. [3] 11 H. 7. c. 2. [4] 19 H. 7. c. 12. [5] 1 E. 6. c. 3. 3 E. 6. c. 16. 14 Eliz. c. 5. [6] 39 Eliz. c. 4. 1 Jac. c. 7.

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by inhabitancy; firſt, for any indeterminate time; next, for three years; and then, (in the caſe of vagabonds), for one year [1]. It is obſervable, that theſe regulations affected only impotent Poor, and vagabonds. Labourers in huſbandry, and other employments, were allowed (both by the 12th of Richard the Second, and the 5th of Elizabeth,) to quit the ſhire or county where they had laſt ſerved, on providing themſelves with a teſtimonial, (ſigned by the head-officer, and two ſubſtantial houſholders of their pariſh,) ſpecifying their lawful departure, and the name of the place at which they had laſt reſided: and, it is probable, from the language of the ſtatute, that, in ordinary caſes, every labourer was entitled to ſuch a teſtimonial as a matter of courſe.

By the 13th and 14th of Charles the Second, it was enacted, That the reſidence in a pariſh, neceſſary in order to procure a ſettlement, ſhould be reduced to forty days; and that, within that time, it ſhould be lawful for any two Juſtices of the Peace, upon complaint made by the church-wardens, and overſeers of the Poor, to remove any new comer to the pariſh where he was laſt legally ſettled, either as a native, houſholder, ſojourner, apprentice, or ſervant, for the ſpace of forty days at the leaſt, unleſs he either rented a tenement of ten pounds a year [2], or could give ſuch ſecurity for the diſcharge of the pariſh where he was living, as the two Juſtices ſhould deem ſufficient [3]. This ſingle clauſe of a ſhort

[1] Burn's Juſtice, iii. 333. In Scotland, the Poor were directed by the Act paſſed in 1579, to reſide "quhair they were borne, or had their maiſt commoun reſorte, or reſidence, the laſt "*ſeven* zeires by-paſt." Scottiſh Acts, i. 417.

[2] The reaſon of fixing ten pounds a year for the value of the tenement is, becauſe it requires ſuch a ſtock that the man is not to be preſumed likely to become chargeable. Burrow's Sett. Caſes, 10.

[3] The 13th and 14th Car. II. c. 12. likewiſe directs, by ſection 21, that, "whereas "the inhabitants of the counties of Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, Derbyſhire, Yorkſhire, North-"umberland, the biſhoprick of Durham, Cumberland, and Weſtmoreland, and many "other counties in England and Wales, by reaſon of the *largeneſs* of the pariſhes within "the ſame, have not nor *cannot reap the benefit* of the Act of Parliament made in the three-"and-fortieth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth for relief of the Poor:" the Poor within the ſeveral townſhips and villages within the ſeveral counties ſhall be kept and ſet on work within their reſpective townſhips and villages in which they are lawfully ſettled; and that there ſhall be yearly choſen, according to the directions of the ſaid Act, two or more overſeers of the Poor within every of the ſaid townſhips or villages, according to the directions of the Act of Elizabeth. Under this clauſe they may, if they think proper, elect as many as four

a ſhort act of parliament has occaſioned more doubts and difficulties in Weſtminſter-hall, and has (perhaps) been more profitable to the Profeſſion

overſeers; but not fewer than two. The leſſer number is, however, moſt uſually preferred both in townſhips and pariſhes. The object of the ſtatute of Charles the Second ſeems to have been not ſo much to increaſe the number of overſeers acting for a diſtrict, as to diminiſh the ſize of diſtricts where they were inconveniently large. (See Ann. of Agric. xxvii. 322.) In the caſe, however, of Peart againſt Weſtgarth, (3 Burr. 1610.) in which it appeared that the pariſh of Stanhope, in the county of Durham, was 20 miles in length, and 8 miles at a medium in breadth; that from the 43 of Eliz. (1601.) to 9 Geo. 1. (1723.) there had been a joint appointment of four overſeers, who were choſen reſpectively from four different townſhips of which the pariſh conſiſted, and collected the Rates in their reſpective townſhip; but hat the aſſeſſments were levied under one entire aſſeſſment upon the whole pariſh, carried to one fund, and applied to the joint relief of all the Poor of the pariſh; and that, in conſequence of an order of Juſtices in 1723, there had ever ſince been ſeparate appointments of overſeers, and each townſhip had ſeparately maintained it's own Poor;—the court thought that it ought to have appeared that there was an inability in the pariſh to reap the benefit of the 43 Eliz.; and that the ſeſſions had no power to make ſuch an order to divide pariſhes, or, (as Mr. Juſtice Wilmot expreſſed himſelf,) "to fritter them in pieces:" Lord Mansfield ſaid the policy of the 13 and 14 Car. II. was miſtaken; that it went upon wrong principles; and that the diviſions ought rather to be enlarged than diminiſhed. His Lordſhip expreſſed himſelf in ſimilar language in the caſe of the King againſt Uttoxeter, (Douglas 350.) In the caſe, however, of the King againſt Sir Watts Horton, (1 Term Rep. 377,) Mr. Juſtice Buller ſeemed to think that the largeneſs of the pariſh, (which was 14 miles in length and 10 in breadth,) and it's great population, were ſufficient evidence that it could not have the benefit of the ſtatute. And in the caſe of the King againſt Leigh, in which it appeared that ſeparate overſeers had been appointed in a ſmall townſhip (containing only three or four ſmall houſes) in a large pariſh by uſage of ſixty or ſeventy years, and there was no evidence that before this period the pariſh had reaped the benefit of the Act of Elizabeth, the Court of King's Bench confirmed the appointment. The opinion of Lord Kenyon, as reported, ſeems to be ſtrongly in favour of ſubdiviſion rather than extenſion of diſtricts for maintaining the Poor. "It has been "doubted, (he ſaid,) by country gentlemen, whether the Poor are better maintained in large "or ſmall diſtricts, though the former has been ſaid judicially in this court. In ſmall diviſions "the officers are more attentive to their duty, and, in the part of the country with which I "am acquainted, the Poor are better provided for in the ſmall diſtricts. Therefore, as the "uſage in this caſe coincides with our ideas on the policy, and as we are warranted by the "adjudged caſes on this point, we think it highly proper that the diviſion of this pariſh, which "has ſubſiſted ſo long, ſhould continue, and conſequently that the order of Seſſions ſhould "be affirmed."

Buller J. ſaid, that, "before a pariſh can be ſubdivided into ſmaller diſtricts for the "maintenance of their Poor, it muſt appear that they cannot have the benefit of the 43d of "Elizabeth. But it is material to conſider the meaning of the phraſe, that a pariſh cannot "reap the benefit of that ſtatute. It does not mean that it is abſolutely *impoſſible* for them to "maintain their own Poor *as a pariſh*, for that would not be the caſe even if the pariſh "were 100 miles in circumference, but that it is inconvenient for them ſo to do. Now, in

"judging

feſſion of the Law, than any other point in Engliſh juriſprudence. It has been juſtly remarked, that this law was deficient with regard to ſubjects

" judging on a queſtion of convenience, there can be no doubt on the facts of this caſe ; for " it is ſtated, that for ſixty or ſeventy years paſt, and perhaps for all preceding times, this " pariſh have not maintained their own Poor jointly. I entirely agree with my Lord Chief " Juſtice, that the greater care is taken of the Poor in ſmall than in large diſtricts. And if in " any caſe we were to find that it was formerly inconvenient to the pariſh at large to maintain " their own poor jointly, though it were convenient for them to do ſo now, we would not " aſſiſt them in overturning the old practice ; for that would operate as a diſcouragement to " the efforts of individuals to reduce the Poor Rates, which have ſucceeded in many ſmall " diſtricts. I even go further ; for, though it ſhould appear that a pariſh had enjoyed the " benefit of the 43 Elizabeth, yet, if they could not now maintain their own Poor jointly, we " would permit them to divide themſelves, provided there be ſuch legal diviſions in the pariſh " as are capable of ſupporting their own Poor ſeparately under the proviſions of the ſtatute " of Charles the Second." The other Judges concurred in opinion. (3 Term Rep. 748.)

The *largeneſs* of pariſhes, (which is noticed in the Act of King Charles,) appears to me to be a ſtronger reaſon for a ſubdiviſion, than a great population. In a populous, but ſmall, pariſh, the overſeers have all the Poor under their eye. In ſome parts of the North of England it would take an overſeer a long day's journey to traverſe his pariſh. Nor can this inconvenience be remedied by appointing an additional number of overſeers. The 43d of Eliz. mentions only four, three, or two overſeers ; and in the caſe of the King againſt Loxedale, Lord Mansfield ſaid, that, if more were allowed, great inconveniencies would follow. The 39 Eliz. c. 3. which is *in pari materiâ*, and therefore may be conſidered as explanatory, only allows four overſeers. The only inſtance to be met with in the Law Books, of more than four overſeers in a pariſh, is the caſe of the King againſt Newell, (4 Term Rep. 266.) in which it was decided, that,—where a pariſh conſiſted of two ſeparate diſtricts, each of which had immemorially made a ſeparate rate ; but the money, when raiſed, was blended together in one joint fund, though applied in certain proportions ; and the Seſſions did not find it as a fact that the pariſh could not reap the benefit of the 43 Elizabeth,—the diſtricts were not entitled to maintain their own Poor ſeparately and diſtinctly, though, ſince the year 1648, they had had in the whole more than four overſeers, and though the hamlet part had immemorially had a conſtable of it's own. Though the general Poor Acts, however, do not allow of more than four overſeers, ſome of the local acts appoint a greater number. The 23 Geo. II. c. 35, (paſſed in 1740,) which enables the pariſh of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields to appoint nine overſeers, ſhews the opinion of the Legiſlature, that the Juſtices had not power under the 43 Eliz. to appoint what number they pleaſed. In the pariſh of St. Andrew's, Holborn, there are eight overſeers ; but then there are three diviſions, and overſeers for each ; and orders of removal are made from one diviſion to another. In the pariſh of St. Giles's, there are eight overſeers ; but only four are appointed by the Juſtices, and the other four ſerve voluntarily as aſſiſtants. (Burn's Juſtice, iii. 312.) It would ſeem that the courts would not quaſh an order appointing only *one* overſeer, if it did not appear that others were not appointed by other orders. (Bott's Poor Laws by Conſt. i. 15.) Nor are the words *ſubſtantial houſholders*, (43 Eliz. c. 2. § 1.) always

ſubjects of a foreign realm. A Scotchman, or an Iriſhman, if they committed no act of vagrancy, could not be removed under the authority of the 13th and 14th of Charles the Second; for this plain reaſon, becauſe they could never become chargeable to the pariſh in which they reſided: if they fell ſick, or from any other cauſe were rendered incapable of earning a livelihood, no perſon in this country was bound by ſtatute, (how ſtrongly ſoever he might be by moral and religious obligation,) to relieve them: however, as they might, and ſtill may continue undiſturbed, without the entanglement of a certificate, and conſequently from the facility of gaining a ſettlement, if not for themſelves, yet for their children, (born in this country,) their ſervants and apprentices, they were, in one reſpect, placed in a much better condition than an Engliſh ſubject[1]. This glaring defect in our laws, by which ſtrangers were rendered the only perſons capable of reſiding in any part of England without the poſſibility of moleſtation, is, at length, happily corrected; and an Engliſh labourer is now authorized to remain, in any place which he may chooſe for his reſidence, till he becomes actually chargeable[2]. The full effects, however, of this apparently wiſe, as well as benevolent, regulation, time only can ſhew.

The law reſpecting ſettlements unavoidably led to the commiſſion of frauds, both by poor perſons, who were deſirous of obtaining ſettlements, and by the pariſh-officers, who allowed them to acquire ſettlements, by a clandeſtine reſidence in the pariſh they came to: it was therefore enacted, by the 1ſt of James the Second, that the forty days continuance of any new comer ſhould be accounted only from the time of his delivering notice, in writing, of the place of his abode, and the number of his family, (when he had any,) to one of the church-wardens or overſeers

to be taken in their ſtrict ſenſe; for, where it appeared that a townſhip conſiſted only of a manſion-houſe and 400 acres occupied by a lady; a ſmall houſe, with one acre of land, occupied by a poor man with a large family; and a cottage, with about 5 roods of land, the property of, and occupied by, a day-labourer; the court ſupported the appointment of the two poor perſons, and the lady, as overſeers. (The King againſt Stubbs, 2 Term Rep. 406.) The number of overſeers is not an immaterial thing either to the officers of the pariſh, or the perſons for whom they are truſtees: a greater number than four would render the office a burthen, by making it come round the ſooner; and, (what would probably have ſome weight with the clergy,) would deſtroy the balance between the overſeers and church-wardens.

[1] Burn's Juſtice, iii. 337. [2] 35 Geo. III. c. 101.

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of the pariſh to which he ſhould remove[1]: and in order to prevent pariſh-officers from colluſively receiving ſuch notices, it was further enacted, by the 3d of William and Mary, that the forty days continuance in a pariſh ſhould be accounted only from the publication of ſuch notice, by it's being read in the church, immediately after divine ſervice, on the Sunday after it was delivered to the overſeer[2].

While, however, the Legiſlature thus reſtrained the labouring Poor from obtaining ſettlements by a notice, (which Dr. Burn truly obſerves, is only "putting a force on the pariſh to remove them,") it appointed other ways, by which a perſon might gain a ſettlement without the publication of a notice; namely, by being charged to the public taxes, and paying them; by executing an annual office in the pariſh, and ſerving in it a year; by ſerving an apprenticeſhip in the pariſh; by being lawfully hired into any pariſh for a year[3], and (as a ſubſequent ſtatute requires,) continuing in the ſame ſervice a twelvemonth[4].

Concerning theſe regulations, Adam Smith remarks, that "nobody "can gain a ſettlement by either of the two firſt ways, but by the "public deed of the whole pariſh, who are too well aware of the con-"ſequences to adopt any new comer, (who has nothing but his labour "to ſupport him), either by taxing him to pariſh rates, or by electing "him into a pariſh-office. No married man can well gain a ſettle-"ment in either of the two laſt ways. An apprentice is ſcarcely ever "married; and it is expreſsly enacted, that no married ſervant ſhall "gain any ſettlement by being hired for a year. The principal effect "of introducing ſettlement by ſervice, has been to put out, in a great "meaſure, the old faſhion of hiring for a year, which before had been "ſo cuſtomary in England, that, even at this day, if no particular "term is agreed upon, the law intends that every ſervant is hired for "a year[5]. But maſters are not always willing to give their ſervants "a ſettlement by hiring them in this manner; and ſervants are not "always willing to be ſo hired, becauſe, as any laſt ſettlement diſ-"charges all the foregoing, they might thereby loſe their original ſet-"tlement in the places of their nativity, the habitations of their parents "and relations[6]."

Beſides renting a tenement of ten pounds a year, (mentioned in the

[1] 1 Jac. 2. c. 17. [2] 3 W. & M. c. 11. § 3. [3] 3 W. & M. c. 11. § 6. 7. 8. [4] 8 & 9 W. 3. c. 30. § 4. [5] Burrow's Sett. Caſes, 299. [6] Smith, Wealth of Nations, 5th ed. i. 214.

13th and 14th of Charles the Second), and the four other modes above enumerated in the ſtatute of King William, there are yet four other ways of obtaining a ſettlement, through which it is probable that by far the greater part of the labouring Poor in this kingdom are actually ſettled, although the caſes relative to apprenticeſhip, ſervice, and paying pariſh-rates, appear from the Law Books to have occaſioned the greateſt litigation. Baſtards acquire a ſettlement by birth[1]: and legitimate children are ſettled in the place where they are born, when the father's laſt legal ſettlement is not known; when it is, it is the ſettlement of the child. However, after ſeven years of age and forty days, a child may acquire a ſettlement of it's own; for, by the 5th of Elizabeth, and the 17th of George the Second, children at ſeven years of age may be bound apprentices; and, by reſiding in a pariſh forty days, under their indentures, they will obtain a legal ſettlement: women gain a ſettlement by marriage: and perſons, who poſſeſs an eſtate of their own, (however inconſiderable,) in the pariſh, have been adjudged to be irremovable, upon this equitable interpretation of the Statute of Charles the Second, that it was enacted againſt wanderers and vagabonds, and did not intend to make a man removable from an eſtate of his own, however ſmall it might be, whether he acquired it by deſcent, or purchaſed it with an intent to gain a ſettlement[2]. In order, however, to prevent perſons from eluding the main purpoſe of the Act, (which ſeems principally to have had in view the excluſion of all new comers, who did not bring with them any ſubſtantial property,) it was enacted, by the 9th of George the Firſt, that no perſon ſhould acquire a ſettlement by the purchaſe of an eſtate of leſs than £30. for a longer time than ſuch perſon ſhould reſide on ſuch eſtate[3].

[1] Blackſtone, in his Commentaries, (I. 363.) ſays, the place of birth is generally the place of ſettlement of a baſtard child. This rule, however, admits of ſeveral exceptions. Baſtards born in a pariſh into which the mother has been admitted through the colluſion of pariſh-officers; baſtards born after an order of removal; on the road, during removal; after the removal, and before the appeal; born whilſt the mother is in a ſtate of vagrancy; in priſon; in a lying-in hoſpital; in an incorporated diſtrict; and baſtards born under a certificate have, by various adjudged caſes, and acts of parliament, been deemed to belong to the place where the mother was laſt legally ſettled. The 35 Geo. 3. c. 101. § 6. ſeems to do no more that confirm the deciſion in the caſe of the King v. Icleford, (Conſt's Poor Laws, ii. 4.) in which it was held, that a baſtard born after an order of removal was obtained, and before actual removal, is not by ſuch birth ſettled where born, but ſhall go to the mother's pariſh.

[2] Burrow's Sett. Caſes, 10. [3] 9 Geo. I. c. 7.

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Of the inconveniences occaſioned by the Law of Settlements, Adam Smith, and Lord Kames, have ſpoken in very energetic, (and, in moſt inſtances, very juſt,) terms of reprobation. With many of their ideas on this ſubject I perfectly coincide. "To remove a man, who has "committed no miſdemeanor, from the pariſh where he chooſes to "reſide, is an evident violation of natural liberty and juſtice; and an "oppreſſion, to which the people of England, though jealous of their li-"berty, but, like the people of moſt other countries, never rightly con-"ſidering in what it conſiſts, have, for more than a century together, "ſuffered themſelves to be expoſed without a remedy." Neither of theſe writers, however, ſeem to be warranted by fact in their ſuppoſition, that the price of labour, in their own country, is far more equal than it is in England: and that the inequality here is principally occaſioned by the obſtruction which the Law of Settlements gives to a poor man, who would carry his induſtry from one pariſh to another without a certificate. Lord Kames ſays[1]: "In Scotland the price "of labour reſembles water, which always levels itſelf: if high in "any one corner, an influx of hands brings it down." But, (to uſe an obſervation of Mr. Howlett's,) I am perſuaded, that, had his Lordſhip lived to peruſe the ſtatiſtical account of Scotland, he would have much altered his ſentiments: he would there have diſcovered, that the price of labour is as various in the Northern part of Great Britain, as in the Southern; and the ſlighteſt view of Leeds, Liverpool, and innumerable other places, would have convinced him, that the circulation of labour is as free, and the ſcarcity of hands in one place as amply ſupplied by their ſuperabundance in another, on the South ſide of the Tweed as on the North[2].

Although, however, there is not a greater inequality in wages in England than in Scotland, there are many evils, which, beyond all doubt, may be fairly aſcribed to the Law of Settlements: in particular, the great proportion of baſtard children, that is to be met with in every pariſh[3] here reported, ſeems to have originated generally, if not always, from the diſcouragement, which this branch of the Poor Syſtem has, of late, uniformly preſented to matrimony. Mr. Greaves, in an addreſs to

[1] Sketches, ed. 1788, iii. 74.
[2] Howlett's Examination of Mr. Pitt's Speech, 16.
[3] See the Second Volume.

both

both Houſes of Parliament, very juſtly reprobates the miſtaken policy of thoſe pariſh-officers, who, as ſoon as a young man enters into that ſtate of life, which is the moſt likely to render him a good member of ſociety, endeavour to get him removed to the place of his laſt legal ſettlement, upon the pretence that he may ſoon have a family, which may poſſibly bring a charge upon the pariſh. "Young men," he adds, "intimidated by frequent examples of ſuch cruel treatment, are unwill-"ing to marry; and this leads them frequently to debauch young wo-"men, and then leave them with child in a very helpleſs condition. "Thus they get into an unſettled and debauched way of life, acquire a "habit of idleneſs, and become a burthen upon the public[1]." Even an induſtrious man, who was not burthened with a wife or family, was (till very lately,) ſubject to be removed, if he could not give ſuch ſecurity for the diſcharge of the pariſh, as two Juſtices of the Peace ſhould judge ſufficient: and that many vexatious removals muſt have been the conſequence of this undefined authority, no one, who knows any thing of human nature, can entertain a doubt. I ſhall mention a ſingle inſtance, which I have received from good authority, of the baneful effect of the power, which the 13th and 14th of Charles the Second veſted in pariſh-officers, to remove ſuch perſons as were likely to become chargeable; and I do it with leſs reluctance, becauſe ſimilar inſtances never can occur again, whilſt the Act paſſed laſt year[2], to prevent the removal of poor perſons until they became actually chargeable, continues unrepealed:—A few years ago, in conſequence of the increaſed population of a village in the Weſt-riding of Yorkſhire, a ſhoemaker, who reſided in a diſtant part of the country, was induced to remove thither, with his family and ſtock, which conſiſted only of the implements of his trade, and an induſtrious pair of hands. An old inhabitant of the pariſh, of the ſame vocation, who had long enjoyed all the buſineſs which it afforded as excluſively as one of King James's patentees could have done, was alarmed at the intruder. With true monopolizing ſpirit, he repreſented to the pariſh-officers, that the village could only maintain one of his trade: the probability of the new comer's becoming charge-

[1] See Lord Kaims's Sketches, iii. 73. [2] 35 Geo. III. c. 101.

able

able was ſtrongly urged; and his removal was, at length, determined on. The Rector, however, who was a man of property, judiciouſly interfered; and, by threatening to let a ſmall tenement of ten pounds a year to the poor man, (whoſe only "ſecurity for the diſcharge of the pariſh" was his induſtry,) ſilenced the clamour which had been raiſed againſt him. The ſhort ſequel of the ſtory is, that the new comer firmly eſtabliſhed himſelf, and, notwithſtanding a great competition in his trade, (for there are now not two only, but five ſhoemakers in the pariſh,) earns a comfortable maintenance for himſelf and a large family.

The inconveniences neceſſarily reſulting from the Law of Settlements, were ſoon recognized by the Legiſlature: the preamble of the Act paſſed in 1697, reſpecting certificates, declares, that many poor perſons, chargeable to the pariſh, townſhip, or place where they live, merely for want of work, could in any other place, where ſufficient employment is to be had, maintain themſelves and families without being burthenſome to any pariſh; but not being able to give ſuch ſecurity as will or may be expected and required upon their coming to ſettle themſelves in any other place, and the certificates that have been uſually[1] given in ſuch places having been oftentimes conſtrued into a notice in hand-writing, they are, for the moſt part, confined to live in their own pariſhes; and are not permitted to live elſewhere, though their labour

[1] Before the paſſing of this Act, certificates (very ſimilar to the ancient teſtimonials,) were granted by Juſtices of the Peace to labourers going from their own pariſhes to work in harveſt. The humanity of this branch of the Law of Settlement ſeems to have been fully equal to it's policy: if the labourer fell ſick, or became impotent, during his employment in harveſt, two Juſtices of the Peace were empowered to remove him to his own pariſh, at the very moment when of all others he was the moſt incapable of travelling. See 13th and 14th Car. II. c. 12. § 3. Among the various exertions of parochial authority, inſtances of ill treatment of perſons in this ſituation muſt, I fear, often occur. Several may be found upon record; and, indeed, it may be preſumed, that ſufficient evidence of the fact was laid before Parliament; ſince, in the 35th of the preſent King, (c. 101. § 2.) it is ſtated, that "poor perſons are often removed or paſſed to the place of their ſettlement during the time "of their ſickneſs, to the great danger of their lives:" To rectify which abuſe, Juſtices are now required, in caſe any poor perſon is brought before them, in order to be removed by virtue of any order of removal, or of being paſſed by virtue of any vagrant paſs, to ſuſpend the removal, until they are ſatisfied that it may ſafely be exerted without danger to the pauper; and the charges incurred by ſuch ſuſpenſion are directed to be paid by the pariſh to which ſuch perſon is ordered to be removed.

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is wanted in many other places, where the increaſe of manufactures would employ more hands. It was, therefore, enacted, that if any perſon, coming to reſide in a pariſh, ſhould deliver to the church-wardens or overſeers, a certificate under the hand and ſeal of the church-wardens and overſeers of the pariſh where he was laſt legally ſettled, and allowed and ſubſcribed by two Juſtices of the Peace, he ſhould not be removable merely on account of his being likely to become chargeable, but only on his becoming actually chargeable to the pariſh: and that then, and not before, it ſhould be lawful to remove ſuch perſon, and his children; and the pariſh, which granted the certificate, ſhould be obliged to pay the expence both of his maintenance and his removal[1]. It appears that ſome doubts aroſe on the conſtruction of this Act, by what means a certificated perſon could obtain a ſettlement in the pariſh where he came to reſide, and whether a certificate did not amount to a notice in writing in order to gain a ſettlement[2]; it was therefore enacted, in the following ſeſſions, that no certificated perſon ſhould gain a ſettlement by any Act whatever, except either by renting a tenement of ten pounds a year, or by executing ſome annual office in the pariſh. And an apprentice, or ſervant, of a certificated perſon, cannot gain a ſettlement by ſuch apprenticeſhip or ſervice[3].

It is not only from the language of Parliament, that we collect, that, as yet, it had been found impracticable to carry the proviſions of the 43d of Elizabeth into effect, for providing maintenance for the impotent, and employment for the able, Poor. Increaſing difficulties in this branch of legiſlation excited the attention of individuals; and, in the period between the Reſtoration and Revolution, many projects were ſuggeſted, by men of great eminence both in legal and political knowledge, for the better execution and improvement of the Poor Laws. Sir Joſiah Child, in his "New Diſcourſe of Trade, which, (he informs us in his Preface,) was written before the year 1669, dedicates a long chapter to an inquiry "concerning the Relief and Employment of the Poor." He conceives, that the ſad and wretched condition of the Poor,

[1] 8 and 9 W. 3. c. 30. This Act alſo directs, that perſons who receive parochial aid ſhall wear a badge on the right ſhoulder.

[2] See preamble of 9 and 10 W. 3. c. 11.

[3] 12 Ann, c. 18. § 2.

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(of which, he ſeems to think, there can be no doubt,) is owing to a radical error of the laws, in leaving it to the care of every pariſh to maintain their own Poor only; the conſequence of which is, "the "ſhifting off, ſending, or whipping back, the poor wanderers, to the "place of their birth, or laſt abode." He gives the following inſtance of the inefficacy of the law relative to ſettlements, and of the inattention of the pariſh-officers to the adminiſtration of that branch of their duty which relates to removals. "A poor idle perſon, (he ſays,) "that will not work, or that nobody will employ in the country, comes "up to London, to ſet up the trade of begging: ſuch a perſon, probably, "may beg up and down the ſtreets ſeven years, it may be ſeven-and-"twenty before any body aſketh why ſhe doth ſo, and if, at length, "ſhe hath the ill-hap, in ſome pariſh, to meet with a more vigilant "beadle than one in twenty of them are, all he does is but to lead her "the length of five or ſix houſes into another pariſh, and then concludes, "as his maſters the pariſhioners do, that he hath done the part of a "moſt diligent officer: but ſuppoſe he ſhould yet go further to the end "of his line, which is the end of the law, and the perfect execution of "his office; that is, ſuppoſe he ſhould carry this poor wretch to a Juſ-"tice of the Peace, and he ſhould order the delinquent to be whipt, and "ſent from pariſh to pariſh, to the place of her birth, or laſt abode, "which not one Juſtice of twenty, (through pity, or other cauſe,) will "do: even this is a great charge upon the country; and yet the buſineſs "of the nation itſelf wholly undone; for no ſooner doth the delinquent "arrive at the place aſſigned, but, for ſhame or idleneſs, ſhe preſently "deſerts it, and wanders directly back, or ſome other way, hoping for "better fortune; whilſt the pariſh, to which ſhe is ſent, knowing her a "lazy, and perhaps a worſe qualify'd perſon, is as willing to be rid of her "as ſhe is to be gone from thence." The author was aware, that, according to this ſtatement, it might be retorted upon him, that much of the miſchief happens either from badly executing the laws, or from not executing them at all. To this objection, however, he replies; "that "better execution is not to be expected; that there never was a good "law made that was not well executed, the fault of the law cauſing a "failure of execution; it being natural to all men to uſe the remedy next "at hand, and reſt ſatisfied with ſhifting the evil from their own doors;

" which in regard they can ſo eaſily do, by threatening or thruſting a " poor body out of the verge of their own pariſh, it is unreaſonable and " vain to hope that ever it will be otherwiſe."

On the laws againſt inmates, he has the following very judicious obſervations. " Such laws," he ſays, " and empowering the pariſhioners " to take ſecurity before they ſuffer any poor perſon to inhabit amongſt " them; it may be, they were prudent at the times they were made, " (and before England was a place of trade,) but *I am ſure in cities and* " *great towns of trades they are altogether improper, and contrary to the* " *practice of other cities and trading towns abroad:* the riches of a city, " as of a nation, conſiſting in the multitude of inhabitants; and if ſo, " you muſt allow *inmates, or have a city of cottages.* And if a right " courſe be taken for the ſuſtentation of the Poor, and ſetting them on " work, you need invent no ſtratagems to keep them out, but rather to " bring them in. For *the reſort of Poor to a city or nation well managed,* " *is in effect the conflux of Riches to that city or nation;* and therefore, " the ſubtle Dutch receive and relieve, or employ, all that come to " them, not enquiring what nation, much leſs what pariſh they are of."

To remedy the evils complained of, he propoſes the following plan, to be (he ſays) at firſt " only experimented in thoſe parts of the king- " dom which are the vitals of our body politick, and which being once " made ſound, the cure of the reſt will not be difficult:

1. " That the city of London and Weſtminſter, borough of Southwark, and all other places included within the bills of mortality, may, by Act of Parliament, be aſſociated into one province for the relief of the Poor.

2. " That an aſſembly be incorporated by Act of Parliament, under the title of 'Fathers of the Poor,' who ſhall wear ſome honourable medal, *after the manner of the Familiars of the Inquiſition in Spain:* that they have, beſides the authority of Juſtices of the Peace, ſome *leſs limited power* given them in relation to the puniſhment of their own and pariſh-officers, who are to be ſubordinate and accountable to them and their deputies in all matters relative to the Poor.

3. " That the Fathers of the Poor may have liberty to aſſeſs and receive into their common treaſury, for relief of the Poor, ſo much money from every pariſh as they yearly paid to that purpoſe any of the three years preceding their incorporation.

4. " That

4. "That they may receive charitable contributions on the Lord's day, and at any other time they may think fit: and that they have power to purchaſe lands, erect and endow work-houſes, hoſpitals, and houſes of correction.

5. "That they may have power to ſend ſuch Poor beyond the ſeas as they ſhall think fit, into his Majeſty's plantations; taking ſecurity for their comfortable maintenance during their ſervice, and for their freedom afterwards.

"That they may have power to erect petty banks, or lumbards, for the benefit of the Poor; may have half of what is paid at all play-houſes [1]; and a patent for farthings; and to do whatever elſe his Majeſty and Parliament ſhall think fit to recommend to them, *or leave to their diſcretion.*

6. "That the treaſure that ſhall be collected for this purpoſe ſhall be accounted ſacred; and that it be felony to miſapply, conceal, lend, or convert it to any other purpoſe whatſoever."

With regard to the employment of the Poor, who are to be placed under the management of this corporation, he ſays; "the girls may "be employed in mending the cloaths of the aged; in ſpinning, card-"ing, and other linen manufactures; and many in ſewing linen for the "exchange, or any houſe-keepers that will put out linen to the ma-"trons that have the government of them: the boys in picking oakum, "making pins, raſping wood, making, hanging, or any other manu-"factures of any kind; *which* (he juſtly obſerves) *whether it turns to "preſent profit or not, is not much material, the great buſineſs of the na-"tion being firſt but to keep the Poor from begging and ſtarving, and "enuring ſuch as are able to labour and diſcipline, that they may be here-"after uſeful members to the kingdom.*"

The advice of this acknowledged oracle in trade will ever carry with it great authority: his propoſals, however, concerning the Poor, whether framed by him, or by his father, (who, he ſays, had much ſtudied

[1] This idea was probably borrowed from the Dutch mode of providing for their Poor. In moſt parts of Holland the third part of the money received at play-houſes, by mountebanks, and muſic-booths, and at Amſterdam half the money ſo received, is appropriated to the relief of the Poor. Mr. Alcock, in his Obſervations on the Poor Laws, publiſhed in 1752, ſays, that above £6000. a year is collected at the play-houſe in Amſterdam for this purpoſe.

the ſubject,) do not, I think, exhibit quite ſo much knowledge in this arduous branch of political economy, as he certainly poſſeſſes in others. To remedy the evils ariſing from a Poor's Rate by an additional tax, and to raiſe a fund by the coinage of farthing tokens, (the circulation of which had already been found by experience to be extremely injurious to the labouring Poor,) are expedients which ſhew that even Sir Joſiah Child, like Necker, was more qualified to manage the detail of a counting-houſe, than to correct the errors of legiſlation[1]: nor is the conſtitution of the ſociety, which he recommends as the means of carrying theſe meaſures into effect, at all calculated for the meridian of a free country. Poor's Rates of ten millions a year would be leſs intolerable than ſeventy municipal deſpots: for ſuch I conceive his "ſeventy Fathers of the Poor" would have been, (as much as the ſeventy Tyrants of Athens,) when veſted with an authority to tranſport a man to the colonies, (whoſe only crime was idleneſs or poverty,) for an unlimited time, without the formality of a trial, or the intervention of a jury. The propoſal is more objectionable than the harſh code of Edward the Sixth, which made a man who lived idly for three days, the ſlave, for two years, of him who informed againſt him; and we cannot be ſurpriſed, that it met with no countenance: even in the arbitrary days of Charles the Second, the authority of magiſtrates, who were not only to have been cloathed in the garb, but veſted with the powers, of papal inquiſitors, would not, I am perſuaded, have been patiently ſubmitted to; and I truſt, if any future political projector ſhould hereafter recommend the converting of parochial adminiſtration into inquiſitorial police, that his advice will be equally unſucceſsful.

The earlieſt account I can meet with, reſpecting the amount of the Poor's Rate, is to be found in a pamphlet publiſhed in 1673, intitled, "The grand Concern of England explained[2]." The author eſtimated

[1] I admit, however, with great readineſs, that Sir Joſiah Child's writings contain many profound remarks, and many important political maxims. It is to be wiſhed that the following wiſe and juſt obſervation was invariably attended to by Legiſlators—"They that can give the "beſt price for a commodity, ſhall never fail to have it, by one means or other, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of any laws, or interpoſition of any power by ſea or land; of ſuch "force, ſubtlety, and violence, is the general courſe of trade."

[2] See the Harleian Miſcellany, viii. 524.

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the ſum annually expended for the relief of the Poor to have been nearly equal to an aſſeſſment of £70,000. a month, or £840,000. a year. "This," he ſays, "is employed only to maintain idle perſons; doth "great hurt rather than good; makes a world of poor more than "otherwiſe there would be; prevents induſtry and laborioufneſs; "men and women growing ſo idle and proud, that they will not work, "but lie upon the pariſh, wherein they dwell, for maintenance; apply- "ing themſelves to nothing but begging or pilfering, and breeding up "their children accordingly; never putting them upon any thing that "may render them uſeful in their generations, or beneficial either to "themſelves or the kingdom."

He, therefore, propoſed, that, inſtead of giving the Poor weekly allowances, both old and young ſhould be ſet to work in ſpinning of linen, woollen and worſted; carding, combing, knitting, working plain work or points, making bone lace, or thread or ſilk laces, &c. He offers the following remark on the benefit which might be derived from thus employing the Poor: "if all now maintained in their idleneſs were "ſet to work, and paid out of the money raiſed as aforeſaid, thoſe that "now have two ſhillings or three ſhillings a week, might, by their "work, earn ſo much; or, ſuppoſe, they could earn but one ſhilling "ſix-pence a week, and nevertheleſs receive three ſhillings, it is half "in half ſaved; ſo that a moiety of what now is collected from the "people might be ſpared to them, and yet the Poor be as well, or better, "maintained than now."

Fanciful writers have aſcribed the increaſe of the Poor's Rate to various extraordinary cauſes: but, I believe, no modern politician ever thought of imputing the diſtreſs of the labouring claſſes to the number of ſaddle horſes being diminiſhed, in conſequence of the introduction of ſtage-coaches. This the author of this pamphlet attempts to prove, in a very circuitous manner: his arguments againſt the uſe of ſtage-coaches are extremely ſimilar to the objections which have been generally adduced againſt the abridgment of labour by the introduction of machinery; which, as it often enables one man to perform the work of an hundred, muſt, it has been contended, neceſſarily deprive the remaining ninety-nine of the means of ſubſiſtence. On this ſubject, however, I ſhall let the author ſpeak for himſelf.

Among his various projects for the improvement of England, his ſeventh propoſal is; "that the multitude of ſtage-coaches and caravans, "now travelling upon the roads, may all, or moſt of them, be ſup- "preſſed; *eſpecially theſe within forty, fifty, or ſixty miles of London, where "they are no way neceſſary:* and that a due regulation be made of ſuch "as ſhall be thought fit to be continued.—For, will any man keep a "horſe for himſelf, and another for his man, all the year, for to ride "one or two journies, that, at pleaſure, when he hath occaſion, can "ſtep to any place where his buſineſs lies, for two, three, or four ſhill- "ings, if within twenty miles of London, and ſo proportionably into "any part of England? No, there is no man, unleſs ſome noble ſoul, "that ſcorns and abhors being confined to ſo ignoble, baſe, and ſordid "a way of travelling, as theſe coaches oblige him unto, and who prefers "a public good before his own eaſe and advantage, that will breed or "keep ſuch horſes. Neither are there near ſo many coach-horſes either "bred or kept in England now, as there were ſaddle-horſes formerly, "there being no occaſion for them, the kingdom being ſupplied with a far "leſs number. For, formerly, every man that had occaſion to travel "many journies yearly, or to ride up and down, kept horſes for himſelf "and ſervants, and ſeldom rid without one or two men; but now, ſince "every man can have a paſſage into every place he is to travel unto, or "to ſome place within a few miles of that place he deſigns to go unto, "they have left keeping of horſes, and travel without ſervants; and "York, Cheſter, and Exeter ſtage-coaches, each of them, with forty "horſes a piece, carry eighteen paſſengers a week from London to "either of theſe places, and in like manner as many in return from "theſe places to London; which come, in the whole, to eighteen hun- "dred ſeventy-two in the year. Now, take it for granted that all that "are carried from London to thoſe places are the ſame that are brought "back, yet are there nine hundred thirty-ſix paſſengers carried by forty "horſes; whereas, were it not for theſe coaches, at leaſt five hundred "horſes would be required to perform this work. Take the ſhort ſtages "within twenty or thirty miles of London, each coach with four horſes "carries ſix paſſengers a day, which are thirty-ſix in a week, eighteen hun- "dred ſeventy-two in a year: If theſe coaches were ſuppreſſed, can any "man imagine theſe eighteen hundred ſeventy-two paſſengers, and their

" ſervants, could be carried by four horſes? Then reckon your coaches " within ten miles of London, that go backward and forward every " day, and they carry double the number every year; and ſo proportion- " ably your ſhorter ſtages within three, four, or five miles of London. " There are ſtage-coaches that go to almoſt every town within twenty " or twenty-five miles of London, wherein paſſengers are carried at ſo " low rates, that moſt perſons in and about London, and in Middleſex, " Eſſex, Kent, and Surrey, gentlemen, merchants, and other traders, " that have occaſion to ride, do make uſe of; ſome to keep fairs and " markets; others to viſit friends and to go to and from their country- " houſes, or about other buſineſs, who, before theſe coaches did ſet up, " kept a horſe or two of their own, but now have given over keeping " the ſame; ſo that, by computation, there are not ſo many horſes, by " ten thouſand, kept now in theſe parts, as there were before ſtage- " coaches ſet up: by which means breeding of good pad-nags is diſ- " couraged; and coach-horſes that are bred, by cruelty and ill uſage of " ſtagers, are deſtroyed[1]."

In

[1] In the following paſſage we meet with ſome curious particulars relative to the expence of travelling in the laſt century: from which it would ſeem, that, if the expedition with which we can now travel, and the ſuperior excellence of our conveyances, be conſidered, we can perform a journey more comfortably, and probably alſo more cheaply, than our fore- " fathers. " From London to Exeter, Cheſter, or York, you pay 40s. a-piece in ſummer time, " 45s. in winter, for your paſſage; and as much from thoſe places back to London: be- " ſides, in the journey they change coachmen four times; and there are few paſſengers but " give 12 pence to each coachman at the end of his ſtage, which comes to eight ſhillings in " the journey backward and forward, and at leaſt three ſhillings comes to each paſſenger's " ſhare for coachmen's drink on the road; ſo that in ſummer time the paſſage backward and " forward to any of thoſe places coſts four pounds eleven ſhillings, and in winter five pounds " one ſhilling, and this only for eight days riding in the ſummer, and twelve in the winter. " Then, when the paſſengers come to London, they muſt have lodgings, which perhaps may " coſt them five or ſix ſhillings a week, and that in fourteen days amounts to ten or twelve " ſhillings, which makes the four pounds eleven ſhillings either five pounds one ſhilling, or " five pounds three ſhillings; or the five pounds one ſhilling, five pounds eleven ſhillings, or " five pounds thirteen ſhillings, beſides the inconveniency of having meat from the cooks " at double the price they might have it for in inns. But, if ſtage coaches were down, and " men travelled as formerly on horſeback; then, when they came into the inns, they would " pay nothing for lodgings; and, as there would excellent horſes be bred up and kept by " gentlemen for their own uſe, ſo would there be by others that would keep them on pur- " poſe to let, and would, as formerly, be let at ten or twelve ſhillings *per* week, and in many " places

In a very miſcellaneous work publiſhed by Andrew Yarranton in 1677[1], are contained various projects, relative to trade and manufactures, for the employment of the able Poor in England. For this purpoſe he propoſes that the linen and iron manufactures ſhould be encouraged by a heavy duty on foreign commodities made of thoſe articles. He conſiders Warwick, Leiceſter, Northampton, and Oxfordſhire, to be the fitteſt places for the production of flax, and the beſt ſituations for the linen manufacture; for which he gives the following reaſons: "Firſt, "their land is excellent good to produce flax. Secondly, they are in-"land counties, and have no ſtaple manufacture at preſent fixed with "them; whereby their Poor are idle, and want employment. Thirdly, "they are counties the beſt furniſhed, at all times, with corn and fleſh, "of any counties in England, and at cheapeſt rates. Fourthly, they "are in the heart of England; and the trade, being once well ſettled "in theſe counties, will influence their neighbouring counties in the

"places for ſix, eight, or nine ſhillings per week. But, admitting the loweſt price to be twelve "ſhillings *per* week, if a man comes from Yorke, Exeter, or Cheſter, to London, be five "days coming, five days going, and ſtay twelve days in London to diſpatch his buſineſs, "(which is the moſt that country chapmen uſually do ſtay,) all this would be but three weeks, "ſo that his horſe-hire would come to but one pound ſixteen ſhillings, his horſe-meat at "fourteen-pence a day, one with another, which is the higheſt that can be reckoned upon, "and will come but to one pound five ſhillings, in all, three pounds one ſhilling, ſo that "there would be at leaſt forty or fifty ſhillings ſaved of what coach-hire and lodgings will "coſt him, which would go a great way in purchaſing riding-cloaths, ſtockings, hats, boots, "ſpurs, and other accoutrements for riding; and, in my poor opinion, would be better ſpent in "buying theſe things, by the making whereof the Poor would be ſet to work, and kept from "being burthenſome to the pariſh, than to give it to theſe ſtage-coachmen to indulge that "lazy idle habit of body that men, by conſtant riding in theſe coaches, have brought upon "themſelves: Beſides, if thus their money was ſpent, they would ſave a great deal, which "now, if men of any eſtates, they pay for the relief of thoſe Poor, who, for want of the work "they had before theſe coaches were up, and might have again if they were put down, are "fallen upon the ſeveral pariſhes where they live, for maintenance; which charge would be "quickly taken off, if they were reſtored to their work." Harl. Miſcell. viii. 544.

[1] Entitled, "England's Improvement by Sea and Land. To out-do the Dutch without "fighting, to pay debts without money, to ſet at work all the Poor of England with the "growth of our own lands. To prevent unneceſſary ſuits in law; with the benefit of a "voluntary regiſter. Directions where vaſt quantities of timber are to be had for the build-"ing of ſhips; with the advantage of making the great rivers of England navigable. Rules "to prevent fires in London, and other great cities; with directions how the ſeveral com-"panies of handicraftſmen in London may always have cheap bread and drink."

"ſame

" ſame manufacture in ſending their flax and threads with eaſe and " cheapneſs down the river Thames, Avon, Trent, and St. Eades: all " which navigable rivers come into theſe counties. And I affirm it is " not poſſible to ſet up this trade in any other part of England with " ſucceſs but in theſe places, becauſe in moſt part of England there are " fixt manufactures already that do in great meaſure ſet the Poor at " work. In the weſt of England, clothing of all ſorts, as in Gloceſter, " Worceſter, Shropſhire, Staffordſhire, and a ſmall part of Warwick- " ſhire: in Derby, Nottingham, and Yorkſhire, the iron and wollen " manufacture: in Suffolk, Norfolk, and Eſſex, the wollen manu- " facture: in Kent, Suſſex, and Surrey, ſome cloth, iron, and materials " for ſhipping. Then to counties to raiſe proviſions and to vend them " at London to feed that great mouth, are Cambridge, Huntington, " Buckingham, Hartford, Middleſex, and Berks. And if you rightly " weigh and conſider how England is fixed in all parts as to the growth, " trade, manufacture, and vending thereof, there are no counties in " England that this deſirable gainful improvement of the linen manu- " facture poſſibly can be managed in, with the like ſucceſs, as in the " fore-mentioned counties. For as common honeſty is neceſſary for " trade, and without it trade will decay: ſo any manufacture fixed in " any place where it may be better accommodated, thither it will go, " and ſo remove from the place where it was firſt ſet up; and the diſ- " couragements it received there many times keep it from fixing any " where elſe. About ſeven or eight years ſince, there was a propoſal of " ſetting up the linen manufacture in and near Ipſwich, a town of " two hundred void houſes, to be had for little, and near the ſea: but I " coming to that town was preſſed hard to give my opinion, whether the " linen trade might be there ſet up with ſucceſs? After I had rid about " the town as far as Cattaway Bridge, and obſerved the influence that the " Colcheſter trade had there; as alſo the ſtuff and ſay trade, whereby " the Poor were comfortably ſupplyed: I then found it was impoſſible " to go on with ſucceſs, and gave my reaſons; upon which all was laid " aſide, and my reaſons approved of[1]."

To the queſtion,—Who had encouraged him to publiſh this diſcourſe on the linen manufacture, and paid him for the trouble he had taken in

[1] P. 49.

collecting information abroad? he gives the following anſwer: "I was," he ſays, "an apprentice to a linen-draper, and ſo I knew ſomething of "linen; and finding the Poor unemployed, I with my wife did promote "the making of much fine linen with good ſucceſs. And being employ-"ed, and my charges born, by twelve gentlemen of England, to bring "into England a manufacture out of Saxony and Bohemia made of iron "and tin, there I did ſee what I here ſet down; and in Holland and "Flanders I tryed and obſerved their way and manner of trade in the "linen manufacture[1]."

Of the ſtate of the iron manufacture, which he thinks will furniſh additional employment for the Poor, he gives this intereſting account: "Firſt," he ſays, "I will begin in Monmouthſhire, and go through the "Foreſt of Dean, and there take notice what infinite quantities of raw "iron is there made, with bar-iron and wire; and conſider the infinite "number of men, horſes and carriages, which are to ſupply theſe works, "and alſo digging of iron ſtone, providing of cinders, carrying to "the works, making it into ſows and bars, cutting of wood, and "converting it into charcoal. Conſider alſo, in theſe parts the woods "are not worth the cutting and bringing home by the owner to burn in "their houſes: and it is becauſe in all theſe places there are pit coals "very cheap. Conſider alſo the multitude of cattel and people there-"abouts employed that make the land dear: and what with the benefit "made of the woods, and the people making the land dear, it is not "inferior for riches to any place in England. And if theſe advantages "were not there, it would be little leſs than a howling wilderneſs. I "believe if this comes to the hands of Sir Baynom Frogmorton, and "Sir Duncomb Colcheſter, they will be on my ſide. Moreover, there "is yet a moſt great benefit to the kingdom in general by the ſow iron "made of the iron ſtone and Roman cinders in the Foreſt of Dean; for "that metal is of a moſt gentle, pliable, ſoft nature; eaſily and quickly "to be wrought into manufacture, over what any other iron is, and it "is the beſt in the known world: and the greateſt part of this ſow "iron is ſent up Severne to the forges, into Worceſterſhire, Shropſhire, "Staffordſhire, Warwickſhire, and Cheſhire, and there it's made into "bar-iron: and becauſe of its kind and gentle nature to work, it is now

[1] P. 55.

" at Sturbridge, Dudly, Wolverhampton, Sedgley, Waſall, and Bur-
" mingham, and thereabouts, wrought and manufactured into all ſmall
" commodities, and diffuſed all England over, and thereby a great trade
" made of it; and when manufactured ſent into moſt parts of the
" world. And I can very eaſily make it appear, that in the Foreſt of
" Deane, and thereabouts, and about the materials that come from
" thence, there are employed, and have their ſubſiſtence therefrom, no
" leſs than ſixty thouſand perſons. And certainly if this be true, then
" it is certain it is better theſe iron-works were up and in being, than
" that there were none. And it were well if there were an Act of
" Parliament for incloſing all commons fit or any way likely to bear
" wood in the Foreſt of Deane, and ſix miles round the foreſt; and
" that great quantities of timber might by the ſame law be there pre-
" ſerved, for to ſupply in future ages timber for ſhipping and building.
" And I dare ſay the Foreſt of Deane is, as to the iron, to be compared
" to the ſheep's back, as to the wollen: nothing being of more ad-
" vantage to England than theſe two are. And if woods are not pre-
" ſerved in and near the foreſt, to ſupply the works for future ages, that
" trade will leſſen and dye as to England, and betake herſelf unto ſome
" other nation or country. And now in Worceſterſhire, Shropſhire,
" Staffordſhire, Warwickſhire, and Derbyſhire, there are great and
" numerous quantities of iron-works, and there much iron is made of
" metal or iron ſtone of another nature, quite different from that of the
" Foreſt of Deane. This iron is a ſhort ſoft iron, commonly called
" cold-ſhore iron, of which all the nails are made, and infinite other
" commodities: in which work are employed many more perſons, if
" not double to what are employed in the Foreſt of Deane. And in
" all thoſe countries the gentlemen and others have moneys for their
" woods at all times when they want it, which is to them a great benefit
" and advantage; and the lands in moſt of theſe places are double the
" rate that they would be at if there were not iron-works there. And
" in all theſe countries now named, there is an infinite of pit coals, and
" the pit coals being near the iron, and the iron ſtone growing with the
" coals, there it is manufactured very cheap, and ſent all England over,
" and to moſt parts of the world. And if the iron-works were not there,
" the woods of all theſe countries to the owners thereof would not be

" worth the cutting and carrying home, becauſe of the cheapneſs of the " coals and duration thereof[1]."

Of the benefits to be derived from theſe trades, if once well fixed in England, Yarranton makes very flattering calculations. Like many other writers, however, on the ſame ſubject, he ſeems to have fallen into the groſs miſtake, that *all the Poor were able to work*; and, conſequently, might be employed in ſome uſeful manufacture. He ſays, " Admit there be in England and Wales a hundred thouſand poor people " unemployed, and each one coſts the publick four-pence the day in food; " and if theſe were employed they would earn eight-pence the day; " and ſo the publick, in what might be gained and ſaved, will advance " twelve-pence the day by each poor perſon now unemployed. So a " hundred thouſand perſons will be to the benefit of the publick, if em- " ployed, one million and a half yearly in theſe two manufactures of " iron and linen[2]." 100,000 perſons, at 4d. the day each, coſt yearly £608,333. 6s. 8d.; and as this is nearly the ſum at which the Poor's Rate was eſtimated by contemporary writers, it would appear that all the Poor have been taken into Mr. Yarranton's account as perſons able to do ſomething.

His expedient for providing poor tradeſmen with cheap meat and drink does not merit greater praiſe: it is equally practicable with the advice given to children to catch birds by putting ſalt on their tails. After propoſing the eſtabliſhment of bank-granaries, he tells the artiſan: " When thou comeſt to have in thy poſſeſſion twenty pounds, " either from thy friends, or by thy own labour, then lay it into the bank- " granary, ſome for wheat, ſome for malt; admit thou waſt now to be- " gin, for thy twenty pounds thou ſhalt have ſix ſcore buſhels of wheat, " and three-ſcore buſhels of malt: this corn and malt ſhall ſerve " thee three years, being ſeven in family, thy ſelf, wife, a man, a maid, " and three children. Now, my dear child, here is bread and drink " ſufficient, and that is a comfort; and thy ſelf, wife, ſervants, and " children, at perfect liberty to follow your ſeveral and reſpective im- " ploys; and certainly thou art a very bad huſband, if thou doſt not on " a ſudden advance thy eſtate, and get moneys in bank-corn; becauſe " thou haſt nothing to pay for bread and drink[3]."

[1] P. 57. [2] P. 61. [3] P. 171.

The linen manufactore ſeems to have been a favourite project for employing the Poor at this period. In the ſame year in which Mr. Yarranton publiſhed his very multifarious work, a writer who ſigned himſelf R. H. recommended the eſtabliſhment of working alms-houſes or hoſpitals in every county as the beſt expedient to perfect the trade and manufacture of linen cloth[1].

He eſtimates the number of beggars, and other perſons out of employment, at one hundred thouſand, who, he thinks, by means of ſpinning-engines which he had invented, might be enabled to earn more than their own livelihood, and prove a conſiderable advantage to the public. He thus attempts to demonſtrate the utility of his plan.

"I. This manufactory is an employment for the weakeſt people, "not capable of ſtronger work, viz. women and children, and decrepit "or aged people, now the moſt chargeable; as likewiſe for beggars and "vagrants, who live idly, and by the ſweat of other men's labours, and "can no way ſo effectually be brought to induſtry and order as when "reduced into ſo narrow a compaſs or confinement, under fitly qualified "rulers, officers, and regular government.

"II. Theſe working alms-houſes may raiſe and ſupply the nation "yearly with a ſufficient ſtock of linnen cloth, the fineſt ſort excepted, "if true meaſures be taken, and the deſign effectually proſecuted: as,

[1] See "Propoſals for building in every county a working alms-houſe or hoſpital, as the beſt expedient to perfect the trade and manufactory of linnen cloth, whereby, 1. all poor people and their children from five or ſix years old may be employed and maintained; as alſo all beggars, vagrants, &c. reſtrained and for ever prevented, and ſo all the pariſhes eaſed of that intolerable burden. 2. Many hundred-thouſand pounds kept at home, which now every year goes out of the kingdom for linnen, whereby our wealth becomes a prey to other nations. 3. Much land improved in every county to great advantage of landlord and tenant. Humbly offered to the conſideration of the great wiſdom of the Nation now aſſembled in Parliament." By R. H. London, 1677. It appears, that Richard Haines was the author of this long-titled treatiſe, from an anſwer to it which was publiſhed in the following year by Philo-Anglicus, entitled, "Bread for the Poor," &c. Haines' tract is printed in the Harleian Miſcellany, iv. 464. He wrote ſeveral other pamphlets about this period, containing ſimilar propoſals for the eſtabliſhment of work-houſes. They contain very little worth attending to; although their titles are very long, and high-ſounding. The reader, who is deſirous of conſulting them, will find the greateſt part in the Britiſh Muſeum. A liſt of them is ſubjoined in the Appendix, No. xviii.

"for

" for example, £1,352,000. worth of cloth may yearly be ſpun in them " only, becauſe that is made in private families, thus demonſtrated:

" 1. It is well known by experience, that three-fourths of a pound of " thread, worth 12d. per pound ſpinning, will make one ell of cloth, " worth 2s. per ell; which three-fourths of a pound two ſpinners " may ſpin in one day:—hence it follows,

" 2. That 2000 ſpinners will ſpin thread enough in one day to make " a thouſand ells of cloth, worth £100. And working but 260 days in " the year, may ſpin £26,000. worth of linnen cloth in a year.

" 3. Suppoſe then there be as many publick work-houſes as there are " counties, which are 52; and in every work-houſe, one with another, " 2000 ſpinners, (though in ſome more, ſome leſs;) then according to " theſe reaſonable meaſures, there will be the fore-mentioned ſum of " £1,352,000. worth of cloth ſpun in one year; which is what we un- " dertook to demonſtrate."

It appears, from the mode he propoſes to raiſe money for building the hoſpitals and providing materials, that he eſtimated the rental of England at upwards of £14,580,000. and the Poor's Rate at upwards of £700,000. He ſays, " Suppoſe every pariſh one with another, through- " out the nation, relieves as many poor people, beggars, &c. as doth " amount to twelve-pence in the pound; ſo that every hundred pound " *per annum* pays £5. *per annum* to the Poor; now if every hundred " pounds per annum pay £5. towards building ſuch hoſpital; then, " whereas more than half their Poor conſiſts in children, women, and " decrepit weak perſons, unfit for any other employment, but ſuch as " may fitly be removed to this hoſpital; it follows, more than half their " charge will for the future be abated; yea, many pariſhes have " ſcarce any Poor to provide for.

" Wherefore, as for raiſing money, we will take our meaſures thus: " In England there are commonly accounted 9725 pariſhes, and 52 coun- " ties; ſo that, one with another, there are 187 pariſhes to each coun- " ty; and each pariſh ſuppoſed to be worth £1500. per annum; ſome " more, ſome leſs; at the rate of 12d. per pound, it will amount to the

[1] Harl. Miſcell. iv. 465.

" ſum

"ſum of £1425. in each county, which undoubtedly will compleat "the houſe and materials[1]."

In the following year, (1678,) he publiſhed another ſmall tract[2], in which he ſays, that ſeveral very judicious perſons had expreſſed their approbation of his propoſals in the main, but at the ſame time had declared that they muſt oppoſe him, unleſs he could propoſe ſuch a ſyſtem of government for his work-houſes, as would ſecure the nation in theſe four points, viz. the Country from being cheated of the money which was raiſed for building the houſes; the Poor from being abuſed; knaves and unfit perſons from being officers, and bearing rule; and juſtice from being checked in redreſſing grievances, and puniſhing offenders.

For this purpoſe, he offers the following plan. He ſays, that "ſince "all pariſhes are to contribute to this work, and every pariſhioner is "concerned in the charge, and may reap benefit by it, if honeſtly ma- "naged; therefore, becauſe it cannot be ſuppoſed, that any people will "cheat or injure themſelves, let each perſon in every pariſh be con- "cerned in or about the government and inſpection thereof, as follows.

"I. That it be enacted, that all contributing pariſhioners, or the "greateſt part of them, meet quarterly in their own pariſh, and elect "one or more as their repreſentatives or delegates for this inſpection; "and ſo every pariſh to chuſe and ſend their repreſentatives every quar- "ter of the year, to inſpect the ſtate of that alms-houſe, or hoſpital, to "which they do belong. Each pariſh neglecting to chuſe, or perſon "choſen neglecting (unleſs in caſe of ſickneſs) to give his attendance at "the time appointed, to forfeit to the treaſury of the ſaid

[1] Harl. Miſcell. 466.

[2] For a little pamphlet of ſeven pages, the title, like the preceding one, promiſes great things. It is—"A Model of Government for the Good of the Poor, and the Wealth of the "Nation, with ſuch a Method and Inſpection, that Frauds, Corruption in Officers, Abuſes "to the Poor, ill Adminiſtration of Materials, &c. therein, may be prevented; the ſtock "rais'd and preſerved; all poor people and their children for ever comfortably provided "for; all idle hands employed; all oppreſſed pariſhes eaſed; all beggars and vagabonds for "the future reſtrained; poor priſoners for debt relieved, and malefactors reclaimed, to their "own comfort, God's glory, and the kingdom's wealth and honour: Humbly offered to the "conſideration of the great wiſdom of the Nation, viz. his moſt excellent Majeſty and both "Houſes of Parliament. By R. Haines."

"hoſpital.

" hoſpital. Each repreſentative to be allowed 2s. 6d. a day by his pariſh " for the time he is out on this affair on horſeback, and 1s. 6d. being " out on foot; provided that none continue out above ſix or ſeven days " at one time. Or, if this ſeem too burthenſome, two, three, or more " ſmall pariſhes may join to this purpoſe as one.

" II. That theſe repreſentatives of each pariſh, being aſſembled, may " have full power to elect governors; preſcribe rules and orders; chuſe " truſtees; appoint offices and officers: to ſee and inquire into the wel- " fare of their reſpective pariſhioners, who are ſent thither, and ſee they " be not abuſed or diſcouraged: to hear and redreſs all their grievances; " correct and reform all diſorders: to call each officer and truſtee to an " account, and to continue them in office, or turn them out, and elect " new ones, when, and as often as they judge neceſſary. To which " purpoſe, they may ſubdivide themſelves into ſeveral committees, and " diſpatch much buſineſs in little time.

" III. That all men in this aſſembly may be of equal authority, and " no one perſon over-rule the reſt; and to that purpoſe that their chair- " men continue but for one day; and ſo, dayly, whilſt they ſit, a new " one be choſen by themſelves: and who ſhall alſo, before they are " admitted, oblige themſelves by oath, or ſolemn promiſes, to do thoſe " things that are juſt and honeſt: to ſuffer no wrongs or injuries to paſs " uncorrected: to do nothing for favour or prejudice: but to perform " all that lies in his power for the ſafety and public good of the ſtock " and houſe; and to give a juſt and true account to the pariſh at his " return, when they ſhall call for it.

" IV. That no known drunkard, gameſter, ſwearer, or rude and " diſorderly perſon, ſhall be permitted to have any office in that go- " vernment; but that, for the encouragement of ſuch as are ſent to " the houſe to earn their living, all inferiour offices, or places of prefer- " ment, may be conferred on ſuch of the houſe as moſt deſerve, if " capable.

" V. That if it be known any perſon or perſons, directly or indirect- " ly, hath given or taken any bribe or fee, or offered ſo to do, in order " to obtain, or confer, any office or truſt, or do improve his intereſt to " promote or continue any drunkard, gameſter, or diſhoneſt and ſcan- " dalous perſon in office; that then every ſuch perſon ſhall thence- " forth

" forth for ever be incapable of having or holding any office in the ſaid " work-houſes, or giving any vote concerning the ſame in any aſſembly " parochial or repreſentative.

" VI. That the aſſembly of repreſentatives have power to enjoin all " officers and truſtees, either by oath or ſolemn promiſe, that they ſhall " act according to ſuch rules and orders as ſhall be agreed on in the " ſaid aſſembly: that they ſhall not conceal any wrongs or ill practices " in any concerned in the government, but diſcover the ſame to the " next aſſembly: that they ſhall, every quarter, give a fair and juſt ac- " count to that aſſembly of all monies by them received or diſburſed; " what goods they buy or ſell, and the quantities and prices; and what " goods or money they have in their cuſtody. And that any one breach " of their oath or promiſe herein ſhall be puniſht as in the caſe of " perjury; and beſides, the offender to make ſatisfaction for what he " hath detained, embezzled, or defrauded, to the houſe, or thoſe that " entruſted him.

" VII. That for the building and firſt ſtocking ſuch work-houſes, " every pariſh and pariſhes, united as aforeſaid, ſhall, (till the ſame are " finiſht, and government ſettled,) ſend ſuch their repreſentatives every " fortnight or four weeks, who ſhall carry the portion of money pay- " able thereunto by ſuch pariſhes reſpectively. And that all expenditors, " overſeers, and truſtees employed for carrying on the work, ſhall be " choſen by ſuch repreſentatives, and be accountable to them every fort- " night, till the houſe be finiſht and ſettled as aforeſaid."

He recommends filling the work-houſes with the children of poor perſons who are chargeable to the pariſh; and to ſend them out to trades, or ſervice in huſbandry, at the age of thirteen or fourteen: and that perſons impriſoned for debt, vagrants, and felons, (except thoſe who have been convicted of murder or treaſon,) be ſent thither. He adds, that if there be any doubt whether the inhabitants of the reſpective houſes will be able to maintain themſelves, his anſwer is, " that a " man who hath his ſtrength may, by reaſonable labour, earn 18d. a day; " a woman 9d. or 10d. a day. Men or women, who are impotent, and " can do nothing but ſit ſtill and employ their hands, may earn with " eaſe 8, 9, or 10d. a day: yea, any one that could earn 6d. a day here- " tofore, ſhall in this houſe as eaſily earn 9d. or 10d. a day. A child of a

" moderate underſtanding, at four or five years old, which coſt the " pariſh 1s. 6d. or 2s. per week keeping, may, after two months teach- " ing, earn 3d. per day the firſt year; the ſecond year 5d. a day; the " third year 7d. a day, and the fourth year 9d. a day: ſo that at nine " years of age they may earn more than any woman by the ſame kind " of employment can do without the help of our engine: ſo that all " may live comfortably on ſo eaſy an employment as cannot poſſibly do " them hurt. And by this means all the nation will ſuddenly be " brought up to ſuch an excellent profitable way of induſtry, that no " nation in the world can exceed us, which, without this expedient, " can never be effected with ſuch expedition, profit, and eaſe."

Mr. Haines publiſhed ſeveral ſmall tracts relative to the Poor, chiefly with a view to promote the eſtabliſhment of work-houſes. Moſt of them are to be found in the Britiſh Muſeum: but as they contain little more than long high-ſounding titles, I feel it is extremely unneceſſary to trouble the reader with extracts that could afford him very little information.

In 1678, Mr. Thomas Firmin publiſhed a letter to a friend, (Archbiſhop Tillotſon,) entitled, " Propoſals for the employing of the Poor, eſpecially in and about London." It appears to have attracted conſiderable notice; for, in 1681, it was re-publiſhed, with conſiderable additions [1]. His intereſting account of an eſtabliſhment, which he had ſet on

[1] Both letters are re-publiſhed in a collection of pamphlets concerning the Poor, in quarto, printed in the year 1787. ——Mr. Thomas Firmin, (whom Abp. Tillotſon, in his ſermon at the funeral of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Gouge, calls " a worthy and uſeful citizen,") was born at Ipſwich in Suffolk, in 1632; where he ſerved an apprenticeſhip to a linen-draper. Early in life he ſeems to have been deeply involved in the perplexing ſubtleties of Sectarian controverſy: and at length attached himſelf cloſely to the celebrated Socinian, Mr. John Biddle. When this noted leader of his party, in 1648, was put into Newgate, his zealous diſciple, Firmin, delivered a petition in his behalf to the Protector, who gave him this ſhort anſwer: " Why, you carle-pate boy you! do you think I'll ſhew any favour to a man, who denies his " Saviour, and diſturbs the Government?"—Soon after, he became a conſiderable trader in London; by which he might have acquired a very conſiderable fortune, had he not been employed in all conceivable methods of ſerving the public. Improving on a plan, as Archbiſhop Tillotſon ſays, firſt ſet on foot by Mr. Gouge, " many hundreds of poor children " and others, who lived before unprofitable both to themſelves and to the public, were conti- " nually maintained at work, and taught to earn their own livelihood much in the ſame way.

" The

on foot for providing work for the Poor in the parish of Aldersgate, London, contains many judicious observations, extremely applicable to similar institutions, and will, I trust, be not unacceptable to the reader.

Of the motives that influenced him to embark in this undertaking, he says:

"Having found many poor people, to whom I distributed the charity "of several worthy persons, either to have no employment at all, or at "least none that was certain and constant, by means whereof they were "reduced to great necessity; I got a friend to buy flax ready dressed, "and deliver it to such poor people as either could spin, or were willing "to learn: now of these in a short time he had so many that did con- "stantly (or at such times when they had no other or better employ- "ment) fall upon this work, that it became one man's business to "attend it; which my friend not being able to do, I resolved to build a "house fit for the laying up hemp and flax, and convenient for the dress- "ing them; by which means I hoped to have them much cheaper, and

"The generous assistance and charity of many worthy and well-disposed persons, of all ranks, "enabled him to bear the unavoidable loss and charge of so vast an undertaking: and his "own forward inclination to charity, and unwearied diligence and activity, fitted him, in an "extraordinary manner, to go through the incredible pains of it."

His charity was so unconfined and impartial, that he began to exert himself in collecting money for the deprived nonjurors, upon the foot of a scheme drawn up by Mr. Kettlewell; till he was deterred from proceeding in it by some of his great friends, who told him that his scheme was illegal, being calculated for the support of the enemies of government.

His heterodoxy was so avowed and notorious, that the good Archbishop himself did not escape the imputation of Socinianism; merely, as may be supposed, from his acquaintance with Firmin; who yet should rather, as it would seem, have been called an Arian, than a Socinian. Yet, when the Archbishop, not long after, published four sermons in defence of the doctrine of the Trinity, Firmin was the foremost to answer them: and his answer is such an one as might be expected from a man of considerable acuteness and clearness of understanding, totally unacquainted with the learned languages, and logic and philosophy, and withall not a little bigoted to his own sect or party. Bishop Burnet speaks of him as remarkably industrious in propagating pamphlets and books, written in favour of his own opinions, after the Revolution. He died on the 20th of December 1697, in the 66th year of his age; being attended in his last illness by his intimate friend Dr. Edward Fowler, who had been advanced to the see of Gloucester in July 1691.

This account is extracted from Dr. Birch's Life of Abp. Tillotson, p. 319; and from the Abp.'s Sermon on the death of Mr. Gouge.—See Tillotson's Works, 9th ed. 1728. i. 212.

" to employ ſervants of my own, who ſhould manage this new trade in " ſuch a way as ſhould be with the leaſt loſs and diſadvantage.

" This building I ſoon erected in the pariſh of Alderſgate, to which " place I directed all the poor people above mentioned to go and receive " flax; and, when they had ſpun it, to carry it to the ſame place, and " receive their money for it; which I found to be very much for the " help and relief of many Poor; ſome of them being able to earn three- " pence, and ſome four-pence a day, working only at ſuch times as " they could ſpare from their other neceſſary occaſions; who being to " work in their own houſes, and when they could with moſt conveni- " ence attend it, many of them became ſo much pleaſed with it, that " ſo much money given them for doing nothing would not have done " them half ſo much good as that which they got by their own labour " in this employment.

" By which experiment, I perceived, that the only way to provide for " our Poor, and to bring them to labour, is to provide ſuch work for " them as they may do at their own homes; which, though never ſo " mean and homely, is more deſired than any other place; and the way " which ſeveral perſons have propoſed, of bringing them to a public " work-houſe, will never effect the end intended: for, ſuppoſe a woman " hath a ſick huſband or child, or ſome infirmity upon herſelf, in all ſuch " caſes ſhe may do ſomething at home, but cannot leave her own houſe. " And ſuppoſing that none of theſe ſhould happen, which yet is very " frequent, not one perſon of twenty will endure the thoughts of work- " ing at a public work-houſe. True indeed, for vagrants and ſturdy " beggars who have no habitation, and muſt be held to their labour as " galley-ſlaves are tied to their oars, ſuch public work-houſes are " very neceſſary; and I wiſh we had more of them, and that thoſe we " have were employed to this purpoſe, to which they were at firſt de- " ſigned and intended: but for ſuch poor people as have habitations of " their own, and who are known in the pariſh where they live, and " would take pains at home, it is altogether unreaſonable and unprofit- " able (in my judgment) to force them to a public work-houſe.

" If any pariſh that abounds with poor people would ſet up a ſchool " in the nature of a work-houſe, to teach poor children to work, who

" wander

" wander up and down the pariſh and parts adjacent, and between beg-
" ging and ſtealing get a ſorry living, but never bring any thing unto
" their parents, nor earn one farthing towards their own maintenance,
" it would in a ſhort time be found very advantageous, not only to the
" poor children, who by this means, whilſt young, ſhould be inured to
" labour, and taught to get their own living, but alſo to their parents,
" who ſhould hereby both be freed from any charge by keeping them,
" and alſo in time be helped by their labour, as it is in other places.

" And further, the pariſh would by this means be freed from much
" charge that now they are at, either to keep theſe children, or to allow
" their parents ſomething toward it; nothing being thought a greater
" argument for a large penſion, than that a man or woman hath ſix or
" ſeven children; whereas, unleſs they were all born at one time, or came
" faſter into the world than ordinarily ſo many children do, it is very
" hard if ſome of them be not able to work for themſelves. I myſelf
" have at this time ſome children working to me, not above ſeven or
" eight years old, who are able to earn two-pence a day, and ſome, that
" are but a little older, two ſhillings a week; and I doubt not to bring
" any child about that age to do the like: and ſtill as they grow up and
" become proficients, even in this poor trade of ſpinning, they will be
" able to get more and ſpin better than older people. Neither would I
" have theſe ſchools confined only to ſpinning, but to take in knitting,
" and making of lace or plain-work, or any other work which the chil-
" dren ſhall be thought moſt fit for; and this is that which (as I am in-
" formed,) is practiſed in other countries with ſo great advantage, that
" there are few poor children, who have attained the age of ſeven or
" eight years, that are any charge to the pariſh or burden to their poor
" parents; and Mr. Chamberlain, (in his book entitled, The Preſent
" State of England, p. 137,) hath obſerved, that in the city of Nor-
" wich it hath been of late years computed and found, that (yearly)
" children from ſix to ten years of age have gained twelve thouſand
" pounds more than what they have ſpent, and that chiefly by knitting
" fine jerſey ſtockings[1]."

[1] Collection, &c. p. 1, 2.

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In a ſubſequent part of his letter, he gives the following intereſting account of his work-houſe. He ſays—"The houſe being finiſhed, I "acquainted the pariſh of St. Botolphs, Alderſgate, that if they had any "poor people who wanted employment, and would work, I would ſup- "ply them therewith, upon theſe conditions, viz. that they ſhould not "take away their penſions from any I employed, nor give penſions to "any but ſuch as would, being able, follow this or ſome other employ- "ment towards their own maintenance; by means of which, and the "penſion received from the pariſh, they might be provided for without "begging: for I have long obſerved, that a very great number of thoſe "perſons that are found begging in the ſtreets, are ſuch as do receive ſome "penſion from the pariſh in which they live, but that being too ſmall to "maintain them without work, they make up the reſt by begging; "which, I conceive, might very eaſily be prevented by the inhabitants "of every pariſh, as it is already in that we are now ſpeaking of; there "being no perſon here who hath a penſion and is able to work, but is "ſupplied therewith; and with theſe together are enabled to make "good proviſion for themſelves, and live much more happily than be- "fore. And if at any time any of theſe perſons ſhould be found beg- "ging in the ſtreets, the pariſh hath promiſed to take away their "penſions, and I have aſſured them to take away their work, and let "them ſhift for themſelves as they can, which muſt be by begging or "ſtealing; but wherever they beg, it ſhall not be in this pariſh, or "at leaſt not with any good ſucceſs: for the pariſh, having called over "all their poor people, and appointed work for thoſe that are able, have "thought it convenient to give a badge, with the three firſt letters of "the pariſh's name upon it, to ſuch, and only ſuch, as they found in- "capable of any labour; by virtue of which badge they are permitted "to go into the pariſh at ſuch an hour of the day, and receive ſuch "broken bread and meat as their neighbours have to give; who alſo "have promiſed to give it to thoſe, and to no others: for by this "badge, which is made of blue and yellow bays, pinned upon their "ſleeve or breaſt, they are known by the inhabitants to be thoſe very "perſons whom the deputy, common-council men, and church-war- "dens, have judged fit to receive ſuch charity. And I know not why

"any body ſhould be offended, that the pariſhioners ſhould invite their "poor neighbours once a day to come to their houſes, to receive ſuch "bread and meat as they are willing to beſtow; neither would I have "theſe poor people go under ſuch a diſhonourable name as beggars, "but to be called invited gueſts[1]."

He is aware that there were ſome objections to his plan; particularly, that it would be difficult to find a ſufficient capital and ſtock of materials to employ all the Poor who might apply for work. To obviate this difficulty, he anſwers, that "there are few pariſhes but are ſtocked "either with money, or with ſo many good men as would willingly "lend gratis, if not give conſiderably toward, the carrying on of ſo "good a work as is the employing the Poor; but in caſe either of theſe "ſhould fail, the pariſh may as eaſily raiſe a ſtock to ſet the poor "people at work, as raiſe money by a rate to keep them in idleneſs. "It is very well known that ſome pariſhes about London do raiſe ſome "thouſands of pounds *per annum* for the relief of their Poor; and yet, "as the matter is handled, very few who are not, through age or ſick-"neſs, confined to their houſes, but do beg up and down the ſtreets. "To prevent which, I know no better way than by providing work for "all ſuch as are able; and when this is done, if they will not work, "nor be kept from begging, their penſions ſhould be taken away, and "their perſons ſecured as idle beggars, in a houſe of correction, where "they ſhall be made to work, or forbid to eat, according as the "apoſtle St. Paul adviſeth.

"But further, to encourage the ſetting up of this linen manufacture "for the uſe of the Poor, I deſire it may be conſidered, that there is no "commodity I know of, of the like value, that can be ſet up with leſs "ſtock: three parts of four, even of that cloth which comes not to "above 2s. an ell, will be paid for work to the ſpinner and weaver; "and many times a woman will ſpin a pound of flax, that coſt but ſix-"pence or ſeven-pence, to that fineneſs that ſhe will receive twelve-"pence or fourteen-pence for her pains; which will make an ell of cloth "worth three ſhillings, at which rate five parts of ſix will be paid for "labour: nay ſometimes I have ſeen a pound of flax not worth above

[1] Collection, &c. p. 6, 7.

"1s. 6d.

" 1s. 6d. at moſt, ſpun to that fineneſs that the pound of thread made " of it hath been worth eight or ten ſhillings; and in other parts I have " ſeen a pound of flax, not much higher in value, ſpun to that fineneſs " that it hath been worth three or four pound ſterling; which is a great " encouragement to falling upon this trade, and bringing young chil- " dren to this employment, who in a few years may arrive to as great " proficiency as in other countries; whereas now, for the moſt part, " our poor children are brought up in ſloth and idleneſs, and taught " nothing in their younger years, when they are moſt fit to learn, what " might ſerve to maintain them when they are old. And for theſe " children more eſpecially, which are kept upon charity, either by the " ſeveral pariſhes, or in hoſpitals, nothing can be more adviſeable, (in " my poor judgment,) than that all theſe children, except ſome few that " may be deſigned for more liberal employments, ſhould, together with " their learning to read, be taught to work, as in Holland and other " places, and not all their time, from 7 to 15 years, ſpent in play, or " poring upon a book; for by this means they get ſuch a habit of idle- " neſs, that very often they will not take to any labour at all; or if they " are forced unto it, it is with great reluctancy: whereas, if whilſt " young they were taught to work, they would fall in love with it, and " if old would not depart from it.

" Moreover, I deſire it may be conſidered, that, in this trade, all ſorts " of perſons, whether young or old, male or female, may find employ- " ment; if of years able, they may beat hemp, dreſs flax, or make " them ready for the ſpinſter; and when ſpun, may be employed in " weaving it; and thoſe of both ſexes that are not able for theſe, may " be put to ſpinning: and why boys, while young, as well as girls, may " not take to it in England for want of other employment, as in other " places, I ſee no reaſon.

" Obj. The next objection that I have met with is this; What will " you do with all the yarn theſe people ſhall ſpin? If you weave it " into cloth, the commodity is brought over ſo cheap, that you will " never be able to ſell without much loſs.

" Ans. I muſt confeſs this objection hath too much truth in it to " be wholly removed: the beſt anſwer I can make to it at preſent is " this, that we had much better loſe ſomething by the labour of the

" Poor, than loſe all by letting them live in ſloth and idleneſs: for ſup-
" poſe you ſhould give ſix-pence for that work which is really worth
" but five-pence, there will five-pence really be got to the nation,
" though one penny ſhould be loſt by the pariſh. Yet, beſides, let
" it be conſidered, that if the perſon has not been employed, there
" would not leſs have been ſpent, but rather more; foraſmuch as ſix-
" pence that is got by labour, doth many times go farther than ten-pence
" given for doing nothing: all that time that people are idle, they will
" be ſpending, if they have it; and if they have it not, it is likely they
" will be worſe employed. All that I can farther ſay to this objection
" is this, That it is to be hoped, in time, as our people grow more ſkil-
" ful and induſtrious, we ſhall be able to ſell as cheap as our neighbours;
" eſpecially if we once ſhall be provided with flax and hemp of our
" own growth; and in the mean time it is better to loſe ſomething in
" a way that will make our poor people better and ſkilful, than to ſuf-
" fer them to live in idleneſs, to their utter ruin, and a greater damage
" to the kingdom[1]."

Many of the following remarks are extremely judicious, and beſpeak an intimate acquaintance with the ſubject he profeſſes to inveſtigate; and it will be obvious to all, whoſe leiſure and curioſity may lead them to make the compariſon, that his project for finding work for the Poor at home, forms the baſis of a principal part of Mr. Pitt's bill.

He ſays—" If I had £100. a year to ſettle on a poor pariſh, I would
" do it after ſome ſuch way as this:

" Twenty pounds a year I would appoint for an able and honeſt wo-
" man to teach forty of the pooreſt children to read, and to ſpin flax or
" hemp, firſt upon the ſingle, and then upon the double wheel; which
" when they had well learned, they would be in a capacity to get their
" own living. Five pounds a year I would allot for the rent of a large
" room, to teach the children in. Twenty-five pounds a year I would
" aſſign for the buying of hemp and flax, to teach the children to ſpin
" upon.

" Twenty-five pounds a year I would allot for the payment of the
" poor children that ſhould ſpin the ſame, allowing one penny for every

[1] Collection, &c. p. 4, 5.

" 600 yards of yarn, which the children ſhould every week be paid for,
" and carry home to their poor parents, or elſe be laid out for them in
" ſuch things as they needed.

" Fifteen pounds a year I would allot for the weaving of ſuch yarn,
" and whitening ſuch cloth as ſhould be made of the yarn.

" Eight pounds a year I would allow for the buying ſuch wheels and
" reels as the children ſhould uſe, which, at their going out of the houſe,
" I would have given unto them.

" The remaining two pounds I would appoint to be laid out for a
" dinner for the truſtees; which ſhould be upon a day prefixed: upon
" which day they ſhould audite the accounts for the year paſt, and diſ-
" tribute the cloth which was made; ſome of it to the poor children
" that ſpun the yarn, and the reſt to other poor people in the pariſh,
" eſpecially the aged and impotent; it being more eaſy for them to get
" a meal's meat to feed their hungry bodies, than a ſhirt to cover them;
" neither is the charity much leſs to clothe the naked than to feed the
" hungry; nor the promiſe greater to the one than to the other. How-
" ever, by a deed of charity I ſhould do both; and alſo, by teaching the
" children to read and learn their catechiſms, you ſhould inſtruct their
" minds, which is a piece of charity no whit inferiour to the feeding their
" bodies or clothing their backs: for without knowledge, Solomon
" ſaith, 'the heart cannot be good;' and God by the prophet com-
" plains, 'that his people periſh for lack of knowledge.'

" This ſettlement I would ſo make, that it ſhould not be in the power
" of the pariſh, nor yet of the truſtees, to alienate to any other uſe or
" purpoſe whatſoever; but, upon ſo doing, it ſhould come to the hoſpi-
" tal of Chriſt-church, or ſome ſuch like foundation; the governours
" whereof would always take care that the truſt were performed; or in
" caſe it was not, would ſoon take it out of their hands.

" Having thus propoſed, as I conceive, a very likely way to prevent
" idleneſs in the younger ſort, my next care ſhall be to prevent it in
" thoſe that are of age; which I judge may be done by each pariſh, if
" they would provide ſuch work for them as they might carry to their
" own houſes, which, though never ſo mean and homely, are more de-
" ſirable than any other place; which alſo is the way that I have taken
" in the pariſh aforeſaid, and which is the way that all the countries

" take for the ſpinning of thoſe vaſt quantities of yarn which is every " year made uſe of for the making of bayes, ſerges, ſayes, and ſtuffs of " all ſorts. And that which ſome have propoſed, of bringing them to a " public work-houſe, will never effect the end deſired; for, ſuppoſe a " woman hath a ſick child or huſband, or ſome infirmity upon herſelf, " in all which caſes ſhe may do ſomething at home, but cannot leave " her own houſe: and ſuppoſing that none of theſe ſhould happen, " which is yet very frequent, not one perſon of many will endure the " thoughts of going to a public work-houſe. Sometimes it happens, " nay very frequently I have known, that perſons of good education, " and well related, have fallen into great poverty; which for theſe " reaſons, and leſt they ſhould fall into contempt by the diſcovery, they " are willing to hide as much as they can, and therefore cannot expoſe " themſelves to work in a public place.

" True, indeed, for vagrants and ſturdy beggars that have no habi- " tation, and will not work unleſs they are held to it as galley ſlaves " are tied to their oars, ſuch work-houſes are very neceſſary, and I " wiſh we had more of them, and that thoſe we have were employed " to that purpoſe; but for ſuch poor people as have habitations of their " own, and are known in the places where they live, and that would " take pains at home, it is altogether unreaſonable and unprofitable, " in my poor judgment, to bring them to a public work-houſe[1]."

The following paſſage not only affords us information reſpecting the prices of the important articles of flax and hemp about the year 1680; but likewiſe ſhews, that, even at that period, ſome pariſhes contracted with undertakers for the employment of their Poor:

" When I firſt began to employ the Poor in ſpinning, the beſt direction " I could receive was to pay for ſpinning the ſame price that the flax and " hemp ſtood me in, or what thoſe ſorts were generally ſold for: but " this I ſoon found to be in a very unequal way; foraſmuch as ſome " people would ſpin a much finer thread than others, and better de- " ſerve eight-pence for ſpinning a pound of flax that coſt but ſix-pence, " than another four-pence: ſo that after a little time I brought all the " poor people to ſpin 600 yards for a penny, were the thread finer or

[1] Collection, &c. p. 19, 20.

" coarſer, which was three knots or lays about a half-yard reel, which " makes juſt 600 yards; and ſince then, with much ado, finding the " loſs to be great, I have brought them to 50 yards more, which yet is " much leſs than is ſpun in other places. In the contract which the city " of Briſtol made with one Mr. King and others, for the employment of " 500 of their poor people, or more, in ſpinning, for the firſt year he " was obliged to pay them two-pence halfpenny for 1600 yards of yarn, " which is much about the price that I pay the poor people here, be- " cauſe they being either wholly to learn, or much to ſeek, might not " be diſcouraged; but after the firſt year, by this contract he might " alter the price, provided he never brought them to ſpin above 800 " yards for a penny. And I doubt not, if our people could be brought " to ſpin as much here, there would be no loſs by the linen we make, " but rather profit; but the miſchief of it is, our people have neither " been brought up to work hard or to fare hardly; and the trade of " begging being known to be eaſy and gainful, they will much rather " range about forty or fifty pariſhes in a day, and get a penny in each " pariſh, than work hard in one to get ſix-pence or eight-pence, which " they muſt do in this employment. So that till the magiſtrate do his " duty, and ſee the laws put in execution againſt beggars, or the people " grow ſo wiſe as not to encourage this wicked courſe of life, I have " little hope to ſee this matter much amended.

" Having given you an account of the price I pay for ſpinning, I " ſhall now tell you what I pay for flax and hemp, (though this is " ſometimes more or leſs as the markets riſe or fall,) as alſo what I " pay for dreſſing them, and for weaving the cloth I make; becauſe I " would give the greateſt encouragement I could to the ſetting up this " manufacture, for the employment of our poor people, till ſome other " or better way ſhall be found out.

" For Riga hemp at this day I pay 20s. a hundred, which is very low; " for Quinborough about 22, which is cheap; for Muſcovia flax about " 44 a hundred; for Quinborough about 40s. a hundred; for Holladay " about 36; for Paternoſter flax about 30; (all which prices are very " high to what they are at ſome times;) for Engliſh flax about $5\frac{1}{2}$d. a " pound, undreſſed; which prices I rather inſert to give buyers a little " aim, than for a ſtanding rule. For beating of hemp I pay 4s. 8d. a

" cwt. For dreſſing hemp, long and ſhort, 11d. a dozen pound; for " dreſſing flax I give 3d. a ſtone, accounting 8 pound to the ſtone.

" For weaving cloth I pay the ſeveral prices following: for yarn " ſpun to 6d. and 7d. a pound, for every ell of cloth ½ ell wide, 2½d.; " for that which is 3 quarters and ½ wide, 3½d.; for that which is " yard-wide, 4d.; for that which is ell-wide, 5d.

" For yarn ſpun to 9d. and 10d. a pound, I pay ½ more for every " half quarter of an ell, riſing as before; in that of 7d. or 8d. and the " like in that which is ſtill finer; for coarſe cloth, yard and half-quarter " wide, I pay 3d. an ell; and for ſacking about 3d. a yard[1]."

It does not appear that Mr. Firmin's work-houſe in Alderſgate continued long in a thriving ſtate: his account of its ſucceſs, four years after its erection, is rather diſcouraging to thoſe who expect much from ſimilar inſtitutions. " This, I am ſure," he ſays, " is the worſt that " can be ſaid of it, that it hath not yet been brought to bear it's own " charges. The reaſon of which I have already given in part; how- " ever, this doth greatly ſatisfy me, that every penny that hath been loſt " by it, either by myſelf, or by thoſe friends who have helped to bear it, " hath been many times gained to the Poor and to the Public. Neither " hath the loſs been ſo great as to affright any man that is able and hath " a good mind, from undertaking the like; for in above £4000. laid " out the laſt year in the management of the whole affair, reckoning " houſe-rent, ſervants' wages, loſs by learners, with the intereſt of the " money employed in the concern, there was not above £200. loſt; " one chief reaſon of which I muſt attribute to the kindneſs of ſeveral " perſons that took off ſome of the commodities I made at the price " they coſt me; and in particular to the Eaſt India and Guinea Com- " pany, who gave me encouragement to make their Allabas cloths and " coarſe canvaſs for their pepper-bags, which in former times they uſed " to have from other countries. It is moſt certain, that unleſs a higher " impoſt be laid upon foreign linen, it will not be poſſible for us, at " preſent, to make it ſo cheap as it is brought over; for our poor peo- " ple will neither work ſo hard nor live ſo cheap, as generally the Poor " of other places do: therefore we muſt be content to loſe ſomething

[1] Collection, &c. p. 25, 26.

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" in this way, or find ſome other to employ our people in; for em-
" ployed they muſt be, as we tender the good of their ſouls or bodies.
" And I am of opinion, notwithſtanding all I have yet heard or read to
" the contrary, that the ſetting up the linen manufacture would be
" many ways of advantage to this country, although, to provide againſt
" the worſt, I have made a good progreſs in the woollen manufacture
" alſo; inſomuch that, had not the price of wool advanced ſo much
" lately, I doubt not but by this time to have made one of one: but of
" this I ſhall give no further account at preſent[1].

" All that I have more to ſay, is to requeſt that ſuch perſons as have
" any kindneſs for my undertaking, to aſſiſt me therein, by taking off
" my hands ſome of the cloth the poor people ſhall make, at the price
" it ſtands me in, though it be a little dearer than they might have cloth
" elſewhere. I have met with ſome perſons ſo charitable, that not
" having occaſion for any for their own uſe, have bought good quan-
" tities to give away to the Poor, who have been as thankful for it as
" for money, there being many thouſands that have not above one ſhirt
" to their backs, and many that have none; inſomuch that within leſs
" than two years I have given away to men, women, and children,
" above 3000, whoſe bodies have been greatly refreſhed by them: and
" I doubt not but many have bleſſed God for them, and prayed for their
" benefactors[2]."

In 1683 was publiſhed a ſhort treatiſe, entitled, " A Diſcourſe touch-
ing Proviſion for the Poor," which is ſaid to have been written by Sir

[1] Among other plans for the benefit of the Poor in the metropolis, the author recommends the eſtabliſhment of a city fund or bank for advancing money upon pawns, at moderate intereſt, to the neceſſitous. He obſerves, that the Poor " are fain to go to ſuch brokers as
" will not lend twenty ſhillings a week under ſix-pence, which comes to twenty-ſix ſhillings
" a year; by which trade they make above two hundred and thirty pounds of one in a year's
" time, to the ruin of many poor people. Neither (he adds) are our tally-men many of them
" much better, who truſt poor perſons with twenty ſhillings worth of goods, or rather with
" twelve or fourteen ſhillings worth inſtead of twenty ſhillings, to pay them by ſix-pence a
" week; wherein after they have failed for ſome time to pay, they hurry them into priſon,
" with great charge for arreſt and proceedings at law, which many times thrice exceeds the
" firſt debt." Collection, &c. p. 11.—Pawnbrokers are now obliged, by Act of Parliament, to content themſelves with more moderate profit: they are, however, allowed 20 per cent. for goods which remain in pawn with them a twelve-month, and proportionally for a leſs time. (36 Geo. III. c. 87.)

[2] Collection, &c. p. 44.

Matthew

Matthew Hale; it does not, however, appear from any part of it's contents at what period of his life this great man turned his attention towards the inveſtigation of this important ſubject; but there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe that this ſmall work was written long before his death, which happened in 1676. Many concurrent circumſtances induce me to think, that it was drawn up before the Reſtoration. It is not probable, that whilſt he was engaged in the toils of profeſſional duty at the bar, he had either leiſure or inclination to enter into an enquiry not immediately connected with juriſprudence. In 1653, he was appointed one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas; but, upon the death of Cromwell, in 1658, he refuſed to accept a new commiſſion under the protector Richard; and retired into the country, where he ſedulouſly ſecluded himſelf from his profeſſion until the Parliament aſſembled which called home Charles the Second. Being returned a member for the county of Glouceſter, he was again immerſed in public affairs very early in 1660: towards the end of the year he was created Lord Chief Baron; and, in 1671, appointed to the high ſituation of Lord Chief Juſtice of England, which he reſigned a few months before his death, in 1675. His particular account of the Glouceſterſhire woollen manufacture[1], which he recommends as a proper employment for the Poor, ſeems to me to be more characteriſtic of a Country Gentleman than of a Lord Chief Juſtice; his price of wool (12d. the pound) is much too high for any period ſubſequent to the Revolution[2]; and the important Act relative to Settlements, which was paſſed in 1662[3], is not mentioned: ſo that, from theſe, and various other, circumſtances, I am fully perſuaded, that this little work, if it is the production of Sir Matthew Hale, was written by him during his retirement in 1659. But, to proceed to his diſcourſe itſelf:—

In commenting on the 43d of Elizabeth, he remarks, that "it makes "two proviſions: firſt, for the impotent Poor, that are not liable to "work: and it is a good proviſion for ſuch if duly executed. But,"

[1] See p. 220. [2] One writer, indeed, mentions the price of wool about the year 1671, at 12d. the pound. This riſe, however, in the price appears to have been occaſioned by an extraordinary exportation. Smith on Wool, 2d ed. i. 171. After the Reſtoration, the price of wool was uſually under 6d. the pound. See Appendix, No. I. p. lxxxiii.

[3] 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 12.

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he ſays, " the plaiſter is not ſo large as the ſore; there are many Poor " who are able to work if they had it, and had it at reaſonable wages, " by which they could ſupport themſelves and their families, which " oftentimes are many. Theſe are not within the proviſion of the law, " and if they come for exhibitions, they are denied, or at leaſt have but " very ſmall, and ſuch as cannot ſupport them and their families. " And indeed if they ſhould have ſufficient exhibition for the ſupport of " them and their families, the pariſhes where they live were not able " to ſupply them in a proportion anſwerable to their neceſſities, or " anſwerable to that ſupply which a full imployment would afford " them: for inſtance, a poor man and his wife, though able to work, " may have four children, two of them poſſibly able to work, two of " them not able: the father and mother are not able to maintain " themſelves and family in meat, drink, clothing, and houſe-rent, under " 10 ſhillings *per* week; and ſo much they might probably get if im- " ployed: this amounts to £26. *per ann.*; if there were 40 ſuch fami- " lies in a great pariſh, and they lived upon this exhibition collected by " rates, it would ariſe to above £800. *per ann.* which in many pariſhes " exceeds the yearly value of their land or rents, yet when theſe perſons " are kept on work, thus much muſt be gotten by them, and without a " ſupply equivalent to this, they muſt live by begging or ſtealing, or " ſtarve: therefore the ſecond proviſion is,

" 2. For thoſe Poor that are able to work, and in reference to them, " it gives power to raiſe ſtocks by rating the pariſhioners, and ſetting " the Poor on work.

" The effects of this proviſion are,

" 1. In the execution of the law already made; for let any man " look over moſt of the populous pariſhes in *England;* indeed there " are rates made for the relief of the impotent Poor, and it may be, " the ſame relief is alſo given in a narrow meaſure to ſome others " that have great families, and upon this they live miſerably, and at " beſt from hand to mouth, and if they cannot get work to make out " their livelihood, they and their children ſet up a trade of begging at " beſt. But it is rare to ſee any proviſion of a ſtock in any pariſh for " the relief of the Poor. And the reaſons are principally theſe: 1. The " generality of people that are able, yet unwilling, to exceed the preſent

" neceſſary

" neceſſary charge, they do propoſe to live for an hour, rather than to " project for the future; and although poſſibly trebling their exhibition " in one groſs ſum, at the beginning of the year, to raiſe a ſtock, might " in all probability render their future yearly payments for ſeven years " together leſs by half or two thirds, than what muſt be without it; yet " they had rather continue on their yearly payments, year after year, " though it exhauſt them in time, and make the Poor nothing the bet- " ter at the year's end. 2. Becauſe thoſe places where there are moſt " Poor, conſiſt for the moſt part of tradeſmen, whoſe eſtates lie princi- " pally in their ſtocks, which they will not endure to be ſearched into, " to make them contributary to raiſe any conſiderable ſtock for the Poor; " nor indeed ſo much as to the ordinary contributions: but they lay all " the Rates to the Poor upon the rents to lands and houſes, which alone, " without the help of ſtocks, are as well by law rateable as lands, both " to the relief and raiſing a ſtock for the Poor. 3. Becauſe the church- " wardens and overſeers, to whom the power is given, are inhabitants " of the ſame pariſh, and are either unwilling to charge themſelves, or " to diſpleaſe their neighbours in charging more than they needs muſt " towards the Poor: and although it were to be wiſhed and hoped that " the Juſtices of Peace would be forwardly to enforce them if they " might, though it may concern them alſo in point of preſent profit; " yet if they would do any thing herein, they are not impowered to " compell the church-wardens and overſeers to do it, who moſt certainly " will never go about it, to burden, as they think, themſelves, and diſ- " pleaſe their neighbours, unleſs ſome compulſary power were not only " lodged by law, but alſo executed in ſome that may have a power over " them to inforce it, or to do it, if they do it not, and to do it effec- " tually, if they do it either partially, or too ſparingly. 4. Becauſe peo- " ple do not conſider the inconvenience that will in time grow to them- " ſelves by this neglect, and the benefit that would in a little time ac- " crue to them by putting it in practice, if they would have but a little " patience, as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter.

" II. The ſecond defect is in the law itſelf; which are theſe:

" 1. No power from the Juſtices of Peace, or ſome ſuperintendent " power, to compel the raiſing of a ſtock where the church-wardens " and overſeers neglect it.

" 2. The act chargeth every pariſh apart, where it may be they are " able to do little towards it; neither would it be ſo effectual as if three, " four, or five or more contiguous pariſhes did contribute towards the " raiſing of a ſtock proportionable to their Poor reſpectively.

" 3. There is no power for hiring or erecting a common houſe, or " place for their common work-houſe."

He, therefore, propoſes the following remedy, which I ſhall detail at length; as many ſubſequent projectors have conſidered the ſubject in the ſame point of view, and ſuggeſted alterations in the Poor Laws extremely ſimilar to thoſe here recommended:

" 1. That the Juſtices of the Peace, at the Quarter-Seſſions, do ſet " out and diſtribute the pariſhes in their ſeveral counties into ſeveral " diviſions, wherein they are reſpectively placed, viz. one, two, " three, four, five or ſix pariſhes to a work-houſe, according to " the greatneſs or ſmallneſs, and the accommodation of the ſeveral " pariſhes.

" 2. That, at that Seſſions, the church-wardens and overſeers of the " Poor of the reſpective pariſhes bring in their ſeveral Rates for the " relief of their reſpective Poor upon oath. And that the ſaid Juſtices " do aſſeſs three, four, or five yearly pays to be levied and collected " at one or two entire ſums, within the time prefixed by them for the " raiſing of a ſtock to ſet the Poor within thoſe precincts on work; and " to build or procure a convenient work-houſe for employing the Poor, " if need be, in it, and for lodging materials, and for inſtructing chil- " dren in the trade or work.

" 3. That there be yearly choſe, by the ſame Juſtice, a maſter for " each work-houſe, with a convenient ſalary out of the ſaid ſtock, or " the proceed thereof, to continue for three years; and two overſeers to " ſee the iſſuing and return of the ſaid ſtock, and to take accounts, " quarterly or monthly, of the maſter, as they ſhall think fit.

" 4. That the ſtock be delivered to the overſeers, and by them iſſued " to the maſter, as there ſhall be occaſion; and that they alſo, from " time to time, receive the proceed of the ſaid ſtock, and the accompts " for the ſame.

" 5. That at the end of every year the maſter and overſeers give up " their accounts to the two next Juſtices of the Peace, at times by

" them prefixed, and publicly notified to the inhabitants of each pre-
" cinct, to the end that they may take any exceptions to ſuch accounts
" if there be cauſe.

" 6. That the maſter and overſeers of every reſpective work-houſe
" ſtand and be incorporate by the name of Maſter and Overſeers of the
" reſpective precincts, and capable to take in ſucceſſion, by will or other-
" wiſe, lands, goods, money, or other legacies or gifts for the benefit
" of the Poor within their reſpective precincts.

" 7. That they may alſo be accountable, as well to their reſpective
" ſucceſſors, as alſo to the Juſtices of the Peace at the Quarter-Seſſions,
" for the benefit and proceed and employment of ſuch gifts and be-
" queſts.

" 8. That they be diſabled to grant any lands to them given or be-
" queathed for any longer term than one year, and at an improved
" rent.

" 9. That if any perſon, that is able to work, and not able to main-
" tain himſelf, ſhall refuſe to do ſo, he may be forced thereunto by
" warrant of two Juſtices of Peace, by impriſonment and moderate
" correction in ſuch work-houſe.

" 10. If any perſon employed by the maſter ſhall imbezzel, or wil-
" fully prejudice or ſpoil his work, he ſhall, upon complaint and proof
" thereof by the party grieved to any Juſtice of Peace, and, by war-
" rant from him, receive impriſonment, or moderate correction, by
" warrant from ſuch Juſtice."

Of the benefits that would ariſe from the adoption of his plan, Sir Matthew Hale ſeems to have entertained very ſanguine ideas. The manufactures of ſerges, kerſeys, and baizes, which were confined to Devonſhire, Norfolk, and Colcheſter, and the manufacture of various ſorts of linen cloth, which was carried on in ſome (but, probably, a very inconſiderable,) degree in Lancaſhire, would (he thinks,) be communicated to other places, and be gradually diffuſed over the whole kingdom. Numbers of Poor, (he ſays,) might, by theſe means, be employed in dreſſing hemp and flax, in ſpinning, weaving, bleaching, and the like. To the objection, that both materials, and perſons to inſtruct the Poor in the various branches of work, were

wanting, he anſwers, that, " if once the manufacture were begun to " be put into a method by this way, all men would quickly ſow hemp " and flax in ſome parcels of their tillage, and poſſibly ſome lands that " were not ſo fit for other tillage would be employed in this. Two " acres of hemp and flax in every pariſh would employ multitudes, " which now people neglect to ſow, becauſe they have no way to vent " or employ it: and for inſtructors, when once the alarm is abroad of " ſuch a deſign; it will draw over workmen from other foreign parts; " and by this means we gained, or at leaſt recovered the ſkill of making " woollen cloth from other parts, as appears by undeniable evidence. " And if it ſhall be ſaid that this will defraud and ſtraiten us of labourers " in our woollen manufactures, there can be no fear of that, for we " have Poor enough to be employed in both; and it is moſt certain, " that the populouſneſs of the kingdom ſtill increaſeth, notwithſtanding " its great exhauſtings by wars and plagues, and foreign plantations; " and conſequently the Poor will be proportionably increaſed; ſo that " we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that in one ſeven years, by the bleſſing of " God, the very proceeds, that will be able and fit to work, of poor fa- " milies, will be more than double what they now are, which will con- " tinually increaſe in a kind of geometrical progreſſion, whereby there " will be enough for double the employment that is now for them."

Of the general utility of manufactures, as furniſhing employment for numbers of people, he gives the following very ſatisfactory proof, in an inſtance, which, (he ſays,) he had exactly tried and examined, and found to be true.

" The ordinary proceſs and time, and charge of making a common " courſe medly cloath, of our Glouceſterſhire wool, at this day, is;

" I. In every ſuch cloath, of about 32 yards long, there is ninety " pounds of wool, which will coſt, at this day, at 12d. per pound, four " pounds ten ſhillings, viz. ordinary in a grey cloath.

" 54 lb. of abb.	}	£ 4. 10s.
" 34 lb. of warp		
" 2 lb. of mixture		

" II. The charge of making this cloath.

" 1. Parting

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over -	4	10	0
" 1. Parting and picking - - -	0	3	0
" 2. Colouring - - - -	0	16	0
" 3. Breaking and ſpinning the abb, at 2¼d. per lb. -	1	7	9
" 4. Breaking and ſpinning the warp, at 5d. per lb. -	0	18	6
" 5. Cards and oyl - - - -	1	0	0
" 6. Weaving, ſpooling, and warping - -	1	1	3
" 7. Milling and burling - - -	0	12	0
" 8. Sheering and dreſſing - - -	0	18	0
" 9. Drawing - - - -	0	1	6
" 10. Carriage and facturage - - -	0	7	0
" So the whole charges come to - - -	£11	15	0

" Out of which deducting the materials of wool, and cards, and oil, " there remains entirely for the expence of work to the amount of " £6. 5s. It is true, at this day, this cloath yields not above £12. to be " ſold, which is only 5s. profit; but when trade is quicker, it may " yield £13. or more.

" 3. The people employed in bringing about this cloath to be ready " are 14, viz. three weavers and ſpoolers, two breakers, ſix ſpinners, " one fuller and burler, one ſheerman, one parter and picker: the wea- " vers ſupply the office of ſpooler and warper.

" 4. Theſe will bring about the firſt cloath in about two months " ſpace; but being continued in a conſtant tract, the cloath will be " brought about in three weeks time; for all the other workmen are " at work, and fit the cloath for the weaver in that ſpace that he is wea- " ving the firſt cloath.

" 5. Conſequently, this one loom thus employed all the year round, " allowing two months to the firſt cloath, and three weeks to every " other, will make fourteen returns the firſt year, of cloath ready made " for ſale, and ſixteen returns every year after.

" 6. Conſequently, that which this yields for bare wages to theſe " fourteen poor workmen for the firſt year is £87. 10s. and for the " following years is £97.; and by this computation it is eaſy to ſee " what every workman can gain a week, being full employed.

" 7. About

" 7. About £100. ſtock will for ever keep this loom going, and main-
" tain theſe 14 workmen; and conſequently a ſtock of £1400 will
" keep on foot four looms work, and keep on work 56 perſons, and
" be able to abide the ordinary delays of ſale incident to the markets.

" 8. But if it could be ſuppoſed that the cloath could be ſold as ſoon as
" made, (which is not, I confeſs, reaſonably to be expected,) then a
" ſtock of £24. would, by its continual return, provide materials and
" pay the workmen for one loom's work in perpetuity: but becauſe the
" returns by ſale cannot be as ſpeedy as the work is done, the ſtock
" muſt be near £100 to abide the delay of a month, two, or three, or
" more, in point of ſale, and likewiſe to buy wool ſeaſonably for work.
" And by this it appears, that although £100. ſtock, by its ſixteen re-
" turns, yields but an inconſiderable advantage to the maſter at five
" ſhillings *per* cloath, viz. but four pounds in the year; yet it yields a
" conſiderable advantage to the poor workers, viz. near £100. *per annum*;
" and conſequently a ſtock of £400. yields near £400. *per annum*;
" and conſequently theſe 56 poor people, that are kept on work
" with this ſtock of £400. could not live better if the pariſh were
" at the expence of £400. *per annum* to relieve them; nor indeed ſo
" well, conſidering they are by this means kept in a way of employ-
" ment and honeſt induſtry: and yet, without ſome ſupply, either by
" wages or contribution, theſe 56 poor people, being deſtitute of wages
" or contributions to this value, or near it, muſt live by ſtealing or
" begging, or ſtarve."

The following are the objections which he ſuppoſes will be made againſt his plan: 1ſt. that yearly contributions for the relief of the Poor are leſs burthenſome than four years collection, which muſt be paid before-hand in order to provide a ſtock: 2d. that many idle people will rather beg than work: 3d. that no conſiderable advantage can be expected from a ſtock of £400. when, perchance, in a line of trading, 4 or 5000£. employed by maſters in a pariſh are but ſufficient to ſet the Poor on work: 4th. that private manufacturers, who endeavour, for their own intereſt, to make the moſt of their trade, often meet with great loſſes, which impair their ſtocks; and that a public concern, which cannot be expected to be managed with ſuch prudence, muſt often be in the ſame condition: 5th. that the Poor may

have

have work, if they will apply for it; and that the ſetting up of a public trade will only make workmen more independent and leſs ſolicitous of employment with private traders, which will tend to the decay of trade: 6th. that the Poor, who are not employed, are either ſuch as cannot or will not work, or will ſteal and purloin the work; and that ſuch will undo the work-houſe: 7th. that there will be great difficulty in procuring perſons ſufficiently faithful and truſty, to have the ſuperintendance of ſuch a concern.

To the firſt objection the author thus replies:—"If a man had a rent "of inheritance iſſuing out of his land, he would not think much of "giving 16 years' purchaſe to buy it in: and the charge that goes out "for the Poor, as it is as much and as certain a charge as a rent, ſo it is "evident to us that it hath increaſed yearly; and, of neceſſity, the longer "things are continued in this careleſs way, it muſt increaſe in an exceſ-"ſive proportion; and to give four years' purchaſe to abate it, or if it "were but to keep it in ſtay, were good huſbandry. 2. Beſides this, "let a man conſider what other loſſes do accrue by the want of a due "proportion of work, and an induſtrious education for the Poor, in "thieving and ſtealing, and ſending ſuch malefactors to gaols at the "charges of the pariſh, in proſecuting them at aſſizes and ſeſſions, in "cutting and deſtroying of woods, pulling of hedges, and treſpaſſes on "corn and graſs thereby, in alms-giving at the door: theſe would be, "if not altogether prevented, at leaſt in a great meaſure they would, "when that moſt unchriſtian and indeed inhuman way of living "among moſt ordinary indigent people is remedied by convenient em-"ployment and wages."

To the ſecond objection he ſays, that the eſtabliſhment of work-houſes will render working more profitable than begging; that the educating of children in induſtrious habits will remove their propenſity to become beggars; and that, when men are once convinced that the Poor may have work upon reaſonable terms, the laws both againſt beggars, and thoſe who relieve them, will be cheerfully put in execution.

The ſtock, he thinks, "would be a great help to the Poor in a time "of ſcarcity of work, although it ſhould lie ſtill in a time of plenty of "work. The ſupply of work, for a month or two, or three, in a year,

"when

" when traders for advantage give over, keeps induſtry on the wheels, " and yields a conſiderable ſupply :" and, " in good times, when there " is no need of it, it is as capable of increaſe and improvement as pri- " vate men's ſtocks are." He adds, " that if once ſuch a ſtock were " going, it would not only increaſe by itſelf, but it would have conti- " nued acceſſion by charitable gifts, which would do five times the good " thus employed, than employed, as they are, in doles and little yearly " penſions, which conſume and come to nothing, but are ſwallowed up " in the preſent neceſſity of the Poor, and leave but ſmall ſigns of ad- " vantage behind them."

Admitting there might be a loſs on the ſtock every year, he thinks it would be but gradual, and not annihilate the ſtock in leſs than five or ſix years; during which period the nation would be well repaid by the induſtrious education which would be thus provided for the Poor.

His anſwer to the fifth objection is: " 1. It is true, when trading is " quick, poſſibly they may have work enough; but upon any check in " trade, they are oftentimes turned off, unleſs they will work at extream " low wages, and ill paid. 2. When work is ſo plenteous at private " hands, there may be an intermiſſion or relaxation of the employment " of the common ſtock; eſpecially if they can have better wages at " private hands; for it will be enough for this to be ſupplemental of the " defects of work at others hands, and it ſufficiently attains it's end if it " may be a refuge in the time of need for thoſe that would work and " cannot get it, and an expedient to enforce thoſe to work who can and " will not."

To the ſixth objection, he ſays, that ſometimes the honeſteſt men cannot procure work, and that this will be a reſerve for them; and that, as ſoon as a work-houſe and ſtock are once ſettled, others will be com- pelled to work, by the laws againſt vagrants being enforced.

Reſpecting the difficulty of finding proper maſters for the work- houſes, he ſays: " there be many poor and honeſt men, who for a ſmall " ſalary, and a room or two to work and lodge in, in the work-houſe, " would be fit enough to undertake the employment of a maſter: and " yet he would have no great truſt upon him; for the ſtock would be " lodged in the hands of the overſeers, and they to deliver it out, and " take weekly or monthly accounts; which overſeers may be ſubſtan-

" tial men, and at no great trouble; and eligible either by the Juſtices " of Peace, or pariſhioners, yearly, or once in three years; and their " trouble would be no greater than the trouble of overſeers of the poor, " or church-wardens in any pariſh."

He concludes with recommending his plan as a debt which we owe to our nature as Men; a work highly neceſſary for us as Engliſhmen; and our firſt duty as Chriſtians. " The want of a due proviſion for education " and relief of the Poor in a way of induſtry, is (he ſays,) that which " fills the gaols with malefactors, and fills the kingdom with idle and " unprofitable perſons, that conſume the ſtock of the kingdom without " improving it, and that will daily increaſe, even to a deſolation, in " time. And this errour in the firſt concoction is never remediable but " by gibbets and whipping. But there muſt be a ſound, prudent, and " reſolved method for an induſtrious education of the Poor, that will " give better remedy againſt theſe corruptions than the after-gains of " penalties can."

Richard Dunning, in his " Plain and Eaſy Method, ſhewing how the office of Overſeer of the Poor may be managed, whereby it may be £9000. per annum advantage to the County of Devon, without abating the weekly relief of any Poor," (publiſhed in 1685,) was of opinion that the ſtatutes in force, if duly executed, were ſufficient to reduce the number of Poor. He ſays, " It has been an aſperſion unjuſtly caſt " on the ſtatutes of the 43d Elizabeth for relief of Poor, that the law " hath made multitudes idle and careleſs: and that allowing them a " refuge for relief from their pariſhes, hath cauſed them the leſs to " provide for themſelves. Indeed, by that law, the pariſh is (as they " commonly ſay,) *bound to find them*; but that in a far other and larger " ſenſe than they mean, viz. *work* for thoſe that *will* labour, *puniſh-* " *ment* for thoſe that *will not*, and *bread* for thoſe that *cannot;* and if " the two firſt parts of that law were duly obſerved, the Poor would " not only be reduced to a ſmall number, comparatively to what they " now are, but there would be no ſuch Poor as idle and wandering " rogues and vagabonds, as the ſtatute of the 29th of the ſame Queen " ſhews there were before that time: and the puniſhment appointed for " ſuch looſe perſons being that they be whipt, and ſent to the place of

" their birth, as an admonition to the inhabitants of that place to bring " up their children better."

He propoſes, that all poor perſons who cannot give a ſatisfactory account of themſelves, ſhall be provided by the overſeers with liſts of the perſons they are to work with; and if they do not work according to direction, that they ſhall be committed to the houſe of correction. His calculation, however, of the ſum, which he will ſave to the county by thus employing the Poor, ſeems founded on very ſlender data [1]; and the methods by which he propoſes to enforce his regulations are liable to many objections. The chief information which his work contains, is that a Devonſhire day-labourer, by threſhing and other agricultural work, could earn 5d. a day all the year round, and his diet, which he eſtimated at 5d. a day more. Women, he thinks, in the county of Devon, could earn their diet, worth 18d. a week, and 6d. a week wages.

[1] " £ 40. per annum in the pariſh of Winkley is ſomewhat more than £ 1000. in the ſub- " diviſions; and £ 1000. per annum in the ſubdiviſion is ſomewhat more than £ 9000. per " annum in the county: conſequently that which may be done elſewhere, as well as in " Winkley, as what is hereby propoſed, may, and is £ 40. per annum clear advantage to the " pariſh of Winkley, and will be £ 9000. per annum advantage to this county." His chief method of raiſing this ſum of £ 40. in the pariſh of Winkley, is by preventing the beggars from wandering about the country, and obliging them to work ſo many days with each of the pariſhioners, who contribute towards the Poor's Rate. Thoſe who receive relief from the pariſh, he propoſes ſhould bring a certificate from the perſon who had employed them between the pay-days, in order to entitle them to any further allowance from the pariſh.

CHAP.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Poor, from the Revolution to the Preſent Period.

I SHALL now proceed to notice the principal publications which have appeared upon this ſubject, and the various legiſlative alterations which have been made in our code of Poor Laws ſince the Revolution.

Of the circumſtances of the labouring claſſes of the nation at that important period, we may form a tolerable eſtimate from the information contained in Dr. Davenant's Political Eſſays, and the able calculations of Gregory King, which were drawn up with a view of aſcertaining the wealth and population of the kingdom.

In the "Eſſay upon the probable means of making a people gainers in the balance of trade,"[1] Dr. Davenant preſents us with the following curious computation of Gregory King's, which he ſays he had examined very carefully, tried by ſome little operations of his own upon the ſame ſubject, and compared with the ſchemes of other political arithmeticians.

[1] Publiſhed in 1699. Whitworth's edition, ii. 184.

A Scheme of the Income and Expence of the ſeveral FAMILIES *in England, calculated for the Year* 1688.

Number of Families.	Ranks, Degrees, Titles, and Qualifications.	Heads per Family.	Number of perſons.	Yearly income per Family.	Yearly income in general.	Yearl. incom per head.	Yearly expence per head.	Yearly increaſe per head.	Yearly increaſe in general.
				£. s.	£.	£. s.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£.
160	Temporal Lords	40	6,400	3,200 0	512,000	80 0	70 0 0	10 0 0	64,000
26	Spiritual Lords	20	520	1,300 0	33,800	65 0	45 0 0	20 0 0	10,400
800	Baronets	16	12,800	880 0	704,000	55 0	49 0 0	6 0 0	76,800
600	Knights	13	7,800	650 0	390,000	50 0	45 0 0	5 0 0	39,000
3,000	Eſquires	10	30,000	450 0	1,200,000	45 0	41 0 0	4 0 0	120,000
12,000	Gentlemen	8	96,000	280 0	2,880,000	35 0	32 0 0	3 0 0	288,000
5,000	Perſons in greater offices and places	8	40,000	240 0	1,200,000	30 0	26 0 0	4 0 0	160,000
5,000	Perſons in leſſer offices and places	6	30,000	120 0	600,000	20 0	17 0 0	3 0 0	90,000
2,000	Eminent Merchants and Traders by ſea	8	16,000	400 0	800,000	50 0	37 0 0	13 0 0	208,000
8,000	Leſſer Merchants and Traders by ſea	6	48,000	198 0	1,600,000	33 0	27 0 0	6 0 0	288,000
10,000	Perſons in the Law	7	70,000	154 0	1,540,000	22 0	18 0 0	4 0 0	280,000
2,000	Eminent Clergymen	6	12,000	72 0	144,000	12 0	10 0 0	2 0 0	24,000
8,000	Leſſer Clergymen	5	40,000	50 0	400,000	10 0	9 4 0	0 16 0	32,000
40,000	Freeholders of the better ſort	7	280,000	91 0	3,640,000	13 0	11 15 0	1 5 0	350,000
120,000	Freeholders of the leſſer ſort	5½	660,000	55 0	6,600,000	10 0	9 10 0	0 10 0	330,000
150,000	Farmers	5	750,000	42 10	6,375,000	8 10	8 5 0	0 5 0	187,500
15,000	Perſons in liberal arts and ſciences	5	75,000	60 0	900,000	12 0	11 0 0	1 0 0	75,000
50,000	Shop-keepers and Tradeſmen	4½	225,000	45 0	2,250,000	10 0	9 0 0	1 0 0	225,000
60,000	Artiſans and Handicraſts	4	240,000	38 0	2,280,000	9 10	9 0 0	0 10 0	120,000
5,000	Naval Officers	4	20,000	80 0	400,000	20 0	18 0 0	2 0 0	40,000
4,000	Military Officers	4	16,000	60 0	240,000	15 0	14 0 0	1 0 0	16,000
500,586		5⅓	2,675,520	68 18	34,488,800	12 18	11 15 4	1 2 8	3,023,700
								Decreaſe.	Decreaſe.
50,000	Common Seamen	3	150,000	20 0	1,000,000	7 0	7 10 0	0 10 0	75,000
364,000	Labouring People and Out-ſervants	3½	1,275,000	15 0	5,460,000	4 10	4 12 0	0 2 0	127,500
400,000	Cottagers and Paupers	3¼	1,300,000	6 10	2,600,000	2 0	2 5 0	0 5 0	325,000
35,000	Common Soldiers	2	70,000	14 0	490,000	7 0	7 10 0	0 10 0	35,000
849,000		3¼	2,795,000	10 10	8,950,000	3 5	3 9 0	0 4 0	562,500
	Vagrants, as Gipſies, Thieves, Beggars, &c.		30,000		60,000	2 0	4 0 0	2 0 0	60,000
				So the	General	Account is			
500,586	Encreaſing the wealth of the kingdom	5⅓	2,675,520	68 18	34,488,800	12 18	11 15 4	1 2 8	3,023,700
849,000	Decreaſing the wealth of the kingdom	3¼	2,825,000	10 1	9,010,000	3 3	3 7 6	0 4 6	622,500
1,349,586	Neat Totals*	4 1/13	5,500,520	32 5	43,491,800	7 18	7 9 3	0 8 9	2,401,200

* Every political arithmetician acknowledges Gregory King's accurate reſearches in diſquiſitions of this nature. In the Table, however, before us, it would ſeem, from the calculations of Dr. Price, Mr. Howlett, and other writers on Population, that he aſſigned too moderate an average for the number of perſons in a family. In other reſpects his eſtimate, no doubt, contains much correct information.

The

The following extracts from a very copious Table in the "Eſſay upon Ways and Means," which was publiſhed in 1695, ſhew the proportion of Poor's Rate borne by each county in England about the year 1685. The column containing the reſpective contributions of each county towards the aſſeſſment for ſhip-money in 1636, affords a tolerable idea of the comparative rental of different parts of the kingdom at that period; as the column containing the produce of each county towards the aid of 4s. in the pound, (the commencement of the preſent land-tax,) does for the year 1693. The produce of the exciſe on ale and beer, the number of houſes, and the population of each county, in 1690, which I have calculated according to Davenant's proportion of ſix perſons to a houſe[2], are added as ſupplemental proofs to enable us to appreciate the proſperity and reſources of England at the Revolution. Of the eſtimate of the Poor's Rates in the laſt column, Dr. Davenant remarks, that "it was collected with great labour and expence by Mr. Arthur Moore, a very knowing perſon." He had not the account of Wales: but, according to the proportion which the principality bore to the reſt of the kingdom in other taxes, it's Poor's Rate was calculated at about £33,753.; and conſequently the Poor's Rate of the whole kingdom was ſuppoſed, with great probability, to amount to about £665,362.

[1] Whitworth's edition, I. 39.

[2] Whitworth's edition, I. 19. This proportion, of ſix perſons to a houſe, is, however, too high; as Gregory King's, of $4\frac{1}{13}$ to a family, is too low. Mr. Howlett, from very ſatisfactory data, eſtimates the average of perſons to a houſe at $5\frac{2}{3}$. I refer the reader, for a very full diſcuſſion of this ſubject, to Mr. Chalmers's Eſtimate, 2d edit.

	Produce of each County, according to the Assessment of the Ship-money, 1636.	Produce of each County in the Aid of 4s. in the Pound, 4 W. & Ma. 1693.			Produce of each County for Excise on Beer and Ale, in the year 1689.			Number of Houses in each County, according to the Hearth Books of Lady-day, 1690.	Population of England in 1690, according to Davenant's Proportion of six Persons to a House.	An Estimate of the Poor's Rate for 1 Year, made in the latter end of King Charles the Second's Reign.
	£.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.			£.
Bedfordshire	3,000	28,554	15	1¼	5,549	7	3	12,170	73,020	6,911
Berkshire	4,000	41,054	0	9½	9,105	12	9½	16,996	101,976	9,800
Buckinghamshire	4,500	47,661	1	1	7,261	16	5½	18,688	112,128	14,800
Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely	3,500	32,844	16	3¼	10,442	7	1	18,629	111,774	9,128
Cheshire and Chester	3,000	28,596	14	0¼	9,836	10	4½	25,592	153,552	5,796
Cornwall	5,500	31,976	0	0	10,595	12	3½	26,613	159,678	9,257
Cumberland	800	3,713	18	4	5,746	10	4	15,279	91,674	4,988
Derbyshire	3,500	24,093	19	10¾	11,960	12	4½	24,944	149,664	7,953
Devonshire and Exon	9,000	82,086	6	2	34,525	7	11	56,202	337,212	34,764
Dorsetshire and Pool	5,000	33,116	7	9	7,568	11	7½	17,859	107,154	13,885
Durham, Northumberland, and Berwick	2,300	25,146	11	11	21,216	8	3	53,345	320,070	13,620
Essex	8,000	90,895	14	7	21,676	4	5	40,545	243,270	37,348
Gloucestershire and Gloucester	5,500	47,523	18	2	14,704	8	3	34,476	206,856	19,600
Herefordshire	3,500	20,409	2	6	6,256	5	9½	16,744	100,464	8,687
Hertfordshire	4,000	42,973	5	4¼	13,264	2	11½	17,488	104,928	10,760
Huntingdonshire	2,000	15,497	5	1	4,437	7	4½	8,713	52,278	5,850
Kent	8,000	83,450	3	5	24,647	15	10½	46,674	280,044	29,875
Lancashire	1,000	21,300	0	0	14,501	4	4½	46,961	281,766	7,200
Leicestershire	4,500	35,083	9	7	8,258	18	9½	20,448	122,688	11,600
Lincolnshire and Lincoln	8,000	72,265	11	10¾	15,949	4	5½	45,019	270,114	31,500
Northamptonshire	6,000	48,111	12	10	9,845	17	8½	26,904	161,424	21,516
Nottinghamshire	3,500	27,276	2	6¼	5,837	10	4¼	17,818	106,908	11,760
Norfolk and Norwich	7,800	84,729	14	10¾	26,899	11	6¼	56,579	339,474	46,200
Oxfordshire	3,500	39,038	12	8½	11,804	9	6	19,627	117,762	7,950
Rutland	800	5,555	3	11	1,435	8	8	3,661	21,966	3,730
Salop	4,500	29,035	15	0	9,874	9	3	27,471	164,826	13,375
Staffordshire and Litchfield	3,000	27,082	10	5	10,927	7	9	26,278	157,668	7,150
Somersetshire and Bristol	9,000	73,728	18	7¼	31,133	9	2	45,900	275,400	30,263
Southamptonshire	6,000	55,188	5	2	11,160	18	7½	28,557	171,342	13,173
Suffolk	8,000	74,201	18	3¾	19,635	9	8½	47,537	285,222	25,750
Surry and Southwark	3,500	66,984	17	0	34,234	1	10½	40,610	243,660	15,600
Sussex	5,000	60,819	12	0	7,730	10	1½	23,451	140,706	18,720
Warwickshire and Coventry	4,000	39,864	12	9	11,639	3	10	22,700	136,200	9,800
Worcestershire and Worcester	3,500	33,144	0	0	12,793	10	1½	24,440	146,640	10,640
Wiltshire	7,000	51,672	7	11½	10,679	8	8½	27,418	164,508	18,240
Westmoreland	600	3,014	7	4	2,322	16	1	6,691	40,146	1,890
Yorkshire, with York and Hull	12,000	91,620	13	8¾	52,226	19	8½	121,052	726,312	26,150
Wales, North and South	10,500	51,256	6	8	26,431	18	4	77,921	467,526	33,753
London, Middlesex and Westminster	20,180	307,140	8	5¾	140,358	13	2	111,215	667,290	56,380
Grand totals	206,980	1,977,713	17	1¼	694,476	2	5¾	1,319,215	7,915,290	665,362
Of the eleven home counties, viz. Surry and Southwark, Hertford, Bedford, Cambridge, Kent, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Berks, Bucks, and Oxon, total is	57,800	632,388	19	6½	148,520	19	5¼	335,543		214,122
Of the rest of England, excluding London, Middlesex, and Westminster, total is	129,000	1,038,184	9	1	369,596	9	10½	872,457		394,860

On the firſt of the preceding tables Dr. Davenant makes the following obſervations: " Mr. King," he ſays, " divides the whole body of the people into two principal claſſes, viz.

	Heads.
" Encreaſing the wealth of the kingdom	2,675,520
" Decreaſing the wealth of the kingdom	2,825,000

" By which he means, that the firſt claſs of the people, from land, arts " and induſtry, maintain themſelves, and add every year ſomething to " the nation's general ſtock; and beſides this, out of their ſuperfluity, " contribute every year ſo much to the maintenance of others.

" That, of the 2d claſs, ſome partly maintain themſelves by labour, " (as the heads of the cottage families,) but that the reſt, as moſt of " the wives and children of theſe, ſick and impotent people, idle beggars " and vagrants, are nouriſhed at the expence of others, and are a yearly " burthen to the public, conſuming annually ſo much as would be other- " wiſe added to the nation's general ſtock.

" The bodies of men are without doubt the moſt valuable treaſure of " a country; and, in their ſphere, the ordinary people are as ſerviceable " to the commonwealth as the rich, if they are employed in honeſt " labour and uſeful arts; and, ſuch being more in number, do more " contribute to increaſe the nation's wealth, than the higher rank.

" But a country may be populous and yet poor, (as were the ancient " Gauls and Scythians,) ſo that numbers, unleſs they are well employed, " make the body politic big, but unwieldy; ſtrong, but unactive; as to " any uſes of good government. Their's is a wrong opinion, who " think that mouths profit a country that conſume its product: and it " may be more truly affirmed, that he who does not ſome way ſerve the " commonwealth, either by being employed himſelf, or by employing " others, is not only a uſeleſs, but a hurtful member to it.

" As it is charity, and what indeed we owe to human kind, to make " proviſion for the aged, the lame, the ſick, the blind, and the impotent; " ſo it is a juſtice we owe to the commonwealth, not to ſuffer ſuch as " have health, and who might maintain themſelves, to be drones, and " live upon the labour of others.

" The bulk, of ſuch as are a burden to the public, conſiſts in cottagers " and paupers, beggars in great cities and towns, and vagrants.

" Upon

" Upon a ſurvey of the hearth-books, made in Michaelmaſs 1685, it " was found, that of the 1,300,000 houſes in the whole kingdom, thoſe " of one chimney amounted to 554,631; but ſome of theſe having land " about them, in all our calculations we have computed the cottagers " but at 500,000 families. But of theſe a large number may get their " livelihood, and are no charge to the pariſh; for which reaſon, Mr. " King very judiciouſly computes his 'cottagers and paupers decreaſing " the wealth but at 400,000 families;' in which account he includes " the poor-houſes in cities, towns, and villages; beſides which, he reckons " 30,000 vagrants, and altogether to make up 1,330,000 heads. This " is a very great proportion of the people to be a burden upon the other " part, and is a weight upon the land intereſt, of which the landed " gentlemen muſt certainly be very ſenſible[1].

" If this vaſt body of men, inſtead of being expenſive, could be ren-

[1] In another eſſay, Dr. Davenant informs us, that the Poor's Rate raiſed for their relief, which, in 1689, we have ſeen, amounted to £ 665,362, had conſiderably riſen before the year 1695, in conſequence of a great decay in the foreign trade and home manufacture; and that, in time of peace, we paid nearly as much to the Poor, as to the maintenance of the Government, and for our protection.

This great political writer ſeems to have been fully ſenſible of the abuſes which exiſted in parochial expenditure, and makes the following, (in ſome points very judicious,) obſervations on the ſubject. He ſays, " As this money is managed in moſt places, inſtead of re- " lieving ſuch as are truly poor and impotent, (which the laws deſign,) it ſerves only to " nouriſh and continue vice and ſloth in the nation." And he goes on to obſerve: " If pub- " lic work-houſes were ſet up in every town and county, and if the works and manufactures " proper for every place and country were fixed and eſtabliſhed in it, the Poor would be " encouraged, and invited to labour and induſtry; eſpecially if the magiſtrate made uſe of " his coercive power upon ſuch as are vicious and idle.

" The real and true objects of charity would coſt the nation but little to maintain; and it " is to be doubted they have the leaſt ſhare in the public reliefs.

" The wiſdom of a parliament may in time find out a way to make ſuch perſons uſeful " and profitable to the nation, who, at preſent, are a heavy burthen upon it.

" If all the hands in this kingdom, that are able, were employed in uſeful labour, our ma- " nufactures would ſo increaſe, that the commonwealth would be thereby greatly enriched, " and the Poor, inſtead of being a charge, would be a benefit to the kingdom.

" If the Poor were always certain of work and pay for it, they would be glad to quit that " naſtineſs which attends a begging and lazy life.

" And if the Poor were encouraged, and, where there is occaſion, compelled to maintain " themſelves, the pound-rate would be much leſs in every county."—Eſſay upon Ways and Means, Whitworth's edition, i. 72.

dered

" dered beneficial to the commonwealth, it were a work no doubt highly " to be promoted by all who love their country.

" It ſeems evident to ſuch as have conſidered theſe matters, and who " have obſerved how they are ordered in nations under a good polity, " that the number of ſuch, who, through age or impotence, ſtand in real " need of relief, is but ſmall, and might be maintained for very little; " and that the Poor Rates are ſwelled to the extravagant degree we " now ſee them at, by two ſorts of people; one of which, by reaſon of " our ſlack adminiſtration, is ſuffered to remain in ſloth; and the " other, through a defect in our conſtitution, continue in wretched " poverty, for want of employment, though willing enough to under- " take it.

" All this ſeems capable of a remedy: the laws may be armed againſt " voluntary idleneſs, ſo as to prevent it; and a way may probably be " found out to ſet thoſe to work who are deſirous to ſupport themſelves " by their own labour: and if this could be brought about, it would " not only put a ſtop to the courſe of that vice which is the conſequence " of an idle life, but it would greatly tend to enrich the commonwealth; " for if the induſtry of not half the people maintains, in ſome degree, " the other part; and beſides, in time of peace, did add every year " nearly 2,500,000 to the general ſtock of England; to what pitch of " wealth and greatneſs might we not be brought, if one limb were not " ſuffered to draw away the nouriſhment of the other, and if all the " members of the body politic were rendered uſeful to it?

" Nature, in her contrivances, has made every part of a living creature " either for ornament or uſe; the ſame ſhould be in a politic inſti- " tution rightly governed.

" It may be laid down for an undeniable truth, that where all work, " no body will want; and to promote this would be a greater charity " and more meritorious, than to build hoſpitals, which very often are " but ſo many monuments of ill-gotten riches attended with late re- " pentance.

" To make as many as poſſible of theſe 1,330,000 perſons, (whereof " not above 330,000 are children too young to work,) who now live " chiefly upon others, get themſelves a large ſhare of their maintenance, " would be the opening a new vein of treaſure for ſome millions ſterling

" *per annum*, it would be a preſent eaſe to every man of ſubſtance, and " a laſting benefit to the whole body of the kingdom."

He very juſtly remarks, that nothing goes on well in this country, in which particular men do not one way or other find their account; and rather than a public good ſhould not go on at all, it is better to give private men ſome intereſt to ſet it forward. " For which reaſon," (he ſays,) " it may be worth the conſideration of ſuch as ſtudy the proſperity and " welfare of England, whether this great engine of maintaining the Poor " and finding them work and employment may not be put in motion by " giving ſome body of undertakers a reaſonable gain to put the machine " upon its wheels."

With this view he lays before the public the following ſcheme for ſetting the Poor to work, which, he informs us, was compoſed by a Gentleman of great abilities, and laid before the Houſe of Commons the preceding Seſſions of Parliament, in 1698.

" 1ſt. That ſuch perſons as ſhall ſubſcribe and pay the ſum of " £300,000. as a ſtock for and towards the better maintaining the im- " potent Poor, and for buying commodities and materials to employ " and ſet at work the other Poor, be incorporated and made one body " politic, &c. by the name of the Governor and Company for main- " taining and employing the Poor of this kingdom.

" By all former propoſitions it was intended that the pariſhes ſhould " advance ſeveral years' Rates to raiſe a ſtock; but by this propoſal the " experiment is to be made by private perſons at their riſque; and " £300,000. may be judged a very good ſtock, which, added to the " Poor Rates for a certain number of years, will be a very good fund " for buying commodities and materials for a million of money at any " time. This ſubſcription ought to be free for every body; and if the " ſum were ſubſcribed in the ſeveral counties of England and Wales, in " proportion to their Poor Rates, or the monthly aſſeſſment, it would " be moſt convenient; and proviſion may be made that no perſon ſhall " transfer his intereſt but to one of the ſame county, which will keep " the intereſt there during the term; and as to it's being one corpo- " ration, it is preſumed this will be moſt beneficial to the public. For, " 1ſt, all diſputes on removes, which are very chargeable and burthen- " ſome, will be at an end, this propoſal intending, that wherever the

" Poor

" Poor are, they ſhall be maintained and employed. 2dly, It will " prevent one county which ſhall be diligent, impoſing on their neigh- " bours who may be negligent, or getting away their manufactures from " them. 3dly, In caſe of fire, plague, or loſs of manufactures, the ſtock " of one county may not be ſufficient to ſupport the places where ſuch " calamities may happen; and it is neceſſary the whole body ſhould " ſupport every member: ſo that hereby there will be a general care to " adminiſter to every place according to their neceſſities.

" 2. That the ſaid corporation be eſtabliſhed for the term of 21 years.

" The corporation ought to be eſtabliſhed for 21 years, or otherwiſe it " cannot have the benefit the law gives in caſe of infants, which is their " ſervice for their education; beſides, it will be ſome years before a " matter of this nature can be brought into practice.

" 3. That the ſaid ſum of £300,000. be paid in and laid out for the " purpoſes aforeſaid, to remain as a ſtock for and during the ſaid term " of 21 years.

" The ſubſcription ought to be taken at the paſſing of the Act, but " the corporation to be left at liberty to begin either the Michaelmaſs " or the Lady-day after, as they ſhall think fit. And per " cent. to be paid at the ſubſcribing to perſons appointed for that pur- " poſe, and the remainder before they begin to act; but ſo as £300,000. " ſhall be always in ſtock during the term, notwithſtanding any divi- " dends or other diſpoſition; and an account thereof to be exhibited " twice in every year upon oath before the Lord Chancellor for the " time being.

" 4thly, That the ſaid corporation do by themſelves or agents in every " pariſh of England, from and after the day of during " the ſaid term of 21 years, provide for the real impotent poor, good and " ſufficient maintenance and reception, as good or better than hath at " any time within the ſpace of years before the ſaid day " of been provided or allowed to ſuch impotent Poor, and " what other growing impotent Poor ſhall happen in the ſaid pariſh " during the ſaid term.

" By impotent Poor is to be underſtood all infants, &c. old and de- " crepid perſons not able to work; alſo perſons who, by ſickneſs or any " accident, are for the time unable to labour for themſelves or families;

" and all perſons, (not being fit for labour,) who were uſually relieved " by the money raiſed for the uſe of the Poor; they ſhall have mainte- " nance, &c. as good, or better, as within years they uſed to " have.

" This does not directly determine what that ſhall be, nor is it poſſible, " by reaſon a ſhilling in one county is as much as two in another; but " it will be the intereſt of the corporation that ſuch Poor be well pro- " vided for, by reaſon the contrary will occaſion all the complaints or " clamour that poſſibly can be made againſt the corporation.

" 5thly, That the corporation do provide (as well for all ſuch Poor " which on the ſaid of ſhall be on the Poor books, as for " what other growing Poor ſhall happen in the ſaid term, who are or " ſhall be able to labour or do any work) ſufficient labour and work " proper for ſuch perſons to be employed in. And that proviſion ſhall " be made for ſuch labouring perſons according to their labour, ſo as " ſuch proviſion do not exceed ¾ parts as much as any other perſon " would have paid for ſuch labour. And in caſe they are not employed, " and ſet to work, then ſuch perſons ſhall, until materials or labour be " provided for them, be maintained as impotent Poor; but ſo as ſuch " perſons who ſhall hereafter enter themſelves on the Poor's books, being " able to labour, ſhall not quit the ſervice of the corporation, without " leave, for the ſpace of ſix months.

" The corporation are to provide materials and labour for thoſe that can " work, and to make proviſion for them, not exceeding ¾ parts as much " as any other perſon would give for ſuch labour; for example, if " another perſon would give one of theſe a ſhilling, the corporation " ought to give him 9d. And the reaſon is plain: 1ſt, Becauſe the " corporation will be obliged to maintain them and their families in all " exigencies, which others are not obliged to do, and conſequently they " ought not to allow ſo much as others. 2dly, In caſe any perſons able to " labour ſhall come to the corporation when their agents are not pre- " pared with materials to employ them, by this propoſal they are to " allow them full proviſion as impotent Poor until they find them " work, which is entirely in favour of the Poor. 3dly, It is neither " reaſonable nor poſſible for the corporation to provide materials upon " every occaſion for ſuch perſons as ſhall be entered with them, unleſs

" they

" they can be ſecure of ſuch perſons to work up thoſe materials: be-
" ſides, without this proviſion, all the labouring people in England will
" play faſt and looſe between their employers and the corporation; for
" as they are diſobliged by one, they will run to the other, and ſo neither
" ſhall be ſure of them.

" 6thly. That no impotent Poor ſhall be removed out of the pariſh
" where they dwell, but upon notice in writing given to the church-
" wardens or overſeers of the ſaid pariſh, to what place of proviſion he
" or ſhe is removed.

" It is judged the beſt method to provide for the impotent Poor in
" houſes prepared for that purpoſe, where proper proviſion may be made
" for ſeveral, with all neceſſaries of care and maintenance. So that
" in ſome places one houſe will ſerve the impotent Poor of ſeveral
" pariſhes; in which caſe the pariſh ought to know where to reſort,
" to ſee if good proviſion be made for them.

" 7thly, That in caſe proviſion be not made for the Poor of each
" pariſh in manner as aforeſaid, (upon due notice given to the agents of
" the corporation,) the ſaid pariſh may order their Poor to be main-
" tained, and deduct the ſum by them expended out of the next pay-
" ments to be made to the ſaid corporation by the ſaid pariſh.

" In caſe any accident happens in a pariſh, either by ſickneſs, fall,
" caſualty of fire, or otherwiſe, and that the agent of the corporation
" is not preſent to provide for them, or, having notice, doth not imme-
" diately do it, the pariſh may do it, and deduct ſo much out of the next
" payment; but there muſt be proviſion made for the next payment;
" and there muſt be a proviſion made for the notice, and in what time
" the corporation ſhall provide for them.

" 8thly, That the ſaid corporation ſhall have and receive, for the ſaid
" 21 years, that is to ſay, from every pariſh yearly, ſo much as ſuch
" pariſh paid in any one year, to be computed by a medium of ſeven
" years, namely from the 25th of March 1690, to the 25th of March
" 1697, and to be paid half-yearly; and beſides, ſhall receive the benefit
" of the revenues of all donations given to any pariſh, or which ſhall
" be given during the ſaid term; and all forfeitures which the law gives
" to the uſe of the Poor; and to all other ſums which are uſually col-
" lected by the pariſh for the maintenance of the Poor.

" Whatever was raiſed for, or applied to the uſe of, the Poor, ought

" to

" to be paid over to the corporation; and where there are any donations " for maintaining the Poor, it will anſwer the deſign of the donor, by " reaſon there will be better proviſion for the maintenance of the Poor " than ever; and if that maintenance be ſo good as to induce further " charities, no doubt the corporation ought to be entitled to them. But " there are two objections to this article: 1ſt, That to make a medium " by a time of war is unreaſonable. 2dly, To continue the whole tax " for 21 years does not ſeem to give any benefit to the kingdom in that " time. To the 1ſt, it is true we have a peace, but trade is lower now " than at any time during the war, and the charge of the Poor greater; " and when trade will mend is very uncertain. To the 2d, it is very plain " that although the charge may be the ſame to a pariſh in the total, yet it " will be leſs to particular perſons, becauſe thoſe who before uſed to " receive alms, will now be enabled to be contributors; but beſides, the " turning ſo many hundred thouſand pounds a year (which in a manner " have hitherto been applied only to ſupport idleneſs) into induſtry, " the employing ſo many other idle vagrants, and ſturdy beggars, with " the product of their labour, will altogether be a preſent benefit to the " lands of England, as well in the rents as in the value; and further, " the accidental charges in the ſtreets and at doors, is, by a very modeſt " computation, over and above the Poor Rates, at leaſt £300,000. *per* " *annum*, which will be entirely ſaved by this propoſal, and the perſons " ſet at work; which is a further conſideration for it's being well re- " ceived, ſince the corporation are not allowed any thing for this ſervice.

" The greater the encouragement is, the better the work will be per- " formed; and it will become the wiſdom of Parliament in what they " do to make it effectual; for ſhould ſuch an undertaking as this prove " ineffectual, inſtead of remedying it, it will increaſe the miſchief.

" 9thly, That all the laws made for the benefit of the Poor, and for " puniſhing of idle vagrant perſons, be repealed, and one law made " to continue ſuch parts as are found uſeful, and to add ſuch other " reſtrictions, penalties, and proviſions, as may effectually attain the end " of this great work.

" The laws hereunto relating are numerous, but the judgments and " opinions given upon them are ſo various and contradictory, and differ " ſo in ſundry places, as to be very inconſiſtent with any general ſcheme " of management.

" 10thly, That proper perſons be appointed in every county to de-
" termine all matters and differences which may ariſe between the cor-
" poration and the reſpective pariſhes.

" To prevent any ill uſages, neglect or cruelty, it will be neceſſary to
" make proviſion that the Poor may tender their complaints to officers
" of the pariſh; and that thoſe officers, having examined the ſame, and
" not finding redreſs, may apply to perſons to be appointed in each
" county and each city for that purpoſe, who may be called ſuperviſors
" of the Poor, and may have allowance made them for their trouble;
" and their buſineſs may be to examine the truth of ſuch complaints;
" and in caſe either the pariſh or corporation judge themſelves aggrieved
" by the determination of the ſaid ſuperviſors, proviſion may be made
" that an appeal lie to the Quarter Seſſions.

" 11thly, That the corporation be obliged to provide for all public
" beggars, and to put the laws in execution againſt public beggars, and
" idle vagrant perſons.

" Such of the public beggars as can work muſt be employed, the
" reſt to be maintained as impotent Poor; but the laws to be ſevere-
" ly put in execution againſt thoſe who ſhall aſk any public alms." [1]

It appears from the following tranſcript from a ſingle printed ſheet, intitled, " Propoſals humbly offered by John Apletre [2] Eſq. for the better " maintenance of the Poor of the county of Worceſter," that the idea of eſtabliſhing a houſe of induſtry in an incorporated diſtrict was thought of in that county about this period. No date is affixed to theſe propoſals; but as Mr. Appletree was Sheriff of Worceſter in 1696, his plan, I think, will with propriety follow that recommended by Davenant.

" *Propoſals humbly offered by John Apletre, Eſq. for the better Maintenance of the Poor of the County of Worceſter.*

" THAT an Act may paſs impowring the Juſtices of the Peace, " or other Commiſſioners to be named in the ſaid Act, to incorporate

[1] " Eſſay upon the Probable Means of making a People Gainers in the Balance of Trade." Whitworth's edition, ii. 207.

[2] It appears from Naſh's Worceſterſhire, (i. 21.) that John Appletree Eſq. (the ſame perſon, I apprehend, with the author of theſe propoſals,) was Sheriff of Worceſterſhire, in 1696. His ſcheme is preſerved among the miſcellaneous papers in the Britiſh Muſeum, but does not occur in the catalogue.

" ſuch

" ſuch and ſo many pariſhes together in the county, within their re-
" ſpective limits, for which they ſhall act as they ſhall judge conve-
" nient, and to give them full power to authorize the overſeers of the
" Poor of each pariſh, together with the conſent of the inhabitants, or
" major part of them, paying to the poor-levies, at their pariſh meet-
" ings or veſtry, to aſſeſs any ſum not exceeding 12d. in the pound, to
" be paid yearly for ſeven years, (if thought convenient,) over and
" above what they now annually pay to the relief of the Poor of each
" pariſh; which 12d. in the pound, or ſo much of it as the ſaid Juſtices
" or Commiſſioners, or any one or more of them, ſhall think fit, to be
" employed in the building of a work-houſe and ſtore-houſe common
" to the ſaid pariſhes ſo incorporated, and the remainder to be employ-
" ed as ſtock to buy materials of work, cloathing, and dyet, for the
" Poor in the ſaid work-houſe.

" And that the ſaid Juſtices or Commiſſioners, or any of them,
" may have full power, by their warrants, to take up all beggars, va-
" grants without paſſes, and ſuſpicious perſons, and ſend them to the
" work-houſe within the precinct ſo taken, there to be kept to work
" till delivered by warrant under the hands and ſeals of or more
" of the ſaid Juſtices or Commiſſioners: that if the ſaid perſon ſo de-
" tained ſhall remain idle and incorrigible, then to be lawful for the
" Governor of the work-houſe where the ſaid idle or incorrigible perſon
" ſhall be, to whip the ſaid perſon, or otherwiſe to correct him or her
" in the diſcretion of the ſaid Governor, provided ſuch correction be at
" the check of the ſaid Juſtices or Commiſſioners.

" And that the ſaid Juſtices, or Commiſſioners, or any of them,
" within their precincts or limits, may have power, by warrant under
" their hands and ſeals, to compel, if they ſee requiſite, ſuch and ſo
" many parents, children, and others, in the ſaid pariſhes, that ſhall
" receive weekly pay of the officers of the ſaid pariſhes, to work in
" the ſaid work-houſe belonging to the ſaid pariſh, and there to dwell
" ſo long as the ſaid Juſtices or Commiſſioners, or any of them,
" ſhall think fit. And that the ſaid Juſtices may have power by their
" warrants to compel, under the penalty of , all church-wardens,
" overſeers of the Poor, conſtables, tything-men, and head-boroughs of
" each pariſh in the ſaid county, to incloſe, where there is common or

" waſt-

" waſt-ground, provided it be done in divers places of the ſaid pariſhes,
" and not in one or two places only, but with the conſent of the Lord
" of the ſoyl, and majority of freeholders: and that it may be lawful
" for the ſaid Juſtices or Commiſſioners to ſet and let, for one-and-
" twenty years, the ſaid part of the common ſo incloſed, towards raiſ-
" ing a ſtock for the ſaid pariſhes, whereby to ſave the aforeſaid aſſeſſ-
" ments of 12d. in the pound, or ſome part of it; and the ſaid Juſtices
" or Commiſſioners to have the government, or to appoint governors of
" the ſaid ſtock, and of the aforeſaid 12d. in the pound; and to direct
" the building of the ſaid work-houſe; as alſo to appoint what apparel,
" wages, and dyet, ſhall be uſed and allowed in the ſaid work-houſe
" or houſes; and to inflict any puniſhment, not exceeding whipping
" or impriſonment for one year, in the ſaid work-houſe or houſes. And
" that the ſaid Juſtices ſhall have power to direct a jury of twelve, of
" the moſt ſubſtantial inhabitants of each pariſh within the limits, to
" ſtint or limit the commoning of each perſon having a right of com-
" mon within the ſaid pariſh, where waſt is ſo incloſed and let, according
" to the pound-rate, as they ſtand charged in the Poor's books or
" levies: And further, that in caſe there ſhall not be waſt lands ſuffi-
" cient in any of the ſaid pariſhes, that then it may be lawful for any
" perſon having land in any common plow'd field, to incloſe a part or
" all of his ſaid land, if any be in the ſaid pariſhes, having warrant ſo
" to do from any or more of the ſaid Juſtices or Commiſſioners,
" paying as a ſtock to the Poor of the ſaid pariſh, a ſixth part of the yearly
" value of the ſaid lands by the acre, as they are now worth, to be let
" at the rate of twenty years' purchaſe, to be adjudged by the ſaid
" Juſtices and a Jury of the pariſhes where ſuch incloſure is made.

" So that if the ſaid land be worth 2s. per acre, then the value for in-
" cloſing ſuch acre to be 6s. and 8d., and ſo proportionably for more
" or leſs, to be paid within ſix months after ſuch incloſure; and for non-
" payment, then a diſtreſs to be taken by warrant from the ſaid Juſ-
" tices or Commiſſioners: but yet if any perſon ſhall ſo incloſe, he
" muſt diſcommon proportionably for ſuch incloſure, the whole field
" lands to be ſtinted as above-ſaid; and alſo muſt pay to the parſon,
" rector, vicar, or impropriator yearly ever after, as a modus, ſo much
" per ann. as he now annually by computaion or otherwiſe pays; and

" that the ſaid Juſtices or Commiſſioners have power to ſet out appren-
" tices with the ſaid ſtock or ſtocks, as many children of both ſexes as
" they think convenient; and that the ſaid Juſtice ſhall have full power to
" tranſact all matters relating to the ſaid poor people and work-houſe,
" as to the governour, governeſs, and dyet, work and apparel of the peo-
" ple therein, by appointing ſalaries, puniſhments, and rewards, of each
" reſpective perſon in the ſaid work-houſes, that in their judgments
" ſhall deſerve, not exceeding in puniſhment as before, nor in reward
" above a-third part of each perſon's gain reſpectively; the reſidue to be
" employed to the maintenance of all lame, decrepit, old, impotent,
" and lunatick perſons in the ſaid limits.

" That the ſaid Juſtices, or any other perſons concerned in the ſtock
" of the ſaid houſes, ſhall be liable to an account at every Quarter Seſ-
" ſions, if the overſeers require it, and thereof give notice to the ſaid
" Juſtices, or other perſons any way by them employed; and if the
" majority of the Juſtices of the ſaid Quarter Seſſions ſhall be convinced
" that any Juſtice or Juſtices, perſon or perſons whatſoever, have im-
" bezelled the ſtock, or any part of the ſtock of any work-houſe, or
" belonging to the Poor of any work-houſe in the ſaid county, that
" they ſhall ſign a warrant of diſtreſs to levy double the value of ſuch
" ſtock ſo embezelled upon the ſaid Juſtice or Juſtices, for the uſe of
" the ſaid Poor; and as for all other perſon or perſons concerned un-
" der the Juſtice or Juſtices, Commiſſioner or Commiſſioners, they
" ſhall be found guilty of for embezelling as aforeſaid.

" That it may be lawful to employ the poor people ſo put into the
" ſaid work-houſe, in any manufacture of linen, woollen, hempen, ſilk,
" iron, leather or clay, and to entertain any perſon to inſtruct the ſaid
" Poor in the ſaid manufactures; and the ſaid work-houſes belonging
" to the ſaid Poor, not to be liable to pay any exciſe for any meat,
" drink, or materials, they ſhall eat, drink, or work up, upon certifi-
" cate of or more of the ſaid Juſtices or Commiſſioners, that the
" meat, drink, or materials for work are only for the uſe of the Poor
" of ſuch work-houſe.

" Laſtly, That where any pariſh is oppreſſed with Poor to ſuch a de-
" gree as not to be very well able to pay the ſaid 12d. in the pound
" yearly more than their ordinary annual levies, then it may be lawful

" for

" for the officers of the ſaid pariſh, with the conſent of the ſaid Juſtices " or Commiſſioners, or any or more of them, in their limits, to ſet " and let any lands formerly given, or which hereafter ſhall be given, " to the uſe of the Poor of the ſaid pariſh, for the term of twenty-and- " one years, or three lives, reſerving what rent they ſhall think fit; " the fine and rent to be employed as aforeſaid. And that there may " be a comptroller-general to viſit the ſaid work-houſe, and to inſpect " the accounts of the governours of the ſaid houſes, who ſhall have " power to examine his behaviour and accounts, and to make report of " the condition of each work-houſe every Quarter Seſſions; ſuch in- " ſpections or viſiting to be at leaſt once in a quarter; and to have for " his pains a ſalary of per ann. out of every hundred pounds of " ſtock, which each particular work-houſe ſhall appear to have, annu- " ally at every Eaſter Seſſions; the account to be ſtated by or more " of the ſaid Juſtices, who are to give their warrants to the governours of " each work-houſe to pay the ſame to the ſaid comptroller, who is to " be choſen by the majority of the ſaid Juſtices, not to be diſplaced but " for his neglect, miſmanagement, or evil practice."

Every thing that has fallen from the pen of Locke, relative to the Poor Syſtem, muſt be highly deſerving the attention of the political enquirer. His warm zeal for the promotion of the beſt intereſts of mankind; his knowledge of the principles, and his experience in the practice, of government, were ſuch, that, in the inveſtigation of this important ſubject, (we may be aſſured,) he would uſe his utmoſt exertions to diſcover the cauſes of the greateſt of national maladies, the increaſing diſtreſſes of the labouring claſſes of the community; and would point out thoſe remedies, which, to his penetrating judgment, appeared the beſt calculated to afford relief. I ſhall, therefore, without apology, preſent the reader with the obſervations and advice of this great philoſopher. They are the more worthy of conſideration, as many of his ſuggeſtions appear to have formed the baſis of part of the plan, which is now under diſcuſſion, for enforcing and amending the Poor Laws: if they are not a model of perfection, they will, at leaſt, afford this conſolation to the many patriotic, though unſucceſsful, philanthropiſts, who, ſince his time, have attempted the arduous taſk of repairing this portion of the

legiſlative fabric, that even ſo great a man as Mr. Locke attempted it to but little purpoſe. No argument, however, of the impracticability of his propoſals, can be adduced from the circumſtance of their not having been attended to by the Legiſlature, to which they were recommended. The circumſtances of the period, in which he brought forward his ſcheme, ſhould be particularly attended to. It has been well obſerved, that "the war, which engroſſed the attention of the "nation, during the eight firſt years after the Revolution; the formi- "dable preparations made by France to invade this kingdom; the ac- "tual invaſion of Ireland, and the encouragement given to thoſe at- "tempts, by the dark and dangerous intrigues of a powerful body of do- "meſtic mal-contents, were circumſtances very unfavourable to the re- "formation of evils, which had been accumulated by the neglects and "misfortunes of half a century[1]."

It was in the capacity of one of the original Commiſſioners of the Board of Trade, (to which the conſideration of a proper method for employing the Poor had been referred in the year 1696,) that Mr. Locke drew up this report, which, in the following year, was preſented by them to the Lords Juſtices of the kingdom. In it he makes the following important remarks on the ſtate of the Poor, and the cauſes which have principally led to poverty. He ſays, "The multiplying of "the Poor, and the increaſe of the tax for their maintenance, is ſo gene- "ral an obſervation and complaint that it cannot be doubted of: nor "has it been only ſince the laſt war, that the evil has come upon us; "it has been a growing burthen on the kingdom, theſe many years; "and the two laſt reigns felt the increaſe of it, as well as the preſent. "In inveſtigating the cauſes of the evil, Mr. Locke obſerves, that the "evil has proceeded neither from ſcarcity of proviſions, nor from want "of employment for the Poor, ſince God has bleſſed theſe times with "plenty, not leſs than the former. The growth of the Poor muſt there-

[1] "An Account of the origin, proceedings, and intentions of the Society for the Promotion of Induſtry in the Southern diſtrict of the parts of Lindſey, in the county of Lincoln, 3d edition, 128. This edition contains the Report of the Board of Trade to the Lords Juſtices, reſpecting the relief and employment of the Poor; drawn up in the year 1697, by Mr. John Locke, one of the original Commiſſioners of that Board; with Notes by the Editor."—(the Rev. R. G. Bouyer, of Willoughby, Lincolnſhire.)

" fore have ſome other cauſe; and it can be nothing elſe but the relaxa-
" tion of diſcipline, and the corruption of manners." He thinks, that, upon a very moderate computation, it may be concluded, that above one half of thoſe, who receive relief from the pariſhes, are able to get their livelihood; and divides all thoſe, who are allowed a parochial maintenance, into three claſſes: firſt, thoſe who can do nothing towards their own ſupport; ſecondly, thoſe who can do ſomething, although they cannot entirely ſupport themſelves by their labour; thirdly, ſuch as can maintain themſelves by their own labour. Theſe again he ſubdivides into two ſorts; namely, thoſe who have numerous families of children, whom they cannot, or pretend they cannot, ſupport by their labour; or thoſe who pretend they cannot get work, and live only by begging.

With reſpect to vagabonds, he recommends enforcing the laws in being, and enacting ſeveral new regulations for the ſuppreſſion of vagrancy: and, in order to take away all pretence of being idle for want of work, it is propoſed, that if any one complains of wanting work, and is willing to work at a lower rate than is uſually given in his pariſh, which rate is to be regulated by the guardian, and no one in the pariſh ſhould accept ſuch perſon at the rate propoſed, then a liſt of the inhabitants ſhall be made out, and each perſon in his turn be obliged to employ the poor man, or to pay him the wages appointed by the guardian.

As, however, " the greateſt part of the Poor maintained by pariſh
" Rates are neither wholly unable, nor unwilling, to work for their
" livelihood, but, either through want of work being provided for them,
" or their unſkilfulneſs in working, do little that turns to any public
" account"; it is propoſed, " that working ſchools ſhall be ſet up in each
" pariſh," and " that the materials, to be employed in the ſchools and
" among other poor people of the pariſh, ſhall be provided by a common
" ſtock in each hundred, to be raiſed out of a certain portion of the Poor's
" Rate:" that a ſtore-keeper ſhall be appointed by the guardians, to purchaſe and deliver out the wool and other materials, with a ſalary to be paid from the Rate of each pariſh; and, over and above his ſalary, 2s. in the pound, to be paid yearly, for every 20s. that ſhall be leſſened in the Poor's Rate of each pariſh, from the firſt year of his management. Materials from the ſtock are to be diſtributed at the

ſchools,

ſchools, or to poor people, who demand relief, to be wrought by them at home, who are to receive for their work, what the owner and ſtore-keeper ſhall agree upon: and if they diſagree, the price of the work is to be determined on by three or more guardians of the hundred. By theſe means it is conceived that the labour of grown people, who, being decayed from their full ſtrength, could yet do ſomething, and of the wives of labourers, who, being principally occupied in looking after their children, cannot go abroad to ſeek for work, and in the broken intervals of their time do nothing at home, may be made productive to the public; and what their earnings fall ſhort of a full maintenance, may be ſupplied out of a pariſh allowance.

Mr. Locke is of opinion, that a man and his wife, in health, might be able, by their ordinary labour, to maintain themſelves and two children: "more than two children under three years of age," he ſays, "will "ſeldom be found in one family;" and, therefore, if all the children above three years old be taken care of by the pariſh, the parents, while they remain in health, cannot be burthened by any number of children. Under this idea, the Report propoſes, that children between three and fourteen years of age, of all ſuch as demand relief from the pariſh, ſhall be obliged to attend the working-ſchools. It is likewiſe propoſed to diſtribute bread, and, in cold weather, the addition of water-gruel, which may be prepared by the fire in the ſchool-room, rather to the children whilſt at ſchool, than to allow a proportionable allowance to their parents for that purpoſe.

In the Report he obſerves, that an allowance given once a week, or once a month, to the father, in money, is not ſeldom ſpent at the ale-houſe, whilſt his children are left to periſh at home, unleſs the the charity of neighbours relieve them. It was expected that, computing all the earnings of children from three to fourteen years of age, the nouriſhing and teaching them, would, upon the whole, be fully repaid to the pariſh; whereas every child, which from it's birth was maintained by the public, in the ordinary way, before the age of fourteen, coſt it's pariſh 50 or 60 £. It was likewiſe propoſed, that the handicraftſmen in each hundred ſhould be bound to take every other of their apprentices from among the boys in ſome one of the

ſchools, at the age they pleaſed, to be bound to them till the age of twenty-three years, that ſo the length of time might more than make amends for the terms uſually given with apprentices; and that freeholders of £25. a year, or perſons renting £50. a year, might chooſe out of the ſchool, what boy each of them pleaſed, to be his apprentice in huſbandry, upon the ſame conditions. And that whatever boys were not by theſe means bound out apprentices before they reached the age of fourteen, ſhould, at the Eaſter meeting of the guardians, be bound to ſuch gentlemen yeomen and farmers within the hundred, as held the greateſt number of acres of land in their hands, who ſhould be obliged to take them for their apprentices till the age of twenty-three, or bind them out, at their own coſt, to ſome handicraftſman.

Poor people, not able to work, in corporate towns, where there are no hoſpitals to receive them, he thinks, ſhould be lodged three or four, or more, in one room, and more in one houſe, where one fire may ſerve, and one attendant may provide for many of them, with leſs charge than when they live ſcatteringly.

Theſe are the principal heads of the regulations propoſed by Mr. Locke. It is probable that a law framed in conformity with his ſuggeſtions would have now exiſted for near a century, had not the altercations between King William and his Parliament, which were carried on with great acrimony towards the latter part of his reign, prevented them from paying a due attention to this important branch of police. The King, in his ſpeech from the throne, the year after the delivery of the Report of the Board of Trade, recommended the adoption of ſome effectual expedient to employ the Poor[1]; and, in each of the following

[1] On this occaſion, he uſed the following words: "I think it would be happy, if ſome "effectual expedient could be found for employing the Poor, which might tend to the in-"creaſe of our manufactures, as well as remove a heavy burthen from the people." Chandler's Debates, iii. 92.

In the ſucceeding Seſſions, (1699,) he mentioned the ſubject more fully: "The increaſe "of the Poor is become a burthen to the kingdom, and their looſe and idle life, does, in "ſome meaſure, contribute to that depravation of manners, which is complained of, I fear, "with too much reaſon. Whether the ground of this evil be from defects in the laws "already made, or in the execution of them, deſerves your conſideration. As it is an "indiſpenſable duty, that the Poor, who are not able to help themſelves, ſhould be main-"tained,

following Seſſions, he again mentioned the meaſure as one he had much at heart. Such, however, were the jealouſies which then prevailed, that the Commons paid little attention to his Majeſty's ſpeech; and, inſtead of an addreſs of thanks, their anſwer was filled with captious remonſtrances.

In 1705, a Bill, framed by Mr. Locke in conformity with the above Report, was introduced into the Houſe of Commons, but did not paſs into a Law[1].

In 1698, a pamphlet was publiſhed at Exeter, intitled, "Bread for the Poor," by R. D.[2] who, from his alluſions to a former publication, appears to have been Richard Dunning, a writer whom I have already

"tained, ſo I cannot but think it extremely deſirable, that ſuch as are able and willing "ſhould not want employment; and ſuch as are obſtinate and unwilling, ſhould be compelled "to labour." King's Speech, Chandler's Debates, iii. 107.

No notice was taken of this part of his Majeſty's ſpeech. The next year, however, he repeated his advice: "The regulation and improvement of our trade is ſo public a concern, "that I hope it will ever have your ſerious thoughts; and if you can find proper means of "ſetting the Poor at work, you will eaſe yourſelves of a very great burthen; and at the "ſame time add ſo many uſeful hands to be employed in our manufactures, and other "public occaſions." Chandler's Debates, iii. 128.

[1] The following is an Abſtract of Mr. Locke's Bill of the 3d and 4th of Anne:

"Two or more Juſtices may appoint overſeers in extra-parochial places.—40 days reſidence in extra-parochial places, after delivery of notice in writing to overſeers, to be ſufficient to gain a ſettlement.—Overſeers may put out Poor to work with ſuch perſons as will hire them: Poor perſons refuſing to work to be whipped, and kept to hard labour in the houſe of correction for a period not exceeding 20 days.—Overſeers neglecting to raiſe a ſtock to ſet the Poor to work, to forfeit £5.—Overſeers may employ the Poor with the ſtock; and hire other tradeſmen of the pariſh, if neceſſary, on paying them the uſual wages.—Poor perſons refuſing to work upon the ſtock to be whipped, &c. (as before.)—Pariſhes may join ſtocks; and are to contribute in ſuch proportions as ſhall be directed by the Juſtices at Quarter Seſſions.—The work is to be carried on, under the rules and orders of the overſeers and Juſtices.—Workers embezzling materials, and receivers and buyers of embezzled materials, to be whipped and kept to hard labour 20 days.—Juſtices may appoint an aſſiſtant or aſſiſtants, experienced in trade,) to inſtruct the Poor; diſpoſe of manufactured goods; keep accounts of money received by overſeers, &c. Such perſons to be removable by the Juſtices.—Overſeers, with conſent of the inhabitants, may hire houſes for work-ſhops and work-houſes.—Juſtices may make orders reſpecting the manufacturing, ſelling of goods, &c. —Entries reſpecting indentures, certificates, &c. to be preſerved, and delivered by overſeers to their ſucceſſors, under a penalty of £5.—No money to be allowed to overſeers for drinking, &c.—Perſons aggrieved may appeal to the Quarter Seſſions.—Order of Juſtices final."

[2] This pamphlet is one in the quarto collection, publiſhed in 1787.

noticed

noticed under the year 1686. In his introduction to this work, he ſays, that whoever would take the trouble of inſpecting the Poor accounts of a few pariſhes in Devonſhire, would find that the charge of maintaining them had, in ſome places, advanced from 40s. to £40. a year, and was likely to double in a ſhort time. According to a moderate computation, drawn from pariſhes where the aſſeſſments were moderate, he eſtimated the Poor's Rates of the whole county at £38,991. 13s. 5d.: a ſum which he ſays is £30,000, a year more than the Poor coſt 50 or 60 years before; and adds, that, notwithſtanding ſuch advance in maintaining them, yet the wages they received were greater than formerly, work more plentiful, and proviſions cheaper. Of this extraordinary increaſe he juſtly remarks, that, "whether the public is in danger is worth the "conſidering: if within one age the charge to the Poor in Rates be ad- "vanced four-fold, and ſo in this one county comes to £39,000. per an- "num, then the kingdom, according to the proportions obſerved in ſome "former aſſeſſments, that charge is far more than one-and-twenty times "ſo much; conſequently above £819,000. per annum. Add to this "what they receive by begging, and what they might get in the time "they now ſpend idly, or worſe; which few but will agree is more "than the Poor Rates; ſo the ſame being but another ſuch ſum, and "added to the former, makes up £1,638,000. per annum."

The author ſays, that "where there is an effect, there is a cauſe; and "as the effect is certain and viſible in the exceſſive charge of maintain- "ing the Poor, ſo, that there is a cauſe producing ſuch effect, is as certain." He then enumerates the cauſes to which he aſcribes the increaſe of the Poor's Rate. They are, firſt, profuſeneſs of diet: of this he obſerves, that "not only more ale and brandy are ſold than formerly in ſingle ale- "houſes and brandy-ſhops, but the number of ſuch houſes and ſhops is "alſo increaſed: that the money ſpent in ale and brandy, in ſmall "country ſhops and ale-houſes, amounts to a vaſt and almoſt incredible "ſum, did not their payments for exciſe manifeſt it: that a very ſmall "and inconſiderable part thereof is ſpent by gentlemen or travellers, "or houſekeepers that pay Rates to the King and Poor: that ſuch as "are maintained by pariſh-pay ſeldom drink any other than the ſtrong- "eſt ale-houſe beer, which, at the rate they buy it, coſts 50s. or £3. a

" hogſhead: that they ſeldom eat any bread ſave what is made of the " fineſt wheat flour ſold by common bakers."

This Mr. Dunning propoſes to remedy by providing the Poor with houſe-rent, meat, drink, cloaths, and all other neceſſaries, inſtead of giving them an allowance in money: he alſo recommends badging them; and that their daily portions of food be limited as to quantity, quality, weight, and meaſure, according to their ages, ſexes, and other circumſtances.

The ſecond cauſe, he ſays, is idleneſs. " Perſons once receiving " pariſh-pay preſently become idle, alledging that the pariſh is bound " to maintain them; and that in caſe they ſhould work, it would only " favour a pariſh, from whom, they ſay, they ſhall have no thanks."

The remedy he propoſes, is to provide all that can contribute to their own maintenance with ſuitable employment; which he thinks may be done by a work-houſe, or an equivalent with a work-houſe, in every pariſh; or with a ſtock, or an equivalent with a ſtock [1]. He here alludes to his publication in 1686, by which, he ſays, he had briefly demonſtrated a means of " employing the Poor with an inconſiderable " charge, and without the common charge of raiſing, hazard of en- " truſting, and care of managing a ſtock."

Giving

[1] What this equivalent is appears from the following account, which he gives of the benefits derived from the eſtabliſhment of a work-houſe in Exeter, (for which an Act of Parliament was paſſed in 1698.)

" The work-houſe in the city of Exeter is ſaid by ſome conſtantly to employ 100 perſons; " by others it is ſaid that not ſix are employed therein conſtantly: now both theſe ſeeming " contradictions are true.

" It muſt, by the way, be conſidered, which is too well known, that in every town, how " well-traded ſoever, many tradeſmen are out of work, and deſtitute of employment; not " for that the trade or place doth not afford employment ſufficient, but that ſuch deſtitute " perſons have brought themſelves out of credit and work, either by their ſottiſh, careleſs, " ſurly, or other ill demeanour. And ſuch being numerous, and ſome of them having fa- " milies to provide for, would, as ſuch are apt to do, complain to the magiſtrate for work, " or rather from the overſeers; then to maintain them idle was a great charge, to promiſe " them work a great difficulty: thoſe that knew them not would not employ them, becauſe " ſtrangers; thoſe that knew them, knew them too well to truſt their trade and ſtock in " their hands; yet maintained they muſt, yea, will be. This inevitably drew on a great " charge, and yet their mutinies a greater danger. But ſince the ſetting up this work-houſe,

" whereof

Giving exceſſive pariſh-pay to the Poor is, he thinks, another cauſe, which has greatly increaſed extravagance and idleneſs in them, and diſcouraged induſtry in others; the allowance commonly given to perſons maintained by a pariſh being three times as much as an honeſt labourer, who with his wife maintains three children, can afford himſelf. The following is his computation of the earnings and outgoings of a day-labourer in huſbandry in the county of Devon: I inſert it verbatim, as, in my opinion, it furniſhes, when compared with the preſent ſtate of a labourer in that county, many very important reſults, highly deſerving attention from the political enquirer.

"As it is not ſtrange to ſee labourers to have 4 or 5 children a-piece, "which they maintain by their labour, ſo it is common to ſee many "maintain three children a-piece in a decent manner: now, admitting "the wife maintains herſelf and one child, which is the moſt a woman "can, and what few will do; what is needful to maintain himſelf and

"whereof the governour is ready provided to employ all that come, the magiſtrates are not "now at a loſs to know how to anſwer ſuch complaints, but aſſign them to the maſter of the "work-houſe for employments. And now thoſe careleſs ſurly ſorts find themſelves at a "loſs: they muſt either humour and comply with the tradeſmen that have ſtocks, and ſerve "them; or work in the common work-houſe, and ſubmit to that government; which, though "no priſon, is in common acceptation near a-kin to a Bridewell. Being reduced to this di-"lemma, they will chooſe the firſt, and rather comply with a maſter of their own chooſing "than of the mayor's: by this means it comes to paſs, that the work-houſe, which doth not "actually employ ſix perſons in it, doth yet virtually and effectually employ 100. Such a "work-houſe ſeems not attainable in country pariſhes; but that which is equally advantage-"ous, and may be called an equivalent, may be had in all places; with this difference, that "the city work-houſe requires a ſtock and ſalary: in the ſtock, there is a charge raiſing, and "hazard in intruſting; but in this equivalent there is no ſuch charge or hazard; for men in "huſbandry in the country, by giving them liſts to work round the pariſh, and others of "trades, to agree with a tradeſman for employing them in weaving, combing, ſpinning, and "to aſſign them to work accordingly; and withall, to order them to give a weekly, or other "conſtant account at the pay-board, that they do work accordingly, or are otherwiſe daily "employed in ſome honeſt labour, is very advantageous; for thoſe that are ſo employed, "and the wages not being great, can be no damage to the employer of them. And the ge-"neral averſeneſs and abhorrence of the Poor to go about with liſts and deſire work, and "work according to ſuch appointments, and to give a conſtant account thereof, is altogether "as effectual as a city work-houſe to make ſuch perſons to get work for themſelves; and "their wages not being too large, the employers of them will be ſure to be at no loſs, and the "willinger to employ them."

" two children the husband must bear; he must pay house-rent, which,
" in 20s. yearly, is weekly upwards of - - 0s. 4d.
" He must buy wood, which cannot be less than - - 0 3
" His own cloaths, in 20s. yearly, cost above - 0 4
" His Sunday's diet 2d. and working tools weekly 1d. - 0 3
" There remains of his week's wages, to maintain two chil-
" dren, meat and drink, cloaths, attendance, washing,
" &c. scarce above 1d. a day for each child, - 1 2
" So weekly both cost - - - - 2 5

" His wages or income.

" Herein loss of work through bad weather, holydays, &c. are not " computed: the charge of maintaining a young child and an infirm " person unable to bear labour being near the same.

" His full wages, in some part of the county, are, weekly, 2s. 6d.—in " others 2s. 8d.—in some places less; and where more is paid, house- " rent and wood are dearer."

From this statement it appears, that, in the distant county of Devon, in the latter end of the last century, a labourer's income was about £6. 10s. a year: such, however, is the vivifying effect of industry and commerce, that, now, few labourers, in the same county, receive less than three times that sum. It is not probable that Mr. Dunning has estimated the earnings of his labourer much below the actual truth: any gross mis-statement would have been so easily detected in the county in which he published his book, that we cannot suppose that he intentionally undervalued them. The earnings, however, of a Devonshire labourer, when compared with the contemporary earnings of persons in the same class, as stated by other writers, appear to be extremely low. Sir Matthew Hale, I have before shewn[1], computes the necessary expence of a labourer's family, (which he supposes to consist of a man, his wife, two children able to do something, and two not able,) at ten shillings a week, or twenty-six pounds a year; and reckons, that if they cannot earn this sum by their labour, they must make it up either by begging or stealing. It must, however, be remarked, that he resided in the clothing county of Gloucester, and probably formed his average of the an-

[1] See p. 216.

nual

nual earnings of labourers from the ordinary receipts of the manufacturers of ſuperfine cloth. In 1688, Gregory King eſtimated the ordinary income of labourers and ſervants at fifteen pounds a year to a family, which he ſuppoſed to conſiſt, one with another, of three and a half perſons[1]. Both theſe inſtances are much higher than Mr. Dunning's eſtimate of the earnings of a day-labourer; though not more ſo than the income of a Middleſex labourer exceeds the ordinary wages in the diſtant counties of England, or in Scotland.

The fourth cauſe of the increaſed expence of maintaining the Poor, he ſuppoſes to be their living in ſeparate houſes. "Several of them," he ſays, "have ordinarily one houſe a piece entirely to themſelves, which "would conveniently ſerve three or four of them; and the ſame fire, "candle light, and attendance, that now ſerves but one, might ſerve "three or four; and, in many particulars, they might aſſiſt, help, and "comfort one another; only their unwillingneſs to have their idleneſs, "filching, profuſeneſs in diet, diſcovered, makes them extreme averſe "againſt ſuch cohabiting."

In an "Eſſay towards regulating the Trade, and employing the Poor of this kingdom[2]," (publiſhed about the year 1700,) Mr. Cary ſeems to agree with Mr. Dunning in aſcribing the increaſe of the Poor's Rates to idleneſs: this, he ſays, "hath proceeded, partly from "the abuſe of thoſe laws we have, and partly from want of better: "licenſes for ale-houſes were at firſt granted for good ends; not to "draw men aſide from their labour by games and ſports, but to ſupport "and refreſh them under it; and as they were then a maintenance to "the aged; ſo poor families had opportunities of being ſupplied with "a cup of ale from abroad, who could not keep it at home. Great "obſervation was alſo made to prevent idle tippling: our fore-fathers "conſidered that time ſo ſpent was a loſs to the nation, whoſe intereſt

[1] Of the calculations of Sir Matthew Hale and Gregory King, Adam Smith remarks, that, though different in appearance, they are, at bottom, nearly the ſame. Both ſuppoſe the weekly expence of a labourer's family to be about twenty-pence a head. Wealth of Nations, 5th ed. i. 117. It ſhould, however, I think, be conſidered, that Gregory King's eſtimate of the average of the number of perſons in a family is too low, (ſee p. 228.) His average, therefore, of earnings is too high.

[2] For the titles of other publications by Mr. Cary, on the ſame ſubject, ſee the Appendix to this volume, No. xviii.

" was improved by the labour of it's inhabitants; whereas ale-houſes " are now encouraged to promote the income of exciſe, on whom there " muſt be no reſtraint, leaſt the king's revenue ſhould be leſſened. But, " above all, our laws to ſet the Poor at work are ſhort and defective, " tending rather to maintain them ſo, than to raiſe them to a better way " of living; and render the Poor more bold, when they know the pariſh- " officers are bound either to provide them work, or to give them " maintenance [1]."

As the beſt means of reſtraining idleneſs, he propoſes the eſtabliſhment of work-houſes, in which the Poor of both ſexes and all ages may be employed, in beating hemp, dreſſing and ſpinning flax, or in carding and ſpinning wool and cotton. He thinks alſo, that if a reward was given to the perſon who ſhould ſpin the fineſt thread of either, (as is done in Ireland for linen,) to be adjudged yearly, and paid by the county, or in any other manner that ſhould be thought convenient, it would much promote induſtry and ingenuity, and contribute to the improvement of our manufactures. " Nor ſhould theſe houſes (he thinks) " hinder any who deſire to work at home, or the manufacturers from " employing them; the deſign being to provide places for thoſe who " care not to work any where, and to make the pariſh-officers more " induſtrious to find them out, when they know whither to ſend them, " by which means they would be better able to maintain the impotent.

" It ſeems alſo convenient, that theſe work-houſes, when ſettled in " cities and great towns, ſhould be not only parochial, but one or more " in each place, as will beſt ſuit it; which would prevent the Poor's " being ſent from pariſh to pariſh, and provided for no where [2]."

He alſo propoſes that Juſtices ſhould have power to aſſign youth to artificers, huſbandmen, manufacturers, and mariners; and to bind them apprentices, for a time certain, at ſuch ages as they thought proper. As for thoſe of elder years, who will rather beg than work, he thinks they ſhould be forced " to ſerve the King in his fleet, or the merchants on " board their ſhips: the ſea (he ſays,) is very good to cure ſore legs and " arms, eſpecially ſuch as are counterfeits; againſt which the capſtern, " with the taunts of the ſailors, is a certain remedy."

On the inequality of the Poor's Rates in different pariſhes of the

[1] A Diſcourſe on Trade, &c. 2d. ed. 1719. p. 104. [2] Id. p. 107.

ſame

ſame city, he makes the following juſt obſervations. Care (he ſays,) ſhould be taken "that the Poor's Rates be made with more equa-"lity in cities and great towns; eſpecially in the former, where the "greateſt number of Poor uſually reſiding together in the ſuburbs and "out-pariſhes, are very ſerviceable by their labours to the Rich, in car-"rying on their trades; yet when age, ſickneſs, or a numerous family, "make them deſire relief, their chief dependence muſt be on people "but one ſtep above their own conditions; by which means theſe out-"pariſhes are more burthened in their payments than the in-pariſhes "are, though much richer; and is one reaſon why they are ſo ill inha-"bited, no man caring to come to a certain charge: and this is attend-"ed with another ill conſequence, the want of better inhabitants making "way for thoſe diſorders which eaſily grow among the Poor; whereas, "if cities and towns were made but one Poor's Rate, or equally divided "into more, theſe inconveniencies would be removed, and the Poor "maintained by a more equal contribution."

He paſſes high encomiums on an Act paſſed in the 7th and 8th of William the Third[1], by which the different pariſhes in the city of Briſtol were incorporated, and the management of all parochial concerns within the city veſted in a corporation.

As this Act, however, was adapted only to cities and great towns, and could not be a model for the counties at large, he propoſes, in order to carry his charitable deſigns into effect throughout the kingdom, that power may be given, by Act of Parliament, for pariſhes "to incorpo-"rate for building hoſpitals, work-houſes, and houſes of correction, for "the better maintaining and employing their Poor, under the manage-"ment of ſuch corporations; which in the counties muſt be by uniting "one or more hundreds, whoſe pariſhes muſt be comprehended in one "Poor's Rate, and each of them contribute to the charge thereof; not "by bringing them to an equal pound rate on their lands and perſonal "eſtates, as in cities and great towns, but by taxing every pariſh ac-"cording to what it paid before; there not being the ſame parity of "reaſon for that way of raiſing money in the hundreds, as there is in "cities and towns; becauſe in the former the pariſhes do not receive "an equal benefit from the labour of the Poor of other pariſhes, as

[1] 7 & 8 W. III. Private Acts, c. 32. See alſo 12 Ann. ſt. 2. c. 15. Private.—and 4 Geo. I. c. 3. Private.

"they

" they do in the latter; which hoſpitals, work-houſes, and houſes of " correction, to be provided at the general charge of the pariſhes thus " united, according to the proportion that each of them pays to the " Poor.

" The Guardians of theſe corporations conſiſt of all the Juſtices of " the Peace inhabiting within the ſeveral pariſhes thus united, together " with a number of inhabitants choſen out of each pariſh, in proportion " to the ſum of money it pays; which choice to be made every year, " or once in two years, when one half of thoſe that were firſt choſen " muſt go out, and the remainder ſtay in to inſtruct thoſe who were " laſt choſen; the electors to be the freeholders of *per annum:* " and, on the death of any guardian, another to be choſen in his room " by the pariſh for which he ſerved. That the Guardians being thus " ſettled, they ſhall have power to chuſe a Governour, Deputy Gover- " nour, Treaſurer, and Aſſiſtants, yearly; and to hold courts and make by- " laws, and appoint a common ſeal; and alſo to ſummon the inhabitants " to anſwer to matters relating to the corporation; and to compell all " people who ſeek for relief, to dwell in their hoſpitals and work- " houſes, if they ſee fit; and to take in young people of both ſexes, and " breed them up to work, who they ſhall alſo be obliged to teach to " write and read, and what elſe ſhall be thought neceſſary, and then to " bind them out apprentices; and likewiſe to provide for the aged and " impotent, and to aſſiſt thoſe whoſe labours will not maintain their " charges; and to apprehend rogues, vagrants, and beggars, and cauſe " them to be ſet at work; and alſo to inflict reaſonable correction where " they ſee it neceſſary; and to entertain proper officers, and pay them " out of the ſtock: with a clauſe to ſecure them from vexatious ſuits; " and they muſt be obliged, once in at leaſt, to hold a general " court, where the Governour, Deputy Governour, or one half of the " Aſſiſtants, together with ſuch a proportionable number of the Guar- " dians as they ſhall agree on, ſhall be preſent.

" That the court ſhall, once in ſix months, agree and ſettle how much " money will be neceſſary for maintaining and employing the Poor for " the ſix months next enſuing; and certifie the ſame to the Juſtices in- " habiting within the ſaid hundred or hundreds, at a meeting to be held " for that purpoſe; who ſhall proportion the ſame regularly on each " pariſh, and grant out their warrants to proper perſons to aſſeſs the

" ſame;

" ſame; and afterwards other warrants to collect, and pay it to the " treaſurer of the corporation: with a power to inflict penalties on the " aſſeſſors and collectors, if they refuſe or neglect their duties, in aſſeſſ- " ing, collecting, and paying the ſaid money, according to their war- " rants.

" That each corporation be one body politic in law, and be capable of " ſuing and being ſued; and be enabled to purchaſe, take and receive " lands, tenements and hereditaments, goods and chattels, for the be- " nefit of the Poor."

It was probably in conſequence of the proſperous beginnings of the Briſtol work-houſe, which ſeem to have been chiefly owing to the active exertions of Mr. Cary, and the other promoters of the eſtabliſh- ment, that city work-houſes came much into vogue during the reigns of King William and Queen Anne. Two years after the paſſing of the Briſtol Act, Exeter[1], Hereford[2], Colcheſter[3], Kingſton upon Hull[4], and Shafteſbury[5], were authoriſed to erect work-houſes for the employment and maintenance of their Poor: and theſe eſtabliſhments were ſoon after extended to Lynn[6], Sudbury[7], Glouceſter[8], Plymouth[9], Nor- wich[10], and other places.

I may here repeat the obſervation, which I made concerning a former period: few Acts were paſſed during the reign of Queen Anne relative to the Poor; and conſequently little information concerning either the excellencies or defects of parochial adminiſtration is to be found in the Statute-book. From the exiſtence, however, of abuſes in one branch of the police—the charges for vagrants, I am led to think that the other—the maintenance of the Poor, was far from being economically managed. Of the former it is remarked, in an Act paſſed in 1702, for the continuation of the 11th and 12th of King William, for the more effectual puniſhment of vagrants, and ſending them whither by law they ought to be ſent, that " great ſums have been levied and expended " for the conveying of vagrants; and that ſome Juſtices of the Peace " give greater allowance to conſtables for conveying of vagrants than

[1] 9 & 10 W. 3. c. 33. [2] 9 & 10 W. 3. c. 34. [3] 9 & 10 W. 3. c. 37. [4] 9 & 10 W. 3. c. 47. [5] 9 & 10 W. 3. c. 48. [6] 12 W. 3. c. 6. [7] 1 Ann. ſt. 1. c. 34. [8] 1 Ann. ſt. 2. c. 11. [9] 6 Ann. c. 6. [10] 10 Ann. c. 6.

" may ſeem to be neceſſary; and that the owners of horſes, waggons, " carts, or other neceſſary carriage for conveying ſuch vagrants, are often " extravagant in their rates and demands:" It was therefore enacted, " that the Juſtices of the Peace, at the firſt Quarter-Seſſions that ſhall " be held for the ſeveral counties, ridings, diviſions, and liberties, after " the commencement of this Act, wherein they are commiſſioned " to act, and ſo yearly at every Eaſter Seſſions during the conti- " nuance of this Act, are hereby empowered and required to aſ- " certain and ſet down the ſeveral Rates that ſhall for the year enſuing " be allowed for maintaining and conveying, and carrying of ſuch va- " grants as ſhall be paſſed or carried through their reſpective counties, " ridings, diviſions, and liberties; of which ſaid Rates the clerks of the " peace are hereby required to give copies to each Juſtice *gratis*, that " they may accordingly regulate the allowances which they ſhall have " occaſion to tax, upon the back of the certificates by them to be given " to the ſeveral petty conſtables. And that no chief or high conſtable " ſhall pay the Rates taxed upon the certificates brought to them by their " petty conſtables, unleſs they ſhall, at the ſame time, produce to them " a receipt from the conſtables of the adjacent counties, to whom they " are ordered to deliver the ſaid vagrants, of their having received ſuch " vagrant, or vagrants, directed to be conveyed to them by the ſaid " order; which ſaid conſtables of the ſaid adjacent counties are hereby " required to receive the ſaid vagrant or vagrants, and at the ſame time " to give ſuch receipt as hereby is required.

" And it was further enacted, That if any chief conſtable, petty " conſtable, or other ſuch officer, ſhall refuſe or neglect to do their " ſeveral duties by this Act enjoined, they ſhall for every offence forfeit " the ſum of 20s.; which ſaid ſeveral forfeitures and penalties ſhall be " recovered and recoverable as other forfeitures and penalties by this " Act are appointed to be recovered[1]."

The ingenious De Foe, in 1704, publiſhed an addreſs to Parliament, intitled, " Giving Alms no Charity[2];" in which he lays down the

[1] 1 Ann. ſt. 2. c. 13.

[2] This ingenious tract was republiſhed by De Foe, with ſeveral other pieces, in 1705; and reprinted in the Collection of Pamphlets concerning the Poor in 1787. See Chalmers's Life of De Foe, 27.

following

following heads as fundamental maxims, which he attempts to make out by ſtrong facts and powerful arguments.

"1. There is in England more labour than hands to perform it; and "conſequently, a want of people, not of employment.

"2. No man in England, of ſound limbs and ſenſes, can be poor, "merely for want of work.

"3. All our work-houſes, corporations, and charities for employing "the Poor and ſetting them to work, as now they are employed, or "any Acts of Parliament to impower overſeers of pariſhes, or pariſhes "themſelves, to employ the Poor, except as ſhall be hereafter excepted, "are, and will be public nuiſances, miſchiefs to the nation, which ſerve "to the ruin of families, and the increaſe of the Poor.

"4. That it is a regulation of the Poor, that is wanted in England; "not a ſetting them to work.

On the firſt he remarks, that "the meaneſt labours in the nation "afford the workman ſufficient to ſupport himſelf and family, which "could never be if there was a want of work;" and adduces the following forcible proof, that the poverty of the people is not owing to any difficulty in finding employment. He ſays, "I humbly deſire this "Honourable Houſe to conſider the difficulty of raiſing ſoldiers in this "kingdom; the vaſt charge that the kingdom is at to the officers to "procure men; the many little, and not over honeſt, methods made "uſe of to bring them into the ſervice, and the laws made to compel "them. Why are gaols rummaged for malefactors, and the mint and "priſons for debtors? The war is an employment of honour, and ſuffers "ſome ſcandal in having men taken from the gallows, and immediately, "from villains and houſe-breakers, made gentlemen ſoldiers. If men "wanted employment, and conſequently bread, this could never be; any "man would carry a muſket rather than ſtarve, and wear the Queen's "cloth, or any body's cloth, rather than go naked, and live in rags and "want. It is plain the nation is full of people, and it is as plain our "people have no particular averſion to the war; but they are not poor "enough to go abroad. It is poverty makes men ſoldiers, and drives "crowds into the armies; and the difficulties to get Engliſhmen to liſt "is, becauſe they live in plenty and eaſe; and he that can earn 20s. *per* "week, at an eaſy ſteady employment, muſt be drunk or mad when he

" liſts for a ſoldier to be knocked o' th' head for 3s. 6d. *per* week: but " if there was no work to be had, if the Poor wanted employment, if " they had not bread to eat, nor knew not how to earn it, thouſands of " young luſty fellows would fly to the pike and muſket, and chuſe to " die like men in the face of the enemy, rather than lie at home, ſtarve, " periſh, in poverty and diſtreſs.

" The diſtreſſes of the Poor," he thinks, " are either owing to infir- " mities merely providential, as ſickneſs and old age; or to the impro- " vidence of the labouring claſſes. Good huſbandry," he ſays, " is no " Engliſh virtue: it may have been brought over; and in ſome places " where it has been planted, it has thriven well enough: but it is a " foreign ſpecies; it neither loves, nor is beloved by an Engliſhman. " The Engliſh get eſtates; and the Dutch ſave them: and this obſer- " vation I have made between Foreigners and Engliſhmen, that where " an Engliſhman earns 20s. a week, and but juſt lives, as we call it, a " Dutchman grows rich, and leaves his children in very good condition. " Where an Engliſh labouring man, with his 9s. per week, lives wretch- " edly and poor, a Dutchman with that wages will live tolerably well, " keep the wolf from the door, and have every thing handſome about " him. In ſhort, he will be rich with the ſame gain as makes the " Engliſhman poor; he'll thrive when the other goes in rags, and he'll " live when the other ſtarves, or goes a-begging.

" We are the moſt *lazy diligent* nation in the world: there is nothing " more frequent than for an Engliſhman to work till he has got his " pocket full of money, and then go and be idle, or perhaps drunk, till " it is all gone, and perhaps himſelf in debt; and aſk him in his cups " what he intends? he'll tell you honeſtly, he'll drink as long as it " laſts, and then go to work for more. I make no difficulty to promiſe, " on a ſhort ſummons, to produce above a thouſand families in England, " within my particular knowledge, who go in rags, and their children " wanting bread, whoſe fathers can earn their 15 to 25s. a week, but " will not work; who have work enough, but are too idle to ſeek after " it, and hardly vouchſafe to earn any thing but bare ſubſiſtence, and " ſpending money for themſelves.

" I can give an incredible number of examples in my own knowledge " among our own labouring Poor. I once paid 6 or 7 men together

" on

" on a Saturday night, the leaſt 10s. and ſome 30s. for work, and have " ſeen them go with it directly to the ale-houſe, lie there till Monday, " ſpend it every penny, and run in debt to boot, and not give a farthing " of it to their families, though all of them had wives and children.

" From hence comes poverty, pariſh charges, and beggary. If ever " one of theſe wretches falls ſick, all they would aſk was a paſs to the " pariſh they lived at, and the wife and children to the door a-begging.

" If this Honourable Houſe can find out a remedy for this part of the " miſchief; if ſuch Acts of Parliament may be made as may effectually " cure the ſloth and luxury of our Poor, that ſhall make drunkards take " care of wife and children, ſpendthrifts lay up for a wet day, idle lazy " fellows diligent, and thoughtleſs ſottiſh men careful and provident:

" If this can be done, I preſume to ſay there will be no need of " tranſpoſing and confounding our manufactures, and the circulation of " our trade: they will ſoon find work enough, and there will ſoon be " leſs poverty among us. And if this cannot be done, ſetting them to " work upon woollen manufactures, and thereby encroaching upon thoſe " that now work at them, will but ruine our trade, and conſequently in- " creaſe the number of the Poor."

De Foe points his arguments very ſtrongly againſt Sir Humphrey Mackworth's bill[1], the chief object of which was the ſetting the people to work for the various manufactures, which had been before exerciſed in England. Such a ſcheme he conſiders as perfectly fallacious. " The manufactures," he ſays, " are ſuch as are managed to a full " extent, and, the preſent accidents of war and foreign interruption " of trade conſidered, rather beyond the vent of them than under it.

" Suppoſe now a work-houſe for the employment of poor children " ſets them to ſpinning of worſted. For every ſkein of worſted theſe " poor children ſpin, there muſt be a ſkein the leſs ſpun by ſome poor

[1] This bill, (Mr. Chalmers, in his life of De Foe, p. 25, informs us,) " had been paſſed by " the Commons with great applauſe, but received by the Peers with ſuitable caution. De Foe, " conſidering this *plauſible project* as an *indigeſted chaos*, repreſented it, through ſeveral Reviews, " as a plan which would ruin the induſtrious, and thereby augment the Poor. Sir Humphrey " endeavoured to ſupport his work-houſes, in every pariſh, with a parochial capital for car- " rying on parochial manufacture. This drew from De Foe his admirable treatiſe, which " he intitled, *Giving alms no Charity*."

" perſon

"perſon or family that ſpun it before; ſuppoſe the manufacture of "making bays to be erected in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, unleſs the makers of "theſe bays can find out at the ſame time a trade or conſumption for "more bays than were made before, for every piece of bays ſo made "in London, there muſt be a piece the leſs made at Colcheſter."

He appeals to the Houſe of Commons whether this can be called employing the Poor, "ſince it is only tranſpoſing manufacture from "Colcheſter to London, and taking the bread out of the mouths of the "Poor of Eſſex, to put it into the mouths of the Poor of Middleſex."

He ſays, "If theſe worthy Gentlemen, who ſhew themſelves ſo for-"ward to relieve and employ the Poor, will find out ſome new trade, "ſome new market, where the goods they make ſhall be ſold, where "none of the ſame goods were ſold before; if they will ſend them to "any place where they ſhall not interfere with the reſt of that manu-"facture, or with ſome other made in England; then indeed they will "do ſomething worthy of themſelves, and they may employ the Poor "to the ſame glorious advantage as Queen Elizabeth did, to whom this "nation, as a trading country, owes its peculiar greatneſs.

"If theſe Gentlemen could eſtabliſh a trade to Muſcovy for Engliſh "ſerges, or obtain an order from the Czar, that all his ſubjects ſhould "wear ſtockings, that wore none before, every poor child's labour in "ſpinning and knitting thoſe ſtockings, and all the wool in them, would "be clear gain to the nation, and the general ſtock would be improved "by it; becauſe all the growth of our country, and all the labour of a "perſon who was idle before, is ſo much clear gain to the general ſtock.

"If they will employ the Poor in ſome manufacture which was not "made in England before, or not bought with ſome manufacture made "here before, then they offer at ſomething extraordinary.

"But to ſet poor people at work on the ſame thing that other poor "people were employed on before, and at the ſame time not increaſe "the conſumption, is giving to one, what you take away from another; "enriching one poor man, to ſtarve another; putting a vagabond in an "honeſt man's employment, and putting his diligence on the tenters to "find out ſome other work to maintain his family."

He reprobates the idea that it is the buſineſs of the Legiſlature to find the Poor work, and to employ them, rather than to oblige

them

them to find work for themſelves. He ſays, "From this miſtaken "notion come all our work-houſes, and corporations. The erection of "parochial manufactures, in order to parcel out work to every door, will, "he thinks, be ruinous to the manufacturers themſelves; will turn "thouſands of families out of their employments; and will take the "bread out of the mouths of diligent and induſtrious families, to feed "vagrants, thieves, and beggars, who ought much rather to be com-"pelled by legal methods to ſeek that work which it is plain is to be "had." He ſays, "Begging is, in the able, a ſcandal upon their induſtry; "and in the impotent, a ſcandal upon the country. Giving alms is no "charity: people have ſuch a notion in England of being pitiful and "charitable, that they encourage vagrants, and, by a miſtaken zeal, do "more harm than good. The poverty of England does not lie among "the craving beggars, but among poor families, where the children are "numerous, and where death or ſickneſs has deprived them of the la-"bour of the father: theſe are the houſes that the ſons and daughters of "Charity, if they would order it well, ſhould ſeek out and relieve. An "alms ill directed may be charity to the particular perſon, but becomes "an injury to the public, and no charity to the nation. As for the "craving Poor, I am perſuaded I do them no wrong when I ſay, that if "they were incorporated, they would be the richeſt ſociety in the nation: "and the reaſon why ſo many pretend to want work is, that, as they can "live ſo well with the pretence of wanting work, they would be mad "to leave it and work in earneſt.

"And I affirm, of my own knowledge, that when I wanted a man "for labouring work, and offered 9s. per week to ſtrolling fellows at "my door, they have frequently told me to my face, that they could "get more a begging; and I once ſet a luſty fellow in the ſtocks, for "making the experiment."

The author adds many other intereſting obſervations upon the ſub-ject. It is, however, very juſtly obſerved by Mr. Ruggles, that al-though De Foe pretends, that he could propoſe a regulation of the Poor, which would *put a ſtop to poverty, beggary, pariſh-charges, aſſeſſments, and the like*, he waves the performance of his promiſe, for this very in-adequate reaſon; becauſe he will not preſume to lead a body ſo auguſt, ſo wiſe, and ſo capable, as the Honourable Aſſembly to whom his treatiſe is addreſſed.

A very learned writer in the reign of Queen Anne, after admitting, that, before the Reformation, the Poor were in general maintained by the Clergy, propoſed, as the moſt obvious and effectual remedy for the great and growing evil of Poor's Rates, then eſtimated at a million a year, to put all the Poor in the nation once more upon the church lands and tithes, which maintained them before; and that the Clergy ſhould have their ſhare, for as much of them as was left in their hands. It was added, that if the impropriators objected to this, a juſt and adequate conſideration ſhould be given them for their lands and tithes ſo held, by a tax raiſed for that eſpecial purpoſe; and then the Poor be thrown, altogether and entirely, on the Clergy; together with ſuch reſtored lands and tithes. Whatever objections there may have been to ſuch a plan, I am perſuaded, that, in point of expence, the nation would have effected a conſiderable ſaving, if the Legiſlature of that day had liſtened to the propoſal[1].

In 1714, John Bellers re-publiſhed his "Propoſals for employing "the Poor in a College of Induſtry[2]," with ſome additional obſervations. The following introductory remarks to his plan are, in a great meaſure, both original and true:

"The Poor," he ſays, "without employment, are like rough dia-"monds; their worth is unknown.

"Whereas regularly labouring people are the kingdom's greateſt "treaſure and ſtrength; for, without labourers, there can be no Lords: "and if the poor labourers did not raiſe much more food and manufac-"ture than what did ſubſiſt themſelves, every Gentleman muſt be a "labourer, and every idle man muſt ſtarve.

"The beſt materials for building, put together without order or "method, are little better than rubbiſh, until they are regularly "placed.

[1] See Leſlie's Eſſay on the Divine right of tithes, in his works, fol. ed. 1721. ii. 873. He ſtates the Poor's Rates to be at about a million a year. The author of "A preſent remedy for the Poor," publiſhed in 1700, eſtimates this tax at the ſame ſum: he ſays, "there is every year a million of money collected in this kingdom from all pariſhes for the relief of the Poor."

[2] In a tract intitled, "An Eſſay towards the Improvement of Phyſick," &c. See the Catalogue of Engliſh Publications relating to the Poor in the Appendix to this Volume, No. xvili.

"And

"And the beſt horſes, whilſt wild at graſs, are but uſeleſs and "chargeable; and the ſame are mankind, until they are regularly and "uſefully imploy'd.

"But every man, ſo imploy'd, adds two hundred pounds, or more, to "the value of the kingdom; land without people being of no worth.

"And this treaſure are the Poor; but the poliſhing of theſe rough "diamonds, that their luſtre and value may appear, is a ſubject highly "worth the conſideration and endeavour of our greateſt Stateſmen and "Senators."

After recapitulating the advantages which he thought might be expected from his College, which, he ſays, will not only provide for the uſual Poor, but find work for the diſbanded army, he thus attempts to compute what we may be ſuppoſed to loſe annually, by neglecting to ſupply the Poor with regular employment.

He ſays: "Suppoſing that there are ſeven millions of people in the "nation, and that one in fourteen, either will not work, or that wants "it; that is, five hundred thouſand men, women, and children.

"And reckoning that they might earn, one with another, ſix-pence "a day, a head, it comes to twelve thouſand five hundred pounds a day, "which is ſeventy-five thouſand pounds a week.

"That makes three millions nine hundred thouſand pounds a year, "which the nation loſeth.

"To which add but 12d. a-head, a week, the nation may be at, "pariſh rates, and other gifts to the Poor, and it comes to one million "three hundred thouſand pounds a year: which account, in the whole, "makes the loſs, a charge to the nation, to be

"*Five Millions Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year.*

"Some may reckon this account too large, (though, if but half the "ſum, it's worth looking after;) but let them conſider, that five hun-"dred thouſand people, at three acres a head, may improve one "million and five hundred thouſand acres of land, at 10s. an acre, a "year.

"That comes to ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds a year; "and then, add the hands and lands in North Britain and Ireland, that "lie uſeleſs, and they will add large ſums to the reckoning.

"But if we ſuppoſe only half this money loſt; that is, two millions

" and a half a year, yet this is as much as the revenues of the crown " of Great Britain have been in the time of peace; and, being a trea- " ſure that lies hid in our own bowels, that we need not run the " hazards of war, nor compaſſing of the globe, to come at, it gives the " greater incouragement to try one or two good ſpecimens, which may " make the diſcovery of it at home beyond all contradiction.

" Twenty ſhillings ſaved every year, and put to intereſt at ſix per " cent., or uſed in trade or huſbandry with the ſame advantage, in " fifty-eight years time comes to five hundred pound.

" Therefore, two millions and a half thus ſaved, or got yearly, by a " full and ſuitable imploying of our Poor, for the improving of all the " ſeveral parts of the nation's riches, would, in that proportion, in " fifty-eight years, come to one thouſand two hundred and fifty mil- " lions, which is four times as much as all the lands in the kingdom " are now worth; for if they are fifteen millions a year, at twenty " years' purchaſe, that comes but to three hundred millions.

" Whereas in fifty-eight years time, ſuch a body, as our preſent in- " digent Poor are, would be able, (if employed about it,) to turn all " our waſte-lands into fruitful fields, orchards and gardens, and their " mean cottages into colleges, and fill our barns with plenty of bread, " and our ſtore-houſes with manufactures, which would greatly incou- " rage the increaſe of our people."

Little alteration was made in the Poor Syſtem by the Laws paſſed during the reign of George the Firſt. The Act of Queen Anne, which enjoined woollen manufacturers to pay their workmen in money, was enforced by additional penalties[1]; and in order effectually to employ the Poor, in the ſilk and woollen manufactures, the uſe of printed calicoes, either in apparel, houſhold ſtuff, or furniture, was prohibited, by an Act paſſed in 1720[2].

It appears from the 5th of George the Firſt[3], that it was not an uncommon practice for perſons to quit their pariſh, and to go abroad, leaving their wives and children a burthen upon their pariſh, although they had eſtates, which might contribute to maintain them: it was therefore enacted, that church-wardens, or overſeers of the Poor, in any

[1] 1 Geo. I. St. 2. c. 15. [2] 7 Geo. I. St. 1. c. 7. [3] 5 Geo. I. c. 8.

pariſh

pariſh where the wife or children of any perſon were ſo left, might, by warrant from any two Juſtices of the Peace, ſeize the goods and chattels, and receive ſo much of the rents and profits of the lands and tenements of huſbands, fathers, or mothers, who ran away from their pariſhes, as the Juſtices ſhould think neceſſary for diſcharging the pariſh for the maintenance of the wives or children who were left.

In the 9th year of this reign, an Act was paſſed for amending the laws relating to the ſettlement, employment, and relief of the Poor [1]: it recites, that, under colour of a proviſo in the 3d and 4th of William and Mary, (which directed that no perſon ſhould receive relief from a pariſh, but by authority under the hand of a Juſtice of the Peace,) many perſons had applied to Juſtices, and, upon undue ſuggeſtions, falſe or frivolous pretences, had obtained relief, which had greatly contributed to the increaſe of the pariſh-rates; and enacts, that no perſon ſhould be relieved until oath ſhould be made before ſuch Juſtice, of ſome matter which he ſhould judge to be reaſonable cauſe; and until the perſon had applied to a veſtry, or to two of the overſeers, and had been refuſed relief; and ſuch Juſtice had ſummoned two of the overſeers of the Poor, to ſhew cauſe why ſuch relief ſhould not be given [2]. It was, likewiſe, directed, that the names of every perſon, whom the Juſtice ſhould think fit to order to be relieved, ſhould be entered in a book to be kept for that purpoſe, as one who is to receive relief as long as the cauſe continued, and no longer; and that no officer of any pariſh ſhould, (except upon ſudden and emergent occaſions,) bring to account any money given to perſons not regiſtered in the book, under penalty of five pounds [3].

On this clauſe Mr. Ruggles remarks, that the "money diſtributed in "the weekly liſts forms no very material proportion of the expences "of a pariſh; and in the diſtribution of money, there is no room for "lucrative jobs, no knaviſh contracts for furniſhing the various arti-"cles of conſumption, and the overſeer, keeping a fair account, can "have no profit; and, poſſibly, as money is the common repreſentative "of all neceſſaries of life, ſo it is the greateſt, moſt convenient, and "beſt appropriated relief to the individual [4]."

This, however, it will be ſeen in the Second Volume of this Work, is far from being generally the caſe. In ſeveral pariſhes, the greater

[1] 9 Geo. I. c. 7. [2] § 1. [3] § 2. [4] Hiſtory of the Poor, i. 199.

part of the parochial diſburſements is expended on the weekly liſt; and, in ſome, the liſt of Poor conſiſts entirely of weekly penſioners. The Legiſlature very judiciouſly impoſed a check on this diſcretionary power, with which the 43d of Elizabeth had inveſted overſeers, by thus requiring the concurrence of a Juſtice, and the ſolemn declaration of the party applying for relief; but ſuch is the ſtate of human nature, that it is to be found, that even this check, (framed, as it manifeſtly is, with great care and caution,) is but too frequently vain and illuſory. There are few more difficult points to decide, than whether a labourer, in a particular pariſh, can ſupport a family of four or five children by his labour; yet, I conceive, the ſpirit of the Poor Laws requires that the pariſh-officers ſhould be fully convinced he cannot, before they deem him an object worthy of relief. In large and populous pariſhes, it muſt often be the caſe, that the magiſtrate has neither leiſure to inveſtigate, nor means of aſcertaining, the circumſtances of every Pauper that comes before him. The overſeer, it is true, lives more immediately among the Poor; but if he happens to be a tradeſman at all intereſted in conciliating the good-will of his neighbours, the powerful calls of ſelf-intereſt, perhaps, may ſometimes ſuggeſt to him, that a liberal expenditure of pariſh money will enſure him the cuſtom of his fellow pariſhioners. Even if he is a ſubſtantial independent yeoman, he will often be overpowered by the cravings of the idle, or the clamours of the profligate: or, if uninfluenced by that bias, which neighbourly intercourſe and connexions often, very naturally, create; he will eagerly graſp at that reward, to which no man in a public ſtation is indifferent: in the remoteſt corner of the kingdom, the adminiſtrator of parochial finance is uſually a candidate for village popularity. This is an honour to which the weekly bede-roll of the overſeer is, perhaps, the beſt introduction.

The 9th of George the Firſt alſo provides, that the church-wardens and overſeers of the Poor of any pariſh, with the conſent of the major part of the pariſhioners, in the veſtry, or other public meeting for that purpoſe aſſembled, upon uſual notice given, may purchaſe or hire any houſe or houſes in the pariſh or place, and contract with perſons for the lodging, employing, and keeping of poor perſons. And, in caſe any poor perſon ſhall refuſe to be lodged, kept, and maintained, in ſuch

houſe

houſe or houſes, ſuch perſon ſhall be put out of the pariſh-books, and not entitled to relief[1].

Where pariſhes are ſmall, two or more of ſuch pariſhes, with the approbation of a Juſtice of Peace, may unite in purchaſing or hiring houſes for theſe purpoſes. And church-wardens, &c. of one pariſh, with the conſent of the major part of the pariſhioners, may contract with the church-wardens, &c. of any other pariſh for the lodging and maintenance of the Poor.

But no poor perſons, or their apprentices, children, &c. ſhall acquire a ſettlement in the pariſh, town, or place, to which they ſhall be removed by virtue of this Act[2].

Another ſection of the Act regulates the acquiſition of ſettlement by purchaſe: it directs, that no perſon ſhall acquire a ſettlement by purchaſing an eſtate, for which leſs than 30l., *bonâ fide*, ſhall have been paid, and that no perſon ſhall gain a ſettlement by paying the ſcavengers or high-way rates[3].

The other ſections of the Act[4] regulate the notices to be given before proſecuting appeals at the Quarter Seſſions; and direct, that, in caſe any appeal againſt a removal is determined in favour of the appealing pariſh, the Juſtices ſhall award ſo much money to the appellant as ſhall appear to have been expended on the Pauper between the time of the undue removal and the determination of the appeal.

Very ſoon after paſſing this Act, many pariſhes availed themſelves of the powers, which it conferred, in hiring, or erecting work-houſes, and letting out their Poor to a contractor; and in a publication, which appeared in the year 1725, intituled, "An Account of ſeveral Work-"houſes," it is ſaid, that this method of maintaining the Poor had met with approbation, and ſucceſs, throughout the kingdom. This work was reprinted in 1732, with conſiderable additions; and, in it's enlarged ſtate, affords much curious information reſpecting ſixty work-houſes in the country, and about fifty in the metropolis. The principal projector and undertaker of moſt of theſe eſtabliſhments, was a Mr. Matthew Marryott, of Olney, in Buckinghamſhire, whoſe activity appears, in ſeveral inſtances, to have reduced the Poor's Rates very conſi-

[1] This part is altered by 36 Geo. c. 23. [2] § 4. [3] § 5. 6. [4] § 8. 9.

derably.

derably. The indefatigable zeal of the planners of the various work-houſes, was, in moſt inſtances, (not only where Mr. Marryott was the manager or contractor, but in other places,) for the few years preceding the publication of the account of the work-houſes, rarely unſucceſsful: but, from comparing the preſent ſtate of thoſe pariſhes which erected work-houſes, in conſequence of this Act, with their condition ſeventy years ago, it would ſeem that the expectations entertained by the nation, that great and permanent benefits would be the reſult of theſe eſtabliſhments, have not been realized. From the following view of the ſtate of ſeveral pariſhes, (which had adopted work-houſes,) between 1720 and 1732, their expences for the Poor in the year 1776, and their aſſeſſments in the years 1783, 1784, and 1785[1], it will appear, that the charge of maintaining their Poor has advanced very rapidly, notwithſtanding the aid of work-houſes, and, perhaps, as rapidly as in thoſe pariſhes which have continued to relieve the Poor by occaſional penſions at their own habitations.

The work-houſe in St. Andrew's Holborn[2], was opened in June 1727. Before that period, the Poor's Rate was - -	£ 1000	0	0 a year.
Before the year 1730 it was reduced to -	750	0	0
In 1776 the net expences for the Poor were	1329	11	4
1783 the aſſeſſments - - -	1538	10	3
1784 ditto - - - -	1606	3	10
1785 ditto - - - - -	1589	6	10

The work-houſe in St. Giles's in the Fields[3], was opened in 1726. The expences for one year ending April 18, 1727, were as follows:

For Baking - - -	£ 2	13	4
Milk - - -	59	1	3
Butcher's meat - -	180	0	6
Cheeſe - - -	81	7	2
Bread and flour - -	321	6	6
Oatmeal - - -	26	3	9
Peaſe - - - -	0	10	0
Beer - - -	161	12	6
Shop-goods - - -	61	7	5¼
Herbs - - -	8	9	6¼
Mackarel - - -	1	6	4
	903	18	3½

[1] Taken from the Returns to Parliament in 1776 and in 1786.
[2] Account of ſeveral work-houſes, 2d ed. 6. [3] Ibid 43.

There were 235 perſons, (old and young,) in the houſe this year: ſo that the diet of each perſon, on an average, came to 17¾d. a week for each perſon[1].

In 1776 the net expences for the Poor were -	£	5156	1	6
1783 the aſſeſſments - - - -		5195	2	3
1784 ditto - - - - -		5355	0	0
1785 ditto - - - - -		6232	9	2

The Poor's Rates in the pariſh of St. Paul's, Bedford[2], before the erection of the work-houſe, were from 4s. to 5s. in the pound, and uſually amounted to £ 300. a year.

After the work-houſe was opened, the diſburſements

in 1721 fell to - - - -	£	197	11	0½
in 1722 to - - - -		177	5	7¾
In conſequence of the ſmall-pox raging for 3 months, which obliged the pariſh to hire ſeveral nurſes at 6s. 8d. and 10s. a week, } they roſe in 1723 to		304	0	0
In 1776 the net expences for the Poor were -		716	16	3
1783 the money raiſed by aſſeſſments -		830	6	6
1784 ditto - - - - -		826	12	7
1785 ditto - - - - -		837	4	7

At Weſtham in Eſſex[3], the work-houſe, which was built about the year 1726, reduced the Rates one half: in the year 1727, the expences of 40 or 45 Poor in the work-houſe amounted to £ 230 3 11
or £ 5. each perſon.

In 1776 the net expences for the Poor were - -	£	1707	3	9
1783 the money raiſed by aſſeſſments - -		2509	7	5
1784 ditto - - - - -		2329	1	11
1785 ditto - - - - -		2899	6	3

[1] At Hanſlope, in Buckinghamſhire, in 1724, the lodging, clothing, and diet of every Poor perſon in the work-houſe, on an average, coſt 18d. a week; (p. 91.) and the board of every Pauper in Newport-Pagnel work-houſe, about 12d. a week, (p. 93.)

[2] P. 78. [3] P. 109.

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The work-houſe at St. Albans[1] was opened about the year 1722: of it's utility the writer gives the following flattering account:

In the year 1720, (he ſays,) we were rated				
	6s. in the pound, and diſburſed -	£	566	19 3½
1721 -	4s. in the pound, and diſburſed -		516	19 2½
1722 -	3s. in the pound, and diſburſed - -		387	0 0
1723 -	3s. in the pound, and diſburſed - -		275	14 2
1724	2s. in the pound; and the diſburſements, it was expected, would not exceed		200	0 0
In 1776	the expences for the Poor in the borough of St. Albans were -		235	3 0
1783	the money raiſed by aſſeſſment -		455	4 10
1784	ditto - - - -		414	10 3
1785	ditto - - - -		438	0 2

At Hemel-Hempſted, in Hertfordſhire[2], Mr. Marryott, in 1720, undertook to take care of the Poor, at the charge of the pariſh, for three years, upon receiving for himſelf or deputy £40. a year, and a coat of 30s. value.

He ſucceeded ſo well, that the expence of maintaining the Poor, which, before the plan was adopted, amounted to £730. a year, was reduced, in the year ending at Eaſter 1722, to - £ 388 8 8¾

In 1776	the expences for the Poor were -		822	4 10
1783	money raiſed by aſſeſſment -		858	11 0
1784	ditto - - -		966	14 3
1785	ditto - - -		966	15 7

At Chatham[3], a work-houſe was erected in 1725. Before it's eſtabliſhment the charge of maintaining the Poor, at a medium of ſeven years, coſt the pariſh - - - £ 945 a year.

The average of the two years 1729 and 1730 was			574	0 0
In 1776	the expences for the Poor were -		1092	1 8
1783	money raiſed by aſſeſſment -		1537	8 1
1784	ditto - - -		1309	3 10
1785	ditto - - - -		1504	18 9

[1] P. 111. It is not clear whether the writer comprehends, in his account, the borough only, or the three pariſhes of which the town of St. Albans conſiſts.
[2] P. 116. [3] P. 125.

The work-houſe at Maidſtone [1] was built in 1720. Of the two years immediately preceding it's eſtabliſhment, the Poor's Rate in one, amounted to £929. and in the other, to £1062.; which had been the uſual charge for ſeveral years. The charge of maintaining the Poor in the work-houſe in the year ending in 1724, (including weekly payments allowed to ſeveral out-penſioners,) amounted to £530 0 0

In 1776 the expences for the Poor were	1555	7	10
1783 money raiſed by aſſeſſment	2251	14	6
1784 ditto	2241	10	0
1785 ditto	2271	9	1

At Stroud [2], before the work-houſe was erected, the Rates amounted to £230. a year, and were expected to fall to £100.

In 1776 the expence of maintaining the Poor in this pariſh was	429	9	4
In 1783 money raiſed by aſſeſſment	495	15	0
1784 ditto	495	15	0
1785 ditto	495	15	0

At Tunbridge the average expence of maintaining the Poor for 22 years, before the erection of the work-houſe, was £570. a year. For five years after the erection of the houſe, in 1726, it was about £380 [3].

In 1776 the expences for the Poor were	1114	0	3
1783 money raiſed by aſſeſſment	1365	8	11
1784 ditto	1493	11	7
1785 ditto	1695	19	1

The charge of maintaining the Poor at Harborough [4], in Leiceſter-

[1] P. 127. [2] P. 131. The weekly charge for diet of each perſon in the work-houſe was 1s. 8½d.

[3] P. 141. The aſſeſſments, however, were kept, as they had been ſeveral years before the houſe was built, till the year 1730, in order to defray the expence of building the work-houſe, which amounted to £840., and other charges: but, in that year, all the money borrowed having been paid off, the aſſeſſments were reduced one half. [4] P. 144.

ſhire, was reduced from £170. to £100. a year, in conſequence of a work-houſe being erected about 1722.

In 1776 the expences for the Poor were -	£314	5	5
1783 money raiſed by aſſeſſment - -	478	12	11
1784 ditto - - - - -	370	11	9
1785 ditto - - - -	351	13	3

In the pariſh of St. Martin's, Leiceſter [1], it was expected that the work-houſe, erected in 1724, would reduce the charges of the pariſh from £250. or £300. to £100. a year.

In 1740 the Poor's Rate in this pariſh amounted to [2]	£244	17	3½
1760 ditto [3] - - - - -	736	18	8
1776 the expences for the Poor - -	620	5	5
1783 money raiſed by aſſeſſment - -	889	1	11
1784 ditto - - - - -	931	1	11
1785 ditto - - - -	981	7	0
In the year ending in 1794 the Poor's Rate was [4] -	1109	14	6

Of the work-houſe at Peterborough [5], the following account was written in November 1724:

The number of the aged poor people now in this work-houſe is -	30	Thoſe that are able are employed in knitting.
The number of children is -	19	Thoſe that are able are employed in ſpinning.
	49 in all.	

The expence for maintaining the houſe from Lady-day 1724, to Michaelmas following, in victuals and drink, including apparel and bedding - - -	£159	5	5½
The labour of the Poor during that period produced -	10	15	3¾
Out of purſe - - - - -	148	10	1¾
The laſt eight years' charge, one with another, was	499	18	6¼
But the firſt half-year, ſince the erecting the houſe of maintenance, buying of furniture, brewing-veſſels, cloathing, and repairs, amounts to - -	220	13	5¾
The laſt half-year ſince Lady-day (1724) amounts to -	113	14	6¾

[1] P. 146 [2] See the Second Volume, p. 387. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid. [5] P. 156.

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The expences for the Poor in Peterborough, in 1776, were					£	919	16 6
The money raiſed by aſſeſſment in			1783	-		910	14 7
Ditto	-	-	1784	-		904	0 2
Ditto	-	-	1785	-		905	17 9

Of the Briſtol work-houſe, (called the Mint[1],) which was opened in 1696, the expence, (excluſive of benefactions for eſtabliſhing it, which amounted to £6000.) at firſt was £2376. a year. The project, however, of employing the Poor in it, did not ſucceed[2]; and, before the year 1714,

[1] The corporation, in their annual accounts, diſtinguiſh the work-houſe by the name of St. Peter's Hoſpital. This I have therefore adopted in the account of Briſtol, which the reader will find in the Second Volume of this work. The work-houſe, however, is better known to the inhabitants by the name of the Mint. It was ſo called, becauſe the clipped money, which was called in, in King's William's reign, was re-coined there.

[2] Of the difficulties which the Corporation met with in ſetting the work-houſe a-going, Mr. Cary, (a merchant in Briſtol, and one of the principal promoters of the undertaking,) gives the following intereſting account, which, I truſt, will not be unacceptable to the reader:

"The firſt thing we did was to chooſe four Guardians for each of our twelve wards, as "the ſtatute does direct, which, with the Mayor and Aldermen, amounted to 60 guardians, "and made up our court. The court being thus conſtituted, at our firſt meeting we choſe "our officers appointed by the ſaid Act, viz. a governor, a deputy governor, twelve aſſiſtants, "a treaſurer, a clerk, and a beadle.

"This being done, we ordered the guardians who dwelt in each pariſh to bring in an ac-"count of all the Poor in their reſpective pariſhes; their names, ages, ſexes, and qualifications. "Alſo an account of the charges expended for maintaining them in each of the laſt three "years, that ſo we might bring it to a medium. We alſo appointed certain ſtanding rules "for the better governing our debates, and ordered all things done in the court to be fairly "entered in a journal. We likewiſe conſidered which would be moſt for the advantage of "the corporation, to build work-houſes, or to purchaſe ſuch houſes, which, being already "built, might be altered and made fit for our purpoſe.

"Theſe things ſpent much time, and it was about the month of September before we could "ſettle the medium of the Poor's Rates, in order to certify to the mayor and aldermen what "ſum was neceſſary to be raiſed on the city for the next year.

"But here we met with an unexpected *remora*; Mr. Samuel Wallis was ſucceeded in his "majoralty by Mr. J. H.; and this change made a great alteration in our affairs: for whereas "the former had given us all the encouragement we could expect from him, and had done "us the honour to be our firſt governour, the latter reſolved to obſtruct us all he could; "and, becauſe the power of raiſing money was veſted in him and the aldermen, he abſolutely "refuſed to put that power in execution.

"This, together with his other endeavours to brow-beat the corporation, kept us at a ſtand

1714, the corporation, which managed it, had not only ſpent all the benefactions, but had got conſiderably in debt; ſo that it was found neceſſary

" till October (97) only our court met, and diſcourſt things, and we laboured to keep up " the ſpirits of our friends, who began to ſink under theſe diſcouragements, and to deſpair of " ſucceſs, the work ſeeming difficult enough in itſelf; our undertaking being nothing leſs " than to put to work a great number of people, many of which had been habited to lazineſs " and beggary; to civilize ſuch as had been bred up in all the vices that want of education " could expoſe them to; and to clothe, lodge, and feed them well, with the ſame ſum of " money which was diſtributed among them when they begged, lay in the ſtreets, and went " almoſt naked.

" Yet all this would not have diſcouraged us, could we have prevailed on Mr. Mayor to " have joyned with us. We often ſought it, and he as often refuſed us, till, his time being " expired, his ſucceſſour granted our requeſt; and then, having loſt much time, we were " forced to make large ſteps.

" The firſt we made was, a vote to take on us the care of all the Poor of the city; and, " as I remember, this vote paſſed in October or November 1697, though we had then no " money raiſed, nor could we expect any till after our Lady-day 1698. So that from the " paſſing that vote to this time is about two years.

" The next ſtep was, to appoint a committee of 12 to hear the complaints of the Poor, to " relieve them, and ſet them at work; ſix whereof were to go out every month, and to be " ſucceeded by ſix more, to be choſen by balloting.

" We had formerly obtained from the mayor and common council in the majoralty of " Alderman Wallis, the grant of a work-houſe, which then lay unoccupied, and the court " had appointed a committee to place as many girls in it as it would conveniently contain both " as to lodging and working. This is that we called the New Work-houſe.

" But all things having ſtood ſtill ſo long, we reſolved now to loſe no more time; yet we " had no money, nor could we expect any in leſs than 6 months from the Poor's Rates; " therefore we reſolved to make our ſeveral loans for 12 months without intereſt to the cor- " poration, on the credit of their common ſeal; in which deſign many of the citizens lent " their aſſiſtance, whereby we became ſoon maſters of about £600. ſtock. Likewiſe our " guardians, who were appointed to pay the Poor in their ſeveral pariſhes, voluntarily ad- " vanced their weekly payments till they could be reimburſed by the treaſurer. The other " ſtock we employed to furniſh beds and other neceſſaries for our houſe, cloaths and pro- " viſions for our children to be taken in, and materials for their working.

" We had now two committees; one for the Poor, the other for the New Work-houſe.

" The committee for the Poor met twice every week: and in this committee we proceeded thus:

" Firſt, we voted that the Poor of the city ſhould be viſited in their reſpective pariſhes, " and that new Poor's Rates ſhould be made; and accordingly we ordered the guardians of " each pariſh to bring together the Poor on a certain day in ſome convenient place, where " the committee met, and without partiality endeavoured to provide for every one according " to their wants. We likewiſe took notice of all the young girls that were on our Poor's " books,

neceſſary to apply to Parliament, that year, for permiſſion to raiſe the Rates to £3500. Before the year 1731, they had, by good management, paid off their debts, and ſaved the ſum of £3000.

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" books, and of ſuch whoſe parents took no due care of them; and theſe we recommended " to the committee of the New Work-houſe, to be taken in and employed by them.

" Our Poor's Rates we made in this manner: Every one that expected relief came before " us with their whole families, except ſuch as were impotent and could not come: in our " books we put down the name of the man, the woman, and each child; together with the " qualifications of all, either as to age, health, civility, &c. what each perſon did or could " get by the week, and in what employment. We likewiſe ſet down for what reaſon the " charity was beſtowed, that when that ſhould ceaſe, or we could find out any other way to " provide for it, the charity ſhould likewiſe ceaſe.

" Having thus ſeen the ſtate of all our Poor, and provided for them, the committee ſat " twice a week in the public court, to hear and provide for all caſual complaints; which we " did in this manner: We ordered that the Poor in their reſpective pariſhes ſhould firſt ap- " ply themſelves to their guardian or guardians, who were to relieve them as they ſaw fit, till " the next ſitting of the committee, when they were to bring them up with their complaints, " if they were able to come; and this we did, leſt the committee (three whereof made a " *quorum*) ſhould be deceived, who could not be ſuppoſed to know the ſtate of all the Poor " in the city; and by this means we had the opinion of the guardian of each pariſh: nor " could he eaſily deceive us, becauſe he brought the Poor with him, and thereby the com- " mittee became judges of the matter laid before them. At theſe meetings, care was taken " of the various caſes and exigencies which offered, and in all things there was a regard, as " much as could be, to put people on living by their own labours.

" To ſuch as were ſick, we gave warrants to our phyſician to viſit them; ſuch as wanted the " aſſiſtance of our ſurgeons, were directed to them, and all were relieved till they were able to " work; by which means the Poor, having been well attended, were ſet at work again, who by " neglect might, with their families, have been chargeable to the corporation. For ſome we " provided clothes, for others work; where we found people careful, but wanted a ſtock to " employ themſelves and their children, we either lent or gave it; where they wanted " houſes, we either paid the rent, or became ſecurity for it; where we found them oppreſſed, " we ſtood by them; where differences aroſe, we endeavoured to compoſe them: ſo that in " a little time all the complaints of the Poor came to this committee, (which ſaved our ma- " giſtrates a great deal of trouble,) and care was taken that none went away unheard.

" The committee at firſt ſat twice a week, but now only once in a fortnight; not that we " grew ſlack in the care of our Poor, but becauſe, their number being ſo much abated, by " thoſe received into our ſeveral work-houſes, the buſineſs does not require their meeting " oftner.

" The other committee, (viz. that for the New Work-houſe,) having firſt furniſhed it in " order to receive in the young girls, began with ſuch as were recommended to them by the " committee for the Poor; and this method hath been generally obſerved ever ſince, both by " that committee, and alſo by the committee ſince choſen for our other work-houſe; not that " either of them depends on the other, but becauſe the firſt application for relief is made " to the committee for the Poor.

In the year ending in 1746, the Rates were advanced from - - - £3500. to £4500.

In

" But before we took in the girls, we firſt conſidered of proper officers to govern them; " and theſe conſiſted of a maſter, whoſe buſineſs was to receive in work, and deliver it out " again, and to keep the accounts of the houſe, &c.

" A miſtreſs, whoſe buſineſs was to look after the kitchen and lodgings, to provide their " meals at ſet times, and other things which related to the government of the houſe.

" Tutreſſes to teach them to ſpin, under each of which we put five-and-twenty girls.

" A ſchool-miſtreſs to teach them to read.

" Servants in the kitchen, and for waſhing, &c.; but theſe we ſoon diſcharged, and cauſed " our biggeſt girls to take their turns every week.

" We alſo appointed an old man to keep the door, and to carry forth and fetch in work, and " ſuch kind of ſervices.

" Being thus provided, we received in 100 girls, and ſet them to work at ſpinning of worſted " yarn; all which we firſt cauſed to be ſtript by the miſtreſs, waſhed, and new clothed from " head to foot; which, together with wholeſome diet at ſet hours, and good beds to lie on, " ſo encouraged the children that they willingly betook themſelves to their work.

" We likewiſe provided for them apparel for Sundays; they went to church every Lord's " day, were taught their catechiſms at home, and had prayers twice every day: we ap- " pointed them ſet hours for working, eating, and playing; and gave them leave to walk on " the hills, with their tutreſſes, when their work was over, and the weather fair; by which " means we won them into civility, and a love to their labour. But we had a great deal of " trouble with their parents, and thoſe who formerly kept them, who, having loſt the " ſweetneſs of their pay, did all they could to ſet both their children and others againſt us; " but this was ſoon over.

" Hitherto things anſwered above our expectations: our children grew ſober, and worked " willingly; but we very much queſtioned, whether their labours, at the rates we were " paid, would anſwer the charge of their maintenance; and if not, our great doubt was, " how we might advance it, without prejudicing the manufactures.

" To clear the firſt, we ſuppoſed ourſelves in a fair way, having appointed their diets to be " made up of ſuch proviſions as were very wholeſome, afforded good nouriſhment, and " were not coſtly in price, (viz.) beef, peaſe, potatoes, broath, peaſe-porridge, milk-porridge, " bread and cheeſe, good bear, (ſuch as we drank at our own tables,) cabbage, carrots, tur- " nips, &c. in which we took the advice of our phyſician, and bought the beſt of every ſort. " They had three meals every day; and, as I remember, it ſtood us, (with ſoap to waſh,) in " about 16d. *per* week for each of the 100 girls. We ſoon found the effect of their change " of living. Nature, being well ſupported, threw out a great deal of foulneſs, ſo that we " had generally 20 down at a time, in the meazles, ſmall-pox, and other diſtempers; but " by the care of our phyſician, and the bleſſing of God on his endeavours, we never buried " but two, though we have had ſeldom leſs than 100 in the houſe at any time.

" Having thus provided for their diets, we next appointed their times of working; which, " in the ſummer, was ten hours and a-half every day, and an hour leſs in the winter; by which " means

In the year ending in 1756, the Rates amounted to	£ 4500	0	0
1766, ditto - - -	6732	7	3½
1776, ditto - - -	11500	0	0
1786, ditto - - -	12000	0	0
1796, ditto (See the 2d Vol. p. 202)	13000	0	0

In

" means we anſwered the two objections raiſed againſt the Poor, (viz.) that they will not " work, and that they ſpend what they get in fine feeding.

" But we ſoon found that the great cauſe of begging proceeded from the low wages for " labour; for, after about eight months' time, our children could not get half ſo much as we " expended in their proviſions. The manufacturers, who employed us, were always com- " plaining the yarn was ſpun courſe, but would not advance above 8d. per pound for ſpin- " ning, and we muſt either take this, or have no work. On the other ſide, we were labour- " ing to underſtand how we might diſtinguiſh, and put a value on our work, according to " it's fineneſs. This we did by the ſnap reel, which when we were maſters of, the commit- " tee made an order, that the maſter ſhould buy in a ſtock of wool, and ſpin it up for our " own accounts, and then proceeded to ſet the price of ſpinning by the ſnap reel, wherein " we endeavoured to diſcourage courſe work, and to encourage fine, becauſe we ſaw the " latter was likely to bring more profit, not only to the Poor, but to the kingdom in gene- " ral. We likewiſe ordered ſome things to be made up of the ſeveral ſorts of yarn, at the " rates we had ſet them; and, on the whole, we found the commodities, made of fine " yarn, though they were much better than thoſe made of courſe, yet ſtood us in little " more; becauſe, what the one exceeded in the charge of ſpinning, was very much made " good in abatement of the quantity uſed. We therefore ſent to the manufacturers, and " ſhewed them what experiments we had made; but finding them ſtill unwilling to advance " above the old rate, the committee voted, that they would give employment to all the Poor " of the city, who would make application to them, at the rates we offered to work, and " pay them ready money for their labour.

" We ſoon found we had taken the right courſe, for in a few weeks we had ſale for our " fine yarn, as faſt as we could make it; and they gave us from 8d. to 2s. per pound for " ſpinning the ſame goods, for which, a little before, they paid but 8d.; and were very well " pleaſed with it, becauſe they were now able to diſtinguiſh between the fine and the courſe " yarn, and to apply each ſort to the uſe for which it was moſt proper: ſince which, they " have given us 2s. 6d. per pound, for a great many pounds; and we ſpin ſome worth " 3s. 6d. per pound ſpinning.

" By this means we had the pleaſure of ſeeing the childrens' labour advanced, which, " a little before I came up, amounted to near £6. per week, and would have been much " more, but that our biggeſt girls we either ſettle forth, or put in the kitchen; and thoſe " we receive in, being generally ſmall, are able to doe but little for ſome time after.

" The encouragement we had received on this beginning, put us on proceeding further: " the court reſolved on purchaſing a great ſugar-houſe, out of the money directed by the " Act to be raiſed for building of work-houſes, and fit it up for receiving in the remainder " of the Poor, (viz.) ancient people, boys, and young children; which was accordingly done,

" and

In the parish of Chertsey, Surrey, (p. 161,) the charges for the Poor, in the year 1725, amounted to - £.598 9 1½
In 1726, - - - - 607 6 3½

A work-

" and a committee was appointed to manage it. This we called the *Mint Work-house*, be-
" cause it had been hired by the Lords of the Treasury for that purpose.

" The committee began to take in the boys in August last; these we clothed, dieted, and
" governed, much after the same manner as we had done the girls, but put them on a dif-
" ferent employment, (viz.) spinning of cotten-wool, and weaving of fustians: we have now
" about 100 of them together, who settle well to their work, and every day mend their hands;
" they get us already £ 6. per week. They are likewise taught to read, and we shall here-
" after teach them to write.

" We next took in our ancient people, and here we had principally a regard to such as
" were impotent and had no friends to help them, and to such as we could not keep from
" the lazy trade of begging: these we clothed as we saw they needed, and put on such em-
" ployments as were fit for their ages and strengths, having our eyes chiefly on those to which
" they were bred: we found it difficult, at first, to bend them down to good order; but by
" degrees we have brought them under government.

" Then we called in all the children that were on our Poor's books, and put them under
" nurses; those who can speak and go, are carried down into the school to learn their
" A, B, C, &c. As they grow up, we shall put them into the working-rooms.

" The boys are kept at a distance from the ancient people, who do also lodge in distinct
" apartments, the men in several chambers on one floor, and the women on another: all do
" something; though, perhaps, some of their labours comes to little, yet it keeps them from
" idleness: both the old and young attend prayers twice a day, (except the bedridden, for
" whom other care is taken,) and go to church twice on Sundays.

" We have now three standing committees, (viz.) for the Poor, for the New Work-house,
" and for the Mint Work-house: the first gives all directions, and makes all allowances for
" the Poor, without whose order no guardian can act any thing considerable, except in cases
" of absolute necessity, which at the next meeting of the committee he must give an ac-
" count of, and desire their approbation. The other two committees have power to act in the
" affairs of that work-house for which they are chosen: they receive in both old and young;
" they bind forth apprentices, correct, order the diet as they please, oversee the working,
" sell the manufactures when made, order the payment of all moneys, which cannot be
" done unless the note be signed by the chairman; and, generally, direct every thing relating
" to those houses.

" The accounts are made up thus: The treasurer's account is audited, every year, by a com-
" mittee chosen for that purpose; at which time he is succeeded by another treasurer, chosen
" by the court: the accounts of the guardians, who pay the Poor in their several parishes,
" are audited every three months by a select committee chosen likewise by the court, and
" are then paid by the treasurer. The accounts for each work-house are audited by the
" respective committee every month, when the master adjusts not only his account of cash,
" but also of each particular species of goods he hath under his care, the balance whereof is still
" carried forward to the next, which, when allowed of, is signed by the chairman: and the

" account

A work-houſe, (which was called a houſe of maintenance,) was opened at Lady-day 1727. The houſe and ground coſt £450. which were borrowed by the pariſh.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
In 1727, Utenſils and other articles coſt	120	0	0			
Maintenance of the Poor -	418	7	7			
				538	7	7

In

" count for each houſe is ſo ſtated, that it ſhews, at one ſight, what the houſe is indebted, " what debts are outſtanding, and from whom; what goods remain in the houſe, and the " quantity of each ſpecie.

" At the making up theſe accounts, nothing, unleſs very trivial, is allowed, for which an " order is not produced, or found entered in our books; ſo that it is very difficult to wrong " the corporation of any thing, if the guardians ſhould endeavour it.

" Theſe committees keep their Journal-books, wherein all they do is fairly tranſcribed, " and ſigned by the chairman.

" This is what at preſent occurs to my memory touching our work-houſes at Briſtol; I " have been as brief as the nature of the thing would admit: the ſucceſs hath anſwered our " expectation; we are freed from beggars; our old people are comfortably provided for; " our boys and girls are educated to ſobriety, and brought up to delight in labour; our young " children are well looked after, and not ſpoiled by the neglect of ill nurſes; and the face of " our city is ſo changed already, that we have great reaſon to hope theſe young plants will " produce a virtuous and laborious generation, with whom immorality and profaneneſs may " find little incouragement: nor does our hopes appear to be groundleſs; for, among 300 per- " ſons now under our charge within doors, there is neither curſing nor ſwearing, nor prophane " language, to be heard, though many of them were bred up in all manner of vices, which " neither Bridewell nor whippings could fright them from; becauſe, returning to their bad " company, for want of employment, they were rather made worſe than bettered by thoſe " corrections; whereas the change we have brought on them is by fair means. We have " a Bridewell, ſtocks, and whipping-poſt, always in their ſights, but never had occaſion to " make uſe of either."

Of the difficulties, experienced by the corporation, the author of the Letter, (in the Account of the Work-houſes,) relative to Briſtol, gives the following account:

" From their firſt erection in the year 1696, to the year 1714, they continued to put " the Poor to work; I mean, thoſe they had in their work-houſe called the Mint. And " they tried them upon a great many different ſorts of work, to make them uſeful toward " their ſupport, but not only without any benefit from their labour, but to the great loſs of " the corporation. For as ſoon as they came to do any thing tolerably well, that they might " have been aſſiſting to the younger and leſs practiſed, they went off to ſea, or were appren- " ticed in the city; by which means the public were ſo far benefited, though the corporation " bore the loſs of the charge of teaching them, and of all the tools with which they " were to work, and of the materials for it. For they made nothing perfect or merchant- " able from their work, but only ſpoiled the materials. So that inſtead of leſſening the

	£.	s.	d.
In the year ending at Michaelmas 1728, the Poor coſt about	395	0	0
In 1776, the expences for the Poor were - -	758	19	7
1783, money raiſed by aſſeſſment - -	1271	17	0
1784, ditto - - - - -	639	12	0
1785, ditto - - - - -	972	4	6

At Bradford, in Wiltſhire[1], the work-houſe, erected in 1727, reduced the Rates, which had uſually been £700. or £800. a year before the year 1731, to leſs than £400.

" charge of maintaining the Poor, they increaſed it; inſomuch that, in the beginning of the " year 1714, they had not only ſpent every year's income, but had ſunk all their benefactions, " and borrowed ſeveral thouſand pounds of the city. It was then found neceſſary, to pre- " vent their utter ruin, to petition the Parliament to grant them power to raiſe the ſum " of £3500. per annum upon the inhabitants, which was granted them. And then they imme- " diately laid aſide their projects of labour, aad ſet themſelves to find out thoſe who had no " right of ſettlement in this city, and ſending them away to the places to which they belonged. " They have, by this means, and a frugal management, in a great meaſure retrieved their " former loſſes, and do now not only ſupport their Poor, but have paid off their former " debts, and got back £3000. of the benefactions they had ſunk: but I do not find that " they have ſet them to any conſtant work, till about a year and a half ago, when a Gentle- " man of this city, a great dealer in malt and corn, entered into an agreement with the Cor- " poration of the Mint, or Poor, according to which, he is to furniſh the Poor there, to the " number of 50 or 60, chiefly children, with a maſter-workman, (to whom, I think, he gives " £50. per annum ſalary,) for teaching them to weave and make ſacks to hold corn, and " to provide likewiſe the tools and materials, that is, hemp, flax, &c. and to build a ſhed " upon the river-ſide near the houſe to work in; in conſideration of which, he is to have " the benefit of their labour, that is, of the ſacks they make, giving a ſmall gratuity to each " as he thinks fit, and they have their maintenance from the public, as before; and this, as " I hear, is likely to ſucceed, they making and ſelling ſacks or bags to hold corn, &c. cheap- " er and better than we were wont to have them; but you ſee their labour ſaves nothing " to the Public, and yields but little to the Poor themſelves; it only keeps them from idle- " neſs, and may hereafter be profitable both to the Public and to them." Letter from Briſ- tol, in " An Account of ſeveral Work-houſes, 160."

It appears from this account, that the way by which the magiſtrates of Briſtol reduced the charges of maintaining the Poor, was by driving away Paupers, who were not ſettled in the city. Several other authors mention the ſame circumſtance. Joſhua Gee, who pub- liſhed a Treatiſe on Trade and Navigation, about 1728, remarks, that " the magiſtrates of " Briſtol have that city under ſuch excellent regulation, that foreign beggars dare not appear; " they are not troubled with obnoxious ſights, ſo common with us: their work-houſes are " terrible enough to them; for, as ſoon as any of them are eſpied in the city, they are taken " up and whipped."

[1] P. 164.

In

In 1775 the aſſeſſments were	- -	£2815	12 1
1785 - - - -	-	2415	15 0
1795 - - - -	-	2063	17 10[1]

The way in which theſe work-houſes, on their firſt eſtabliſhment, effected a reduction in parochial expenditure, was by deterring the Poor from making applications for relief. Whatever objections may be made againſt this mode of maintaining the Poor, it appears, that, whilſt they were managed by active undertakers, the ideas which they excited in the Poor, ſpurred on many to labour for a livelihood, who would not work as long as they were permitted to receive a weekly allowance from the pariſh.

In the account of Beverley we are told, that, on opening the work-houſe, notice was given to the Poor, that the weekly penſions were to ceaſe, and that ſuch as were not able to maintain themſelves and families might apply to the governors of the work-houſe. The reſult of this was, that, though before the opening of the houſe 116 perſons received the pariſh allowance, not above eight came in at firſt, and in the ſubſequent winter, (1727—8,) the number in the houſe never exceeded 26, although all kinds of proviſions were exceſſively dear, and the ſeaſon very ſickly: and as to the extraordinary allowances, (the payments for bed-ridden Poor, ſick families, and other occaſional demands of that nature,) they did not riſe beyond 12 or 13s. a week at any one time during that year, and ſometimes not beyond 6 or 7s.[2]

A letter from Oxford, dated Jan. 1726—7, ſays, that, from the good effects of work-houſes, the Poor's Rate, which was very heavy, had ſunk one half in that pariſh which was moſt burthened, and in ſome was entirely taken away. "Some who received alms of the pariſh," it is ſaid, "appear to have money of their own, and ſtrive to work, to keep "themſelves out of theſe (as they call them) confinements[3]."

The writer of the account of the work-houſe at Maidſtone ſufficiently explains the cauſe of the great reduction of the Poor's Rate which had taken place in that pariſh; and at the ſame time juſtly animadverts upon the inconveniencies that muſt reſult from leaving the management

[1] See the Second Volume, p. 784. [2] P. 169. [3] P. 157.

of work-houſes in large towns to overſeers annually elected. The following remarks deſerve attention: he ſays, "the advantage of a "work-houſe does not only conſiſt in this, that the Poor are maintained "at leſs than half the expence which their weekly pay amounted to, "but that very great numbers of lazy people, rather than ſubmit to the "confinement and labour of the work-houſe, are content to throw off "the maſk, and maintain themſelves by their own induſtry. And this "was ſo remarkable here at Maidſtone, that, when our work-houſe was "finiſhed, and public notice given, that all who came to demand their "weekly pay ſhould immediately be ſent hither, little more than half "the Poor upon the liſt came to the overſeers to receive their allow-"ance.

"Were all the Poor in our town obliged to live in the work-houſe, "I believe we might very well maintain them for £350. a year at the "utmoſt. But many of them find intereſt enough to receive their uſual "weekly pay, and get themſelves excuſed from living in the houſe. And "thus it will happen, more or leſs, in all great towns, where the work-"houſes are left to the management of overſeers annually elected. "And therefore, from what I have ſeen here at Maidſtone, I conceive "it to be a matter of abſolute neceſſity, that the direction of a work-"houſe ſhould be left to ſome ſingle perſon, to be choſen by the pa-"riſhioners; and not a number of overſeers, who are more liable to a "great variety of applications in favour of particular perſons among "the Poor, and more likely to act in an arbitrary way in the manage-"ment of the houſe, than any ſingle elective perſon will preſume to "do. By theſe means, too, the appointment and choice of the work, in "which the Poor are to be employed, will be carried on in a regular "and uniform manner, and not be left to the humour or intereſt of "annual officers, to be changed and altered as they ſhall pleaſe; for "different overſeers will have different intereſts; and where the direc-"tion is left to them, it will probably happen, as it has, in fact, here "at Maidſtone, that the Poor ſhall be one year employed in the linnen, "and another in the woollen manufactory; and this merely as it ſuits "the intereſt of the managers.

"A *work-houſe* is a name that carries along with it an idea of cor-"rection and puniſhment; and many of our Poor have taken ſuch an

"averſion

"averſion to living in it upon that account, as all the reaſon and argu-
"ment in the world can never overcome. Therefore it will be a
"means of preventing a great deal of trouble, and avoiding a greater
"expence than you can imagine, to have the work-houſe called by a
"ſofter and more inoffenſive name [1]."

Independently of thus reducing the number of Paupers, the work-houſes appear, at firſt, to have maintained them at a much lower rate than they could be ſupported upon weekly penſions at their own homes. Before the erection of the work-houſe at Hampſtead, in the year 1727, the Poor received from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. each perſon in out-penſions; in the houſe they coſt about 2s. a week each perſon [2].

Of the uſual expence of maintaining a Pauper in the reign of George the Firſt, we may form ſome eſtimate from the following particulars:

At Hanſlope, in Buckinghamſhire, the diet, lodging, and cloathing of the family in the work-houſe, (including repairs of furniture and maſter's wages,) in the year 1724, coſt about 18d. a week each perſon [3].

At Weſtham in Eſſex, the maintenance of each perſon in the work-houſe, for the year 1727, coſt about £5. [4]

Two pariſhes in Hertford entered into a contract with the maſter of their work-houſe, by which he agreed to maintain their Poor at 1s. 10d. a week each perſon [5].

The diet in Stroud work-houſe coſt 1s. 8½d. a week each perſon [6].

In St. George's Hanover-ſquare, in 1730, 154 Poor were lodged and dieted four weeks for £55. 1s. 7d. or nearly 1s. 9½d. a week for each perſon [7].

In St. Giles's, Bloomſbury, the diet of a Pauper, in 1727, coſt 1s. 5¾d. a week [8].

It is probable, that the annual expence of maintaining a Pauper,

[1] It was probably for this reaſon that many of the work-houſes erected in the reign of George the Firſt were called *Houſes of Maintenance*, to ſoften the appellation of a *Work-houſe*, againſt which the Poor might be prejudiced. Account, &c. 85. It is for the ſame reaſon, I preſume, that the poor-houſe at Empingham is called the *Houſe of Protection*. See the Second Volume, p. 602. In Philadelphia, the work-houſe, which is alſo an houſe of correction, and one of the beſt I ever heard of, whilſt it was chiefly under the ſteady controul of the Quakers, was called "*The Bettering Houſe*."

[2] P. 50. [3] p. 91. [4] p. 109. [5] p. 116. [6] p. 131. [7] p. 27. [8] p. 44.

either in, or out of, the work-houſe, is, at preſent, double what it was ſeventy years ago. The diet, however, provided in the houſes on their firſt eſtabliſhment, ſeems to have been equally good with what it is at preſent. In moſt of the work-houſes meat dinners were ſerved three or four times a week. At Bedford more eſpecially, (a place which has long held out great encouragement to Paupers,) the food of the family in the work-houſe, (it will appear from the ſubjoined bill of fare,) was better than the moſt induſtrious labourer, either then, or at preſent, could afford himſelf at his own habitation:

	Breakfaſt.	Dinner.	Supper.
Sunday.	Bread and Cheeſe.	Boiled beef and ſuet pudding.	Bread and cheeſe.
Monday.	Broth.	Cold meat left on Sunday.	The ſame.
Tueſday.	Bread and cheeſe.	Boiled beef, and a little mutton and ſuet pudding.	The ſame.
Wedneſday.	The ſame as Monday.	The ſame as Monday.	The ſame.
Thurſday.	The ſame as Tueſday.	The ſame as Tueſday.	The ſame.
Friday.	The ſame as Monday.	The ſame as Monday.	The ſame.
Saturday.	Bread and cheeſe.	Haſty-pudding, or milk-porridge.	Broth, or bread and cheeſe.

The writer adds: "Their bread is wheat dreſſed down, and made "into large houſhold loaves by a woman in the houſe. Their drink is "beer, turned in from the public brew-houſe at three halfpence per "gallon. The overſeers do ſometimes put a cow upon the common "for them; and that nothing may be waſted or loſt, they have a pig "or two bought in, to live upon their waſh, and dregs, and fragments; "which, when well grown, is fed and killed for the houſe. They have "alſo a little garden for herbs, onions," &c. [1]

The author of the "Fable of the Bees[2]" ſtrongly reprobates the enthuſiaſtic paſſion with which the nation was ſeized about this period for the eſtabliſhment of charity-ſchools for the education of the children of the Poor. "Thoſe," he ſays, "who ſpend a great part of their youth

[1] P. 81. [2] Mandeville's Fable of the Bees was publiſhed in 1714: he reprinted it in 1723, together with remarks, and an Eſſay on Charity Schools. His obſervations on the nature and effects of civil ſociety are, in general, very ingenious; in ſome inſtances, profound; and in none deſerving of that high tone of reprobation which his book is ſaid to have experienced. One fundamental error, however, runs through the whole of his work: he confounds ſuperfluous gratifications with vices.

"in

" in learning to read, write, and cypher, expect, (and not unjuſtly,) to " be employed where thoſe qualifications may be of uſe to them. Go- " ing to ſchool, in compariſon to working, is idleneſs; and the " longer boys continue in this eaſy ſort of life, the more unfit they " will be, when grown up, for downright labour, both as to ſtrength " and inclination. Men who are to remain and end their days in a la- " borious, tireſome, and painful ſtation of life, the ſooner they are put " upon it at firſt, the more patiently they will ſubmit to it for ever " after. Hard labour, and the coarſeſt diet, are a proper puniſhment to " ſeveral kinds of malefactors; but to impoſe either on thoſe that have " not been uſed and brought up to both, is the greateſt cruelty, when " there is no crime you can charge them with.

" The Poor," he ſays, " have nothing to ſtir them up to labour but " their wants, which it is wiſdom to relieve, but folly to cure. The " maxim is not leſs calculated for the real advantage of the Poor, than " it appears to be for the benefit of the Rich. For, among the labouring " people, thoſe will ever be the leaſt wretched as to themſelves, as well as " moſt uſeful to the Public, that, being meanly born and bred, ſubmit to " the ſtation they are in with chearfulneſs; and, contented that their chil- " dren ſhould ſucceed them in the ſame low condition, inure them from " their infancy to labour and ſubmiſſion, as well as the cheapeſt diet and " apparel; when, on the contrary, that ſort of them will always be the " leaſt ſerviceable to others, and themſelves moſt unhappy, who, diſſatiſ- " fied with their labour, are always grumbling and repining at the mean- " neſs of their condition; and, under pretence of a great regard for the " welfare of their children, recommend the education of them to the cha- " rity of others; and you ſhall always find, that, of this latter claſs of Poor, " the greateſt part are idle ſottiſh people, that, leading diſſolute lives them- " ſelves, are neglectful to their families, and only want, as far as it is " in their power, to ſhake off that burden of providing for their brats " from their own ſhoulders."

He is, however, far from deſirous of excluding the children of the labouring Poor from the poſſibility of riſing in the world: and only objects to the training them up in thoſe habits, that will render them unfit for the ſtation of life to which the greater part of them are una-

voidably deſtined. His remarks on theſe heads are highly worthy the conſideration of the advocates of Sunday-ſchools.

" There is no degree of men in Chriſtendom, that are pinned down, " they and their poſterity, to ſlavery for ever. Among the very loweſt " ſort there are fortunate men in every country; and we daily ſee per- " ſons, that, without education, or friends, by their own induſtry and " application, raiſe themſelves from nothing to mediocrity, and ſome- " times above it, if once they come rightly to love money, and take de- " light in ſaving it; and this happens more often to people of common " and mean capacities, than it does to thoſe of brighter parts. But " there is a prodigious difference between debarring the children of the " Poor from ever riſing higher in the world, and refuſing to force edu- " cation upon thouſands of them promiſcuouſly, when they ſhould be " more uſefully employed. As ſome of the Rich muſt come to be poor, " ſo ſome of the Poor will come to be rich, in the common courſe of " things. But that univerſal benevolence that ſhould every where in- " duſtriouſly lift up the indigent labourer from his meanneſs, would not " be leſs injurious to the whole kingdom, than a tyrannical power, that " ſhould, without a cauſe, caſt down the wealthy perſon from their eaſe " and affluence. Let us ſuppoſe, that the hard and dirty labour throughout " the nation requires three millions of hands, and that every branch of " it is performed by the children of the Poor; illiterate, and ſuch as " had little or no education themſelves. It is evident, that if a tenth " part of theſe children, by force and deſign, were to be exempt from " the loweſt drudgery, either there muſt be ſo much work left undone, " as would demand three hundred thouſand people; or the defect, occa- " ſioned by the numbers taken off, muſt be ſupplied by the children of " others, that had been better bred [1]."

He ſtrongly recommends employing the Poor, (inſtead of ſquandering money on beggars,) in works of great public utility. He ſays, (what is probably not beyond the truth,) that " there is above three or four " hundred years work for a hundred thouſand Poor more than we have " in this iſland. To make every part of it uſeful, and the whole tho-

[1] The Fable of the Bees, ed. 1795. 515.

" roughly

" roughly inhabited, many rivers are to be made navigable; canals to be " cut in hundreds of places; ſome lands are to be drained, and ſecured " from inundations for the future; abundance of ſoil is to be made fer- " tile; and thouſands of acres rendered more beneficial, by being made " more acceſſible [1]."

By the 3d of George the Second, ſome inconſiderable additions were made to the laws concerning certificates, and certificated perſons: reſpecting the former, it was directed, that the witneſſes who atteſt the execution of certificates, ſhall make oath before the Juſtices, who allow the certificate, that they ſaw the ſame ſigned and ſealed by the pariſh-officers; and that the Juſtices ſhall certify that ſuch oath was made before them; and that the certificate ſo allowed, and oath of the witneſſes ſo certified by the Juſtices, ſhall, without other proof, be admitted as evidence in every court of juſtice [2]: reſpecting certificated perſons, it appears that the Act of King William [3], (which was itſelf an Act for ſupplying ſome defects in the laws for the relief of the Poor,) had omitted to make any proviſion for reimburſing pariſhes the charges they incur in re-conveying certificated perſons to the place of their ſettlements, or for maintaining them when ſick till they were in a condition to be removed; to remedy which, this Act provides, that overſeers ſhall be reimburſed the expence they are put to in re-conveying certificated perſons to their pariſhes, when they become chargeable [4].

By the 5th of George the Second, Juſtices at the Quarter-Seſſions were authoriſed to rectify defects of form upon appeals, and to proceed to determine them; and to oblige perſons ſuing for writs of *certiorari* to remove orders made on ſuch appeals into his Majeſty's court of King's Bench, to give ſecurity to proſecute the ſame with effect [5].

It appears from the 6th of George the Second, that the laws in being were not ſufficient to provide for the ſecuring and indemnifying pariſhes, and other places, from the great charges ariſing from baſtards: it was therefore enacted, that if any ſingle woman ſhall be delivered of a baſtard child, or ſhall declare herſelf to be pregnant, and that the child is likely to become chargeable; and ſhall, upon oath before one

[1] An Eſſay on Charity, in the Fable of the Bees, edit. 1795, 200. [2] 3 Geo. 2. 29. § 8. [3] 8 & 9 W. 3. c. 30. [4] 3 Geo. 2. c. 29. § 9. [5] 5 Geo. 2. c. 19.

or more Juſtices, charge any perſon with having gotten her with child; they may immediately apprehend and commit ſuch perſon to priſon, unleſs he gives ſecurity to indemnify the pariſh[1]; but that, if the woman charging him ſhall die, or be married before ſhe is delivered, or ſhall miſcarry, he ſhall be diſcharged from his recognizance[2]; and, if committed to priſon, and no order ſhall be made, in purſuance of the 18th of Elizabeth, within ſix weeks after the woman's delivery, he ſhall be ſet at liberty[3]; and that no woman ſhall involuntarily be obliged to filiate the child, of which ſhe is pregnant, till one month after her delivery[4].

Several Acts of Parliament were paſſed in the 5th and 6th year of George the Second, for obliging the projectors of the Charitable Corporation to account with their creditors[5]. This corporation was eſtabliſhed, about the year 1730, to lend money to the Poor upon pledges; but the whole was turned only to an iniquitous method of enriching particular people, to the ruin of ſuch numbers, that it became a parliamentary concern to obtain relief for the unfortunate perſons who ſuffered by the project; and three of the managers, who were members of the Houſe of Commons, were expelled[6].

By the 17th of George the Second, which recites, that, "by reaſon "of their unlimited power, overſeers and church-wardens frequently, "on frivolous pretences, and for private ends, make unjuſt and ille-"gal Rates in a ſecret and clandeſtine manner, contrary to the true in-

[1] 9 Geo. 2. c. 31. § 1. [2] 6 Geo. 2. c. 31. § 2. [3] 6 Geo. 2. c. 31. § 3.
[4] 6 Geo. 2. c. 31. § 4. [5] See Appendix to this Volume, No. ix. p. ccliv.
[6] See [illegible] on 100th line of the 3d Epiſtle in Mr. Pope's Moral Eſſays. The editor adds, that, by the report of the committee appointed to enquire into this iniquitous affair, it appeared, that, when it was objected to the intended removal of the office, that the Poor, for whoſe uſe it was erected, would be hurt by it, Bond, one of the directors, replied, *Damn the Poor!* This, with ſome other genuine apophthegms uſed by ſome of the perſons concerned, are noticed by Mr. Pope in the following lines in his Eſſay:

"Perhaps you think the Poor might have their part?—
"Bond damns the Poor, and hates them from his heart:
"The grave Sir Gilbert holds it for a rule
"That ev'ry man in want is knave or fool:
"'God cannot love,' (ſays Blunt with tearleſs eyes,)
"'The wretch he ſtarves'—and piouſly denies:
"But the good Biſhop, with a meeker air,
"Admits, and leaves them, Providence's care."—Moral Eſſays, iii Ep. 99 L.

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" tent and meaning of the 43d Eliz. ;" it was enacted, that every Poor's Rate ſhould be publiſhed in the church [1], and that the pariſh-officers ſhould permit every inhabitant to inſpect the Rates, on paying a ſhilling [2], under penalty of £20. [3]. Copies of the Rates were alſo directed to be entered in a book for public peruſal, and to be delivered over from time to time to the new and ſucceeding church-wardens or overſeers of the Poor. The following clauſe, however, on this ſubject, there is great reaſon to apprehend, is very little attended to in many pariſhes in the kingdom [4].

The firſt ſection of the 38th chapter of the 17th of George the Second, enacts, that " the overſeers of the Poor ſhall yearly, and every " year, within fourteen days after other overſeers ſhall be nominated and " appointed to ſucceed them, deliver in to ſuch ſucceeding overſeers, " a juſt, true, and perfect account in writing, fairly entered in a book " or books to be kept for that purpoſe, and ſigned by the ſaid church- " wardens and overſeers, hereby directed to account as aforeſaid, under " their hands, of all ſums of money by them received, or rated and " aſſeſſed, and not received ; and alſo of all goods, chattels, ſtock, and " materials, that ſhall be in their hands, or in the hands of any of the Poor, " in order to be wrought ; and of all monies paid by ſuch church- " wardens and overſeers ſo accounting ; and of all things concerning " their ſaid office : and ſhall alſo pay and deliver over all ſums of mo- " ney, goods, chattels, and other things, as ſhall be in their hands, unto " ſuch ſucceeding overſeers of the Poor : which ſaid account ſha[illegible] be " verified by oath, or by the affirmation of perſons called Quak[illegible] before " one or more his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace ; which[illegible]d oath " or affirmation ſuch Juſtice or Juſtices is and are hereby authoriſed " and required to adminiſter, and to ſign and atteſt the caption of the " ſame, at the foot of the ſaid account, without fee or reward ; and the " ſaid book or books ſhall be carefully preſerved by the church-wardens

[1] 17 Geo. 2. c. 3. § 1. [2] 17 Geo. 2. c. 3. § 2. [3] 17 Geo. 2. c. 3. § 3.

[4] In the Returns to Parliament in 1776, the amount of annual expenditure in ſeveral pariſhes is wanting; and, in the peruſal of the Second Volume of this work, the Reader will find, that, in many parts of the kingdom, the preſervation of parochial records has not been conſidered as a matter of great importance, notwithſtanding the very earneſt directions of the Legiſlature on the ſubject.

"and overſeers, or one of them, in ſome public or other place in every "pariſh, townſhip, or place; and they ſhall, and are hereby required "to permit any perſon there aſſeſſed, or liable to be aſſeſſed, to inſpect "the ſame at ſeaſonable times, paying ſixpence for ſuch inſpection; and "ſhall, upon demand, forthwith give copies of the ſame, or any part "thereof, to ſuch perſon, paying at the rate of ſixpence for every "three hundred words, and ſo in proportion of any greater or leſs "number."

The ſecond ſection of the Act directs, that, "in caſe ſuch church-"wardens and overſeers of the Poor, or any of them, ſhall refuſe or "neglect to make and yield up ſuch account, verified as aforeſaid, with-"in the time herein-before limited or appointed, or ſhall refuſe or ne-"glect to pay and deliver over ſuch ſum or ſums of money, goods, "chattels, and other things in their hands, as by this Act is directed; in "either of the ſaid caſes, it ſhall and may be lawful to and for any two "or more Juſtices of the Peace, to commit him or them to the com-"mon gaol, until he or they ſhall have given ſuch account, or ſhall have "paid or yielded up ſuch monies, goods, chattels, or other things in "their hands, as aforeſaid."

Though the ſtatutes for rating of wages did not directly inveſt the Juſtices with power to compel the payment of wages for work rated according to ſtatute, yet the ſuperior courts have recognized the authority which Juſtices have exerciſed in ordering the payment of ſuch wages, as they were, by law, empowered to rate [1]. As no power, however,

[1] In the caſe of the Queen and Gouche (Mich. 1 Ann.) it appeared, that an order was made by the Juſtices for the payment of wages, for huſbandry work: the exception was, that the wages did not appear to be ſtatute wages. It was, however, obſerved by the Court, that though the ſtatute gives Juſtices only a power to ſet the rate for wages, and not to order payment, yet, grafting hereupon, they have alſo taken upon them to order payment; and the courts of law are indulgent in remedies for wages; and therefore they would intend it ſuch wages as were within the ſtatute, unleſs the contrary appeared upon the face of the order. 2 Salkeld, 441.

In a ſubſequent caſe it was held, that an order to pay 40s. for wages generally was good; and the Court ſaid, they would intend it for wages in huſbandry, ſince the contrary did not appear. Salk. 484. In the caſe, however, of the King and Helling, the Court held ſuch an order was bad. Strange, 8. And in the King and Cleg, in anſwer to a remark from Judge Forteſcue, that, in the caſe of ſervants' wages, although juriſdiction is given only in huſbandry,

however, was given them by ſtatute to admit the oath of the perſon claiming wages as evidence, the law was found to be extremely defective; and, by the 20th of George the Second, Juſtices were empowered to determine all differences between maſters and ſervants in huſbandry, hired for one year or more; or between maſters and artificers, handicraftſmen, miners, colliers, keelmen, pitmen, glaſſmen, potters, and other labourers employed for any certain time, or in any certain manner, although no rate or aſſeſſment of wages had been made by the Juſtices that year; and to examine ſuch ſervants upon oath; and to make order for the payment of wages, not exceeding ten pounds, with regard to any ſervant, (in huſbandry,) nor five pounds with regard to other labourers; and, on non-payment, to direct the ſame to be levied by diſtreſs.

They were likewiſe empowered to hear the maſter's complaint upon oath, and to puniſh an offending ſervant, by abating part of his wages, or by diſcharging him; and, in the caſe of apprentices, to diſcharge, or commit them to the houſe of correction for any time not exceeding one calendar month; and in caſe of miſconduct on the part of the maſter, to diſcharge the ſervant or apprentice: and by the 32d of George the Third, (c. 57.) the Juſtices may order the maſter to deliver up the cloaths of pariſh apprentices, and to pay a ſum not exceeding £10. to place him with another maſter, when the apprentice has been diſcharged through the miſconduct of the maſter.

By the 31ſt of George the Second, apprentices were relieved from the hardſhips they ſuffered, in being removed from places in which they had been unwarily bound by deeds not properly indented; and it was enacted, that "no perſon bound apprentice by any deed, writing, "or contract, not indented, being firſt legally ſtamped, ſhall be re-"moved from the pariſh in which he is bound apprentice, and has re-"ſided forty days, on account of ſuch deed, writing, or contract, not "being indented only[1]."

The ſame Act alſo directs, that the words "other labourers, employ-

huſbandry, yet orders had been held good, when it did not appear that the ſervice was in huſbandry, Chief Juſtice Parker remarked, that "this was always wondered at, and was "actually contradicted in the caſe of the King and Helling." Strange, 475.

[1] 31 Geo. 2. c. 11. § 1.

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"ed for any certain time, or in any other manner," in the Act "for "the better adjuſting and more eaſy recovery of the wages of certain "ſervants," paſſed in the twentieth year of George the Second[1], ſhall be conſtrued to extend to ſervants in huſbandry, although hired for a leſs time than a year[2].

Of the very general and comprehenſive words above quoted, Dr. Burn remarks, that they, perhaps, ought not to be underſtood without ſome limitation; and that it is unneceſſary to extend them to any of the workmen in the woollen, linen, cotton, iron, leather, fur, hempen, or other manufactures, as the Law hath provided other methods to enforce the payment of wages due to perſons employed in manufactures: and the 22d of George the Second takes no notice of this Act, but, in reſpect to the payment of manufacturers' wages, provides various regulations, which, if the 20th of George the Second had been ſuppoſed to extend unto ſuch perſons, would have been ſuperfluous and impertinent[3]. With leſs reaſon, he thinks, can the word *labourers* be ſaid to extend to footmen, coachmen, carriers, and ſuch like; but from the company in which it is ranked, namely, miners, colliers, and keelmen, it ſeems moſt properly to ſignify ſuch perſons, (not being brought up to, or employed in, trades,) as procure their ſubſiſtence by bodily labour[4].

When

[1] 20 Geo. 2. c. 19. [2] 31 Geo. 2. c. 11. § 3. [3] § xx.

[4] Juſtice, tit. Servants, § xx. On Dr. Burn's conſtruction of theſe words, Mr. Caldecott remarks, that "if this is to be taken as the true conſtruction of the word *labourers* in this "Act, I conceive, that the words '*for any certain time, or in any other manner*,' are merely "oppoſed to the words in the preceding branch of the ſame ſection, *for one year or longer*; "and mean only to deſcribe hirings either for ſome definite period leſs than a year, or con-"ditional hirings, and hirings for leſs than a year, under thoſe looſe indefinite engagements "made under the cuſtom of many of the particular trades enumerated in the Act: neither is "it eaſy to ſuggeſt why the Legiſlature ſhould by particular Acts interpoſe on behalf of agri-"culture and particular manufactures, if the ſame remedies were open to all deſcriptions of "perſons, and in every occupation under the general law." Mr. Caldecott adds, that "it is "alſo remarkable, that the very phraſe and wording of the ſtatute 5th Eliz. c. 4. § 5, which, "if it were holden to extend to ſervants in general, and were to be read as ſome writers give "it, would determine this point, is ſtated by different writers and different editors of the Sta-"tutes in terms directly contradictory. By ſome editors of the Statutes, as Keble, Bill, "and the executrix of Newcomb, King's printers, and the aſſigns of Richard and Edward "Atkins, Eſquires, in 1706, and Serjeant Hawkins, it is given thus: 'No perſon which ſhall 'retain any ſervant, ſhall put away his ſaid ſervant, unleſs it be for ſome reaſonable or ſuffi-

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When it is conſidered that this Act was framed with a reference to the Statutes of Elizabeth and James, concerning which it had been more than once decided in the courts of juſtice, that the juriſdiction of Juſtices of Peace only extended to the rating of agricultural wages, it is not to be wondered at, that courts of juſtice ſhould have conſidered themſelves obliged to reſtrain the juriſdiction of Juſtices. The caſes, however, to be found in the Law-books on this ſubject, it muſt be owned, are extremely contradictory; and many Judges ſeem to have been inclined to extend the 5th of Eliz. to ſervants generally. The inclination, it muſt be confeſſed, is ſupported by the practice of the Juſtices, (who do not heſitate to compel the payment of wages of every deſcription of ſervants,) and by general convenience. Whatever doubts, however, may have heretofore prevailed reſpecting their juriſdiction, it ſeems to be now ſettled by a late caſe, which was decided on the rigid rules of Law, that an order of Juſtices for compelling the payment of wages is void, if it does not ſtate that the ſervant is employed in huſbandry [r].

Various

'cient cauſe or matter, *or* be allowed before one Juſtice.' This reading, if the true one, "gives an authority to the maſters of ſervants in huſbandry, at leaſt, to diſcharge them on ſuf-"ficient cauſe; and in the caſe of the King v. the Inhabitants of Hanbury, (Burr. Sett. "Caſ. 324.) it is ſtated by Mr. Ingram *arguendo*, and not contradicted, that the ſtatute runs "in the disjunctive. On the contrary, by other editors, as Raſtell, Pulton, Cay, Pickering, "and Ruffhead, and by Mr. Dalton in his Juſtice, it is thus read: 'unleſs for ſome reaſon-'able or ſufficient cauſe or matter, *to* be allowed before one Juſtice.' This reading, in caſes "of huſbandry at leaſt, confines the power of diſcharging ſervants to the magiſtrate: and the "general tenor of the Act ſeems to ſupport this reading; for, § 8, which inflicts a penalty on "the maſter who puts away his ſervant, &c. follows, in all the editions, the reading adopted "by the later editors; ſetting out, in the very words of § 5, the neceſſity of an allowance by "a magiſtrate to protect the maſter, and not referring at all to any other branch of that "ſection; which, had it run in the disjunctive, would have been neceſſary, and therefore "would moſt probably have been done: and the next ſection of the Statute, which inflicts "penalties on the ſervants that depart from their ſervice, &c. runs in the ſame manner. The "circumſtance, alſo, of the diſcharge of apprentices not being left under this Act to the diſ-"cretion of the maſter, but to the judgment of the magiſtrate, ſtrongly confirms the laſt "reading." Cald. 16. I have adopted the reading "to," in the tranſcript of the Statute inſerted in the Appendix, No. VIII. p. cliv.

[r] The King and Hulcott, Hil. Term, 1796: 6 Term Reports, 583. In this caſe, in anſwer to a remark, that the words in the 5th Eliz. c. 4. § 5. were general, "no perſon who "ſhall

Various attempts were made during the reign of George the Second, both in and out of Parliament, to procure a radical alteration in the ſyſtem of parochial adminiſtration introduced by the 43d of Elizabeth.

In 1735, Mr. Hay, a member of the Houſe of Commons, publiſhed his "Remarks on the Poor Laws[1];" in which he makes many judicious obſervations on the Settlement Code. The obligation which each pariſh is under to maintain it's own Poor, and the conſequence of that, a diſtinct intereſt, are, he thinks, the roots from which all the evils relating to the Poor have ſprung. He forcibly reprobates a ſyſtem, which abridges a poor man of his liberty, on a ſuggeſtion or apprehenſion of his being likely to become chargeable. It is true, that, by the Certificate Act, his liberty is enlarged, and he may reſide with a certificate in another pariſh, which will prevent him from being removed till he is actually chargeable. Mr. Hay, however, juſtly remarks, that this law is defective, becauſe "it leaves it in the breaſt of the pariſh-officers, "whether they will grant a poor perſon a certificate or no: whereas they "ought to be compellable to do it; or, which would be much better, "every poor perſon ſhould be put on the foot of a certificate man, and "not be removeable till he is actually chargeable."

As to the inconvenience reſulting from the Law of Settlements, from the trouble they create to the magiſtrate, the burthens they impoſe on the pariſh, and the hardſhips to which they ſubject the perſons who are the objects of it, he appeals to the experience of Gentlemen who ſerve their country in the commiſſion of the Peace, whether half the buſineſs of any Quarter-Seſſions does not conſiſt in deciding appeals on orders of removal.

"The conſequence of theſe diſputes to the pariſhes concerned," he ſays, "is a great deal of trouble to their officers; firſt, in conveying the Poor "removed to the places of their ſettlements, oftentimes at a gteat diſtance; "and afterwards, in attending with evidence on the appeal; which does

"ſhall retain *any ſervants*, &c." it was obſerved by Lord Kenyon, that "the ſtatute 20 Geo. 2. "c. 19. was paſſed to give Juſtices power over ſervants not in huſbandry;" which affords a fair preſumption, that the 5th of Elizabeth was underſtood by the Legiſlature to relate wholly to them.

[1] They were re-publiſhed, with an Appendix, in 1751; and re-printed in 1794, in an edition of Mr. Hay's works, in two volumes 4to.

"not always end at the Seſſions, but is ſometimes removed into Weſt-
"minſter Hall; and perhaps, at laſt, the order is quaſhed: ſo that it
"ſometimes happens to coſt a pariſh as much to remove a poor family,
"as it would do to maintain them."

Of the oppreſſion ariſing to the Poor themſelves, he remarks, that "a poor man is no ſooner got into a neighbourhood, habitation, and "employment that he likes, but, upon humour or caprice of the pariſh, "he is ſent to another place, where he can find none of theſe conveni-"encies: not certain long to continue there; for, perhaps, after the "appeal, he is ſent back again, and then hurried to a third place; and "ſometimes is a great while before he knows where he ſhall be at reſt. "In the mean time, he is at expence in removing his family and goods; "or, perhaps, not able to carry them with him, is forced to ſell them to "a diſadvantage: he loſes his time, and is obliged to neglect his work, "which is his only ſupport: ſo that 'tis no wonder if by this treat-"ment he is very much impoveriſhed; and, from being only likely to "become chargeable, is made actually ſo."

To whatever extent theſe evils may have exiſted at the period when Mr. Hay wrote his remarks, it is conſolatory to reflect, that the Poor are no longer liable to be removed at the caprice of pariſh-officers, on the ground that they are likely to become chargeable. This writer, indeed, ſeems to have coloured his deſcription of the effects of the Settlement Code much too highly. Inſtances of vexatious removals may have occurred; and I have no doubt that ſuch did, now and then, occur. We muſt know very little of human nature, to ſuppoſe that twenty thouſand, (annually elected,) officers inveſted with diſcretionary power would not ſometimes have abuſed it: but I am far from agreeing with Mr. Hay, who ſuppoſes that theſe oppreſſions were very generally practiſed; or believing, as Adam Smith ſeems to think, that "there is "ſcarce a poor man in England, of forty years of age, who had not in "ſome part of his life felt himſelf moſt cruelly oppreſſed by the Law of "Settlements."—"Their operation," Mr. Howlett juſtly remarks, "conſidered in a general view, has been very trifling indeed. How "ſeldom do the young and healthy, while ſingle, find any difficulty in "changing their reſidence, and fixing where they pleaſe? Does the "tradeſman or manufacturer, while his trade or his manufacture flou-

" riſhes, refuſe to take an apprentice, or employ a journeyman, becauſe he " was born or ſettled in a different pariſh, or in a diſtant part of the king- " dom? On the contrary, does he not eagerly look out for him, and " gladly receive him, from whatever quarter he may come? Were it " otherwiſe, how has it happened, that Sheffield, Birmingham, and Man- " cheſter, have increaſed, from almoſt mere villages, to populous towns, " that rival, or even ſurpaſs, in magnitude, our largeſt cities, the capital " alone excepted?" As to ſervants in huſbandry, he ſays, " they range " from pariſh to pariſh, and from county to county, unthinking of, and " unreſtrained by, the Laws of Settlements: the farmer without ſcruple " hires them; at length they marry, and there they fix. Rambling is then " at an end, or ruin follows. If a huſbandry-labourer has four or five chil- " dren, it rarely happens that above three of them ſettle where they were " born; while of thoſe actually reſident, even in our ſmaller towns and " country pariſhes, nearly one-fifth have their legal ſettlement elſe- " where[1]." Mr. Howlett adds, that, in his own pariſh, (Toppesfield, in Eſſex,) out of about two hundred and twenty families, mechanics and la- bourers in huſbandry included, about forty belong to other places. Though man, in civilized ſociety, loſes much of his character, as a loco-motive animal, I believe there is no country in Europe in which he changes his reſidence ſo often as in England. Moſt of the calculations for forming tables of the probabilities of the duration of human life at any place, are framed upon the ſuppoſition that all who die, are born, there. This is, however, very far from being the caſe. In manufacturing towns, and more eſpecially in great cities, the proportion which natives bear to the whole number of inhabitants, it is probable, is very inconſiderable. It appears from the Midwifery Reports of Dr. Bland, preſented to the Royal Society in 1781[2], that, of 3236 married perſons examined at the Weſtminſter General Diſpenſary,

824 perſons, or one fourth only, had been born in London.
1874 or four ſevenths, in the different counties of England and Wales.
209 or one-fifteenth, in Scotland.
280 or one-eleventh, in Ireland.
53 or one-ſixtieth, in foreign countries.
3236

[1] Examination of Mr. Pitt's Speech, 1796, p. 13. [2] Phil. Tranſ. lxxi. pt. 2. p. 379.

Of the above numbers, the males and females were in the following proportion:

Of the 1ſt claſs	329	were men, and	495	were women:	166	more than men.
2d -	952	- -	917	- -	35	fewer.
3d -	135	- -	74	- -	61	fewer.
4th -	162	- -	119	- -	43	fewer.
5th -	40	- -	13	- -	27	fewer.
	1618		1618			

From this account, it would ſeem, that, in London at leaſt, three-fourths of the inhabitants are ſtrangers, and that fewer women than men emigrate from the place of their birth, particularly if it is to go into foreign countries. I admit, that this ſolitary inſtance does not authorize very general concluſions on the ſubject. Any perſon, however, in tolerably eaſy circumſtances, who will give himſelf the trouble of aſcertaining the place of birth of the individuals which compoſe his family, will find, that but few, if any, are natives of the pariſh in which he reſides.

Mr. Hay's account of the conduct of overſeers, appears to be not leſs exaggerated, than his ſtatement of the effect of the Laws of Settlement. "The overſeers," he ſays, "are to raiſe taxes for their relief, and the "majority of the pariſhioners are to nominate the perſons who are to "be relieved, and in what manner: and if any perſon is refuſed relief "that wants it, he may complain to a Juſtice of Peace, who may order "it. As this relief is to come out of the pockets of the pariſhioners, it is "not their intereſt to be over-liberal; and they eſteem him the beſt "officer, who keeps the pariſh-rates loweſt, let the Poor be ever ſo "much oppreſſed. So that they are often lodged in ſuch houſes, as will "not defend them from the weather; cloathed in rags, that will not "cover their nakedneſs; want fuel to keep them warm, and proper "food to ſuſtain nature; ſo that many turn beggars and thieves, out of "neceſſity."

From his ſituation as member of Parliament, Mr. Hay availed himſelf of the general attention which his remarks had excited, in bringing the conſideration of the Poor Syſtem before the Legiſlature; and it appears from the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, that a com-

mittee was appointed " to conſider the Laws in being relating to the " maintenance and ſettlement of the Poor, and to conſider what further " proviſions might be neceſſary for their better relief and amendment." Mr. Hay, on the 2d of May 1735, reported the reſolutions of the committee, which were ſoon after agreed to by the Houſe, with ſome inconſiderable alterations. They are as follow:

RESOLVED,

" 1. THAT it is the opinion of this committee, that the laws in being " relating to the maintenance of the Poor of this kingdom, are defective; " and notwithſtanding they impoſe heavy burthens on pariſhes, yet the " Poor, in moſt of them, are ill taken care of.

" 2. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the laws relating to " the ſettlement of the Poor, and concerning vagrants, are very difficult " to be executed, and chargeable in their execution; vexatious to the " Poor, and of little advantage to the Public; and ineffectual to promote " the good ends for which they were intended.

" 3. That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is neceſſary, for the " better relief and employment of the Poor, that a public work-houſe or " work-houſes, hoſpital or hoſpitals, houſe or houſes of correction, be " eſtabliſhed in proper places, and under proper regulations, in each " county.

" 4. That it is the opinion of this committee, that, in ſuch work-houſe " or work-houſes, all poor perſons able to labour be ſet to work, who " ſhall either be ſent thither, or come voluntarily for employment.

" 5. That it is the opinion of this committee, that, in ſuch hoſpital or " hoſpitals, foundlings, and other poor children not having parents able " to provide for them, be taken care of; as alſo, all poor perſons that " are impotent or infirm.

" 6. That it is the opinion of this committee, that, in ſuch houſe or " houſes of correction, all idle and diſorderly perſons, vagrants, and " ſuch other criminals as ſhall be thought proper, be confined to hard " labour.

" 7. That it is the opinion of this committee, that, towards the charge " of ſuch work-houſes, hoſpitals, and houſes of correction, each pariſh " be aſſeſſed or rated; and that proper perſons be empowered to re-

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" ceive the money ſo to be aſſeſſed or rated, when collected; as alſo,
" all voluntary contributions, or collections, either given or made for
" ſuch purpoſes.

" 8. That it is the opinion of this committee, that ſuch work-houſes,
" hoſpitals, and houſes of correction, be under the management of pro-
" per perſons, regard being had to ſuch as ſhall be benefactors to ſo
" good a work.

" 9. That it is the opinion of this committee, that ſuch perſons as
" ſhall be appointed for the management of ſuch work-houſes, hoſpitals,
" and houſes of correction, be one body-politic in law, capable to ſue
" and be ſued, and of taking and receiving charitable contributions and
" benefactions in money for the uſe of the ſame, with proper reſtrictions
" as to the powers of ſuch bodies politic.

" 10. That it is the opinion of this committee, that, for the better un-
" derſtanding and rendering more effectual the laws relating to the
" maintenance and ſettlement of the Poor, it is very expedient that they
" be reduced into one Act of Parliament."

In the following ſeſſions, Mr. Hay brought in a Bill framed in conformity with theſe reſolutions. It dragged heavily through a few ſtages, and, after conſiderable delay, oppoſition[1], and mutilation, expired before the

[1] Of the difficulties, which the Gentlemen, who were ordered to bring in the Bill, experienced, Mr. Hay gives the following account:

" When it was preſented, they found much of that zeal abated, which had appeared in the
" Houſe when it came into the reſolutions. If ſome few difficulties occurred, which were real,
" many more were ſtarted, which were only imaginary. Thoſe who had depopulated their
" pariſhes, and were grown eaſy in their Poor's Rate, were alarmed, for fear ſuch a law might
" end in an equal Rate throughout the country. So that private and parochial intereſt, which
" is ever vigilant and active, gained ground againſt that which was public, which is generally
" too careleſs and indolent. The leading men in the Houſe, beſt able to promote ſuch a deſign,
" were taken up with State affairs, and little regarded it: and, perhaps, in general diſliked any
" thing that carried the appearance of an innovation. The Bill was put off, from time to time,
" till it was too late to paſs; though it was ſuffered to go through the committee, and was
" printed with the amendments, and ſent into the country for further conſideration.

" The next year, the ſame Gentlemen were again ordered to bring in a Bill, or Bills, to the
" ſame purpoſe; and had the honour to have the Maſter of the Rolls, (Sir J. Jekyll,) Mr. Ogle-
" thorpe, and Mr. Winnington, to be nominated with them. The firſt of thoſe Gentlemen,
" who had declared himſelf a friend to the Bill in the beginning, began to be ſtaggered with

" the

the third reading. The following is the ſubſtance of the Bill, as originally propoſed:

" Each county to be laid out into one or more diſtricts by the Quarter " Seſſions.

" Twelve perſons reſiding in each diſtrict of a certain eſtate in land " to be guardians of the diſtrict. Liſts of the perſons ſo qualified, re- " ſiding within the diſtrict, to be returned to the Quarter Seſſions, like " thoſe of perſons qualified to ſerve on Juries; and the names of the " guardians to be drawn like thoſe of jurymen.

" Six annually to go out of office, the firſt year by lot, and ever after " the ſix who had been longeſt in office, and ſix new ones to be choſen " in the ſame manner.

" Benefactors to be guardians for a time, in proportion to the ſum " given.

" The guardians to be a corporation capable of taking benefactions of " goods and chattels, (but not of lands,) for the uſe of the Poor; and " to make bye-laws and rules (to be approved by the Juſtices of Aſſize) " for their better government.

" To appoint a treaſurer, removable at pleaſure, reſiding and having " an eſtate in the diſtrict, and giving ſecurity.

" Guardians, with conſent of the Quarter Seſſions, to diſplace any " guardian, for a reaſonable cauſe.

" To purchaſe lands in fee, near the middle of the diſtrict, with a " certain number of acres.

" To build houſes on them for the uſe of the Poor; and, within ſix " months after they are finiſhed, to furniſh them, and provide a ſtock to " ſet the Poor to work; and to carry on any trade or buſineſs there; " and to take the benefit of their labour for the uſe of the work-houſe.

" The land to be purchaſed, and buildings erected, by money to be " given by Parliament.

" the objections made to particular parts of it; and, apprehending it might be difficult to paſs " the whole, adviſed the Gentleman, who preſented it the year before, to divide it into two " Bills, by cutting off the part relating to vagrants from the reſt. That Gentleman ſubmitted " to authority, contrary to his own ſentiments; and complied with a propoſal, which not only " created trouble to him and to his fellow-labourers of the preceding year, in new-moulding " thoſe Bills, but which extremely maimed and diſfigured their firſt general plan."

" The houſes to be furniſhed, and the ſtock provided, by money given " by charitable perſons; and what more is wanting, by a Rate, not ex- " ceeding half of what had been raiſed in any pariſh or place, in any " one of the three years immediately preceding.

" Guardians to meet at the work-houſe the firſt Thurſday in every " month, at a certain hour, under a penalty; ſix to conſtitute a *quorum*; " and to meet at other times on a ſummons; with power to cauſe " overſeers, and others, to appear.

" Overſeers always to attend the firſt Thurſday in June, September, " December, and March, when the guardians are to aſcertain the ſum " the overſeers are to raiſe for the enſuing quarter for each pariſh or " place, which (after the houſes are finiſhed and furniſhed) ſhall be in " proportion to the numbers ſent from ſuch pariſh or place.

" On the laſt Thurſday in Auguſt, Juſtices of the Peace to meet in " the work-houſe to nominate new overſeers, with the ſame power of " levying the quarterly ſums, as is given by 43 Eliz. and the old over- " ſeers then to deliver up their accounts.

" Charities given to the Poor of any pariſhes, (and not otherwiſe " appropriated,) and the profits ariſing from the ſale, or letting of their " preſent work-houſes, to go in aid of their Rates.

" Overſeers to ſet up a box to receive charities, in all places of divine " worſhip, to be kept under two different locks and keys; and to be " publicly opened once a quarter, and the money found in it to be paid " by the overſeers to the treaſurer.

" All other charities for the uſe of the Poor of any diſtrict, and " moneys ariſing from the labour in the work-houſe, and fines or for- " feitures for their uſe, ſhall be paid to the guardians, and by them to " the treaſurer, within a month after they receive them. Treaſurer to " iſſue no money without order of the guardians; and to account every " quarter, or oftener, if required.

" All other officers and ſervants, at all times when required, to ac- " count, to two or more guardians, for every thing that ſhall come to " their hands, or be under their care.

" Two Juſtices, or Quarter Seſſions, may commit any guardian, " treaſurer, officer, ſervant, or overſeer, refuſing to account; may levy " double the ſum, which they ſhall, on their accounting, find to be miſ- " applied;

" applied; may fine any overſeer 10s. for not attending the laſt Thurſday " in Auguſt, or being otherwiſe negligent in office; and perſons fraudu- " lently imbezzling the goods of the work-houſe, to be deemed guilty " of felony.

" Any ſum given in charity, or ariſing from the labour of the Poor, or " from fines and forfeitures, if under £100. the guardian ſhall apply " to the expence of the next quarter; if above £100. they ſhall place it " out at intereſt, on ſuch government ſecurities as the next Quarter " Seſſions ſhall direct, and apply only the intereſt.

" After the work-houſe of any diſtrict is finiſhed and furniſhed, guar- " dians to give notice to the overſeers to bring in the Poor of their re- " ſpective pariſhes, which they ſhall do within a month; and for ever " after to convey thither all impotent Poor, baſtards and foundling chil- " dren wanting relief, as alſo all children above the number of three, " of ſuch married perſons as deſire it, and will make oath that they are " not worth above £5. beſides their goods and apparel; and never, for " the future, ſhall relieve any perſon, except on ſudden and emergent " occaſion, as peſtilential diſtemper, ſickneſs, accident, or infirmity, " which might endanger the life or health of the perſon in removing to " the work-houſe; and during the continuance of ſuch occaſions only; " of which the overſeer ſhall within two days give notice to ſome Juſtice " of Peace, who ſhall order ſuch relief as is neceſſary, and ſettle and " allow the expence thereof, which ſhall be paid or allowed by the trea- " ſurer to the overſeer producing ſuch order.

" Two Juſtices, on complaint, may examine, and finally determine, " if a perſon ſent to the work-houſe was legally ſettled in the pariſh " from which he was ſent; and, if he was not, ſhall order the pariſh to " which he belonged to pay 40s. to the work-houſe.

" Every perſon, for the future, to be deemed legally ſettled in any " place where he continued a year without being chargeable; and, if " he gained no ſuch ſettlement, then at the place of his birth; and if " not born in the kingdom, then where he ſhould happen to want " relief.

" Juſtices, at Quarter Seſſions, to ſettle Rates and Allowances by " the mile, for conveying the Poor to the work-houſes, which they are " to order the treaſurer to pay, or allow to the overſeers.

" Two Juſtices may order the goods and rents of perſons to be " ſeized, who are relieved in the work-houſe, or who ſhall run away " and leave wife, or child, or baſtard child, to be there relieved, and " make ſuch allowance out of them as they ſhall think fit, which ſhall " go in aid of the next quarterly payment of the place aggrieved.

" The ſame power as at preſent in the Quarter Seſſions, to oblige " father and mother, grand-father, and children, and grand-children, " of poor perſons, to relieve them.

" Guardians may keep children in the work-houſe to the age of 21; " or, with the conſent of two Juſtices, may bind them apprentices to any " perſons willing to take them; or may compel ſuch perſons to take them " apprentices in agriculture, or the ſea ſervice, as are liable ſo to do at " preſent. But none to be compelled to take them under 10 years of age.

" The preſent law relating to apprentices, in every reſpect, to con- " tinue in force.

" As alſo the preſent law relating to baſtardy.

" Guardians may give reaſonable correction to the Poor in the work- " houſe, not conforming to rules, or miſbehaving themſelves; may fine " their officers or ſervants, for evil intreating them, in a ſum not ex- " ceeding 40s. to be detained out of their wages, or levied by diſtreſs, " if confirmed by the next Quarter Seſſions, who are to determine all " differences between them and the guardians concerning wages.

" All fines and forfeitures, given to the uſe of the Poor by any law " in being, to go to the uſe of the work-houſe of the diſtrict where " the offence is committed: to be paid to the guardians, and by them " to the treaſurer.

" Head-officers and Juſtices, in cities and corporations, to have au- " thority to do any thing in execution of the Act, within their juriſdic- " tion, as any two Juſtices may within the county.

" The Act not to extend to work-houſes eſtabliſhed in any cities or " towns, by particular Acts of Parliament; but ſuch cities and towns " ſhall be deemed diſtinct diſtricts by themſelves.

" Lord Chancellor may at all times appoint commiſſioners to viſit " any of the work-houſes, to alter any of their bye-laws and or- " ders; and to make new, (to be approved by the Judges of the Aſſize); " to enquire into the conduct of the guardians and others; and to pu-

" niſh them by fine or removal; and to inquire into charities given to " the uſe of the Poor; and how they have been applied.

" The Act not to give the guardians, or any other perſons, power over " any alms-houſe, hoſpital, or other charitable gift, already ſettled, " and particularly appropriated.

" The remaining part of the Bill concerns vagrants and houſes of " correction, and differs from the preſent Vagrant Act only in theſe par- " ticulars. The Lord Chancellor was to appoint commiſſioners to in- " ſpect the condition of the houſes of correction, who might order the " old ones to be altered, new ones to be erected, fitted up, and furniſh- " ed in what manner they thought proper; which the Juſtices of Peace " were to execute, in a certain time, under a penalty. Benefactions " were to be applied, in the firſt inſtance, towards the expence; and " what ſums more were wanted, were to be raiſed by a County Rate.

" Twenty ſhillings were allowed for apprehending a vagrant, who " was to be committed till the next Quarter Seſſions; where if he was " adjudged to be a rogue, he was to be confined to hard labour for a " year; and if an incorrigible rogue, for ſeven years, or to be tranſ- " ported for that time. And an incorrigible rogue offending a ſecond " time, was to be confined or tranſported for life.

" Vagrants, under 14, were to be ſent to the work-houſe of the diſ- " trict, there to be provided for, like other Poor; and the expence to " be charged to the place where they laſt begged or miſordered them- " ſelves, and paſſed unapprehended, which was to be the laſt legal ſet- " tlement of every vagrant, to which the Seſſions, (after puniſhment,) " if they thought proper, might order the maſter of the houſe of cor- " rection at once to convey him, without the trouble of paſſing him " through other hands.

" In the laſt clauſes, all the Laws relating to the Poor were particu- " larly enumerated, which were to be repealed."

An Act paſſed in 1744, [1] reſpecting that claſs of Poor, who are conſi- dered by the Legiſlature, as the out-caſts of Society; namely, rogues and vagabonds. From peruſing the long catalogue of actions, which denominate a man a diſorderly perſon, a vagabond, or an incorrigible

[1] 17 Geo. II. c. 5. Extended by 23 Geo. III. c. 88.

rogue,

rogue, the reader may, perhaps, incline to think that many of the offences ſpecified in this Act, and in ſubſequent Statutes on the ſame ſubject, are of a very dubious nature; and that it muſt frequently require nice legal accumen to diſtinguiſh whether a perſon incurs any, and what, penalty, under the Vagrant Laws.

By the 17th of George the Second, and ſubſequent Vagrant Acts, three deſcriptions of offenders are ſpecified, namely, idle and diſorderly perſons; rogues and vagabonds; and incorrigible rogues.

Idle and diſorderly perſons are puniſhable with one month's impriſonment: Such are,

1, Perſons threatening to run away and leave their wives and children on the pariſh.

2, Perſons who tipple in ale-houſes, and ſpend their money, without making a ſufficient proviſion for their families. (See 32 Geo. 3. c. 45.)

3, Perſons who unlawfully return to the pariſh or place from which they have been legally removed, without bringing a certificate.

4, Perſons, who, not having wherewithal to maintain themſelves, live idly, without employment, and refuſe to work for the uſual wages.

5, Perſons begging in the ſtreets and highways.

Rogues and vagabonds [1] are puniſhable with whipping and ſix months' impriſonment: and are defined to be,

1, Perſons going about as patent gatherers, or gatherers of alms, under pretence of loſs by fire, or other caſualty.

2, Fencers, bearwards, ſtrolling players of interludes or other entertainments.

3, Minſtrels [2], (except thoſe licenſed by the Lord Dutton in Cheſhire.)

4, Perſons

[1] See Note, page 309.

[2] The Author of the ingenious Eſſay on the Ancient Engliſh Minſtrels, (prefixed to "Reliques of Ancient Engliſh Poetry," vol. 1. p. xix.) deſcribes Minſtrels to be "an order of "men in the middle ages, who united the arts of poetry and muſic, and ſung verſes to the "harp, of their own compoſing; who appear to have accompanied their ſongs with mimicry "and action; and to have practiſed ſuch various means of diverting, as were much admired "in thoſe rude times, and ſupplied the want of more refined entertainments; whom theſe "arts rendered extremely popular and acceptable, in this and all the neighbouring coun-"tries; where no high ſcene of feſtivity was eſteemed complete, that was not ſet off with "the exerciſe of their talents; and where, ſo long as the ſpirit of chivalry ſubſiſted, they "were protected and careſſed, becauſe their ſongs tended to do honour to the ruling paſſion "of the times, and to encourage and foment a martial ſpirit."

4, Perſons pretending to be, and wandering in the habit of, Gipſies[1].

5, Fortune-tellers, pretending ſkill in palmiſtry, phyſiognomy, &c. or uſing any ſubtil craft to deceive or impoſe upon others.

6, Perſons

To this ſpecious and pleaſing account, a writer, (the editor of Ancient Songs from the time of King Henry the Third to the Revolution, and of ſeveral other valuable publications,) whoſe abilities in objecting are unqueſtionable, urges many ſtrong objections; and ſhews, that when, (by the Statute, I ſuppoſe, of 39 Eliz. c. 4. § 2.) "Minſtrels, wandering abroad," were included among "rogues, vagabonds, and ſturdy beggars," they had no great reaſon to complain; as vagabond was a title to which the followers of their profeſſion had long been accuſtomed. And this he proves by the following reference: "Item pur eſchuir pluſeurs diſeaſes et miſchiefs q'ont advenuz devaunt ces heures en la "Terre de Gales, par pluſeurs Weſtours, Rymours, *Miniſtralx* et autres *Vacabondes*, or-"deignez eſt, &c." Stat. 4. H. iv. c. 27. In the Rolls of Parliament, iii. 508, the words are, *Minſtrales, ou Vacaboundes.*"

The fact ſeems to have been, that Minſtrels were the Saxon ſucceſſors of the Welſh Bards: and yet we do not find the word uſed before the Norman Conqueſt. That *Bards*, in their original inſtitution and practice, were highly reſpectable, there is ſufficient hiſtorical evidence; but that *Minſtrels*, when known *only by the name of Minſtrels*, ever held any conſiderable rank in ſociety, can only be matter of conjecture: and there is ſtill greater reaſon to doubt, whether any deſcription of Engliſhmen ever exerciſed the united arts of muſic and poetry: but the exiſtence of the *French Minſtrels*, and the *Provençal Troubadours*, is very well aſcertained. Even the origin of the name of Minſtrel ſeems not yet to have been clearly aſcertained. It is, however, capable of proof, that *Bards*, even in Wales, at length degenerated into characters not much better than modern ſtrolling *ballad-ſingers*; and in Scotland, into *Bairds*, i. e. Jeſters or Fools: (ſee the Scotch Act, paſſed in 1579, in the Appendix to this Vol. No. x.) and that *Minſtrels*, even before Elizabeth's Acts, had become *itinerant fiddlers*. In ſtill later periods, in Scotland, the term was conſidered as ſynonimous with *fiddler*. Thus, in Ross's *Beggar's Song*:

—— "When I of *any weddings* hear,
"I'll caſt me to be there:

"Then will I to the *Minſtrels* ſay,
"(For they are never ſcant,)
"With leave of the good company,
"Play me the Beggar's Rant."

In *Hardyknute* it is uſed to ſignify a *bag-piper*:

"To join his King, a-down the hill
"In haſte his march he made;
"While, playand pibrachs, *Minſtrals* meit,
"Afore him ſtatelie ſtrade."

In the following paſſage, in Spencer's *Epithalamion*, the uſe made of the term *Minſtrel* ſeems deciſive of it's ſignifying any deſcription of *muſicians*:

"Hark! how the *Minſtrils* 'gin to ſhrill aloud
"Their merry muſick, that reſounds from far!
"The *pipe*, the *tabor*, and the *trembling croud*," &c.

[1] The laws in England againſt Gipſies, in former times, were extremely ſevere. By the 22 H. 8. c. 10, they were directed to leave the kingdom, and not to return under pain

6, Perſons playing or betting at any unlawful games or plays.

7, Perſons who run away and leave their wives and children upon the pariſh.

8, Petty chapmen, and pedlars, wandering abroad without a licence.

9, Perſons wandering abroad, and lodging in ale-houſes, out-houſes, or the open air, and not giving a good account of themſelves.

10, Perſons wandering abroad, and pretending to be ſoldiers or ſailors, without proper certificates from their officers, or teſtimonials from magiſtrates.

11, Perſons wandering abroad, and pretending to go to work in harveſt, without a proper certificate from the pariſh.

12, Perſons having implements of houſe-breaking, or offenſive weapons, with a felonious intent.

13, Perſons concerned in illegal lottery tranſactions, as deſcribed in the Lottery Acts 27th, 33d, 34th, and 35th Geo. III.

Incorrigible rogues [1] are puniſhable with two years' impriſonment; and are thus deſcribed:

1, Perſons ſtyled End Gatherers, buying, collecting, or receiving ends of yarn, in the woollen branch, againſt the ſtatute 13 Geo. I. c. 23. § 8.

2, Perſons,

pain of impriſonment and forfeiture of their goods and chattels. By the 1 and 2 Ph. and M. c. 4. and 5 Eliz. c. 20. it was enacted, that if any perſon ſhould import a Gipſey into this kingdom, he ſhould forfeit £40.; and that, if the Egyptians themſelves remained one month in this kingdom; or if any perſon, being fourteen years old, (whether natural-born ſubject or ſtranger,) who had been ſeen in the fellowſhip of ſuch perſons, or had diſguiſed him, or herſelf, like them, ſhould remain with them one month, at one, or ſeveral times; it ſhould be felony, without benefit of clergy: and we are informed, that, at one Suffolk Aſſizes, no leſs than thirteen Gypſies were executed, upon theſe Statutes, a few years before the Reſtoration. Blackſt. Comm. iv. 166. The 23d Geo. III. c. 51, declares, "that the 5 Eliz. "is and ought to be conſidered as a Law of exceſſive ſeverity," and repeals it. Gypſies are now only puniſhable under the Vagrant Act. The Scottiſh Laws treated Gypſies with no leſs ſeverity than the Act of Elizabeth. By an Act paſſed in 1609, "Sorners and common "thieſes, commonlie called Egyptians," were directed "to paſſe forthe of the kingdom, "under the paine of death, as common notorious and condemned thieves." Scottiſh Acts, 1, 850.

[1] When a perſon is convicted of being a rogue and vagabond before a Juſtice of the Peace, the Juſtice may order him to be whipped, or impriſoned till the next ſeſſions, or for any leſs time; and if impriſoned till the next ſeſſions, the Juſtices may then order a further impriſonment

2, Perſons, who, being rogues and vagabonds, have eſcaped after being apprehended, or who ſhall refuſe to be examined by a magiſtrate, or who ſhall give falſe accounts of themſelves after warning them of their puniſhment, or who refuſe to be conveyed by a paſs.

3, Perſons, who ſhall eſcape out of any houſe of correction, before the period of their impriſonment expires.

4, Perſons, who, being puniſhed as rogues and vagabonds, ſhall again commit the ſame offence.

In the year 1751, a pamphlet was publiſhed, intituled, "Conſidera-"tions on ſeveral Propoſals for the better Maintenance of the Poor." This, I imagine, was written to prove that the alterations propoſed by Mr. Hay, (who re-publiſhed his "Remarks on the Laws relating to "the Poor," this year,) and by Mr. Henry Fielding, in his "In-"quiry into the Cauſe of the late Increaſe of Robbers," were unneceſſary. The anonymous writer of the "Conſiderations," objects to leaving the Poor to be maintained by voluntary contributions, or accidental charity only; and thinks that thouſands would periſh, and much confuſion would ariſe, if laws, which had ſubſiſted for nearly two hundred years, were thus ſuddenly repealed. He thinks the diviſions of the country into pariſhes are ſufficiently large; and that a multitude is more eaſily governed, by being divided into ſubordinate parts, than they could be in great and unwieldy numbers. He remarks, that the nation was, in general, better governed, when the counties were di-

ment for ſix months: female vagabonds are ſubject to the ſame impriſonment, but in no inſtance are liable to whipping. 32 Geo. 3. c. 45. And the Juſtice, or the Court of Quarter Seſſions, may, if they think proper, order a vagabond, after puniſhment, to be conveyed to his place of ſettlement by a paſs; but no Juſtice of Peace ſhall order any vagrant to be conveyed by a paſs, who has not been actually whipped, or impriſoned for at leaſt ſeven days, which ſhall be certified in the paſs. 32 Geo. 3. c. 45. The object of this was to correct an abuſe, which much prevailed, of removing Paupers by a paſs, who had committed no act of vagrancy, and who ought to have been removed by an order of removal. An order of removal, and a vagrant paſs, operate very differently: in the firſt inſtance, the pariſh removing pays all travelling expences; in the other, they are defrayed by each county through which the vagrant paſſes. No appeal lies againſt a vagrant paſs; ſo that the pariſh, to which the vagrant is conveyed, muſt be at the expence of ſending the vagrant back again, by an order of removal, to his place of legal ſettlement. Burn, tit, Vagrants, c. 10. Chriſtian's Blackſtone, iv. 168, note.

vided

vided into hundreds, and the hundreds into decennaries; when every man of the decennary was anſwerable for the reſt, and no man might depart from his dwelling without the conſent of his fellow pledges.

He propoſes that the counties ſhould be divided, by the Juſtices in Seſſions, into as many ſmaller diſtricts as they ſhould think proper: that the petty conſtables ſhould viſit, weekly, the houſes in their reſpective diſtricts, and ſet down the names of all the inhabitants and lodgers, with their trades and ways of life, and whether their behaviour was orderly, and their children decently provided for, and employed; and ſhould make their returns once a month to the high conſtables: that the high conſtables ſhould make a monthly return, (at a Special Seſſions of the diviſion to be held for that purpoſe,) containing the names of inhabitants and lodgers; the number of public-houſes, and the behaviour of the ale-houſe keepers; and whether gaming, or other evil practices, were carried on in ſuch houſes; the number of the Poor in each pariſh; and an account how they were relieved, and employed; what work-houſes were eſtabliſhed in the diviſion, and what more were wanted: that the Juſtices of theſe Special Seſſions ſhould each be allowed half-a-guinea a day from the county treaſurer. High-conſtables, on the monthly returns, 5s. a day; petty-conſtables, 2s.6d. a week, for viſiting every week, and making monthly returns.

In all this, (he adds,) there will be no innovation upon our Conſtitution; but a nearer approach to the ſpirit and meaning of it, and almoſt all in the old forms: in the execution of this plan, the expence will not be great; but, on the contrary, the general ſavings to the Public will be immenſe, if, by theſe means, the Poor can be well employed, and the idle and profligate reſtrained.

Mr. Alcock, in 1752, propoſed a plan, in many reſpects very ſimilar to that recommended by Mr. Hay. He quotes the Dutch, as exemplary managers, in providing maintenance for the impotent, and employment for the vagrant Poor; and thinks the way they have chiefly ſucceeded has been by hoſpitals. He therefore propoſes, that a work-houſe or hoſpital ſhould be erected in the center of every hundred, upon the following plan: "It ſhould conſiſt of three parts, one for the "impotent, and the able and honeſt induſtrious Poor; one for the ſick; "and one for the confinement, labour, and correction of vagrants, idlers,

"and

" and ſturdy beggars. It ſhould be ſtrong and plain: grandeur here is " abſurd; for ſurely palaces are not proper for Paupers. The build- " ings need not be of large extent; for, I am convinced, the inhabitants " would not be very numerous. That part intended for a houſe of cor- " rection, ſhould be particularly ſtrong. If poſſible, the building ſhould " be erected near ſome river, and where there is a good deal of waſte- " ground. The river might ſerve for mills of various ſorts, and for " many purpoſes in trade and manufactures, as well as culinary uſes; " and the waſte-ground might be taken in and improved, and ſerve " for the production of roots and vegetables, corn, &c.; for rope-yards, " for bleaching, and drying hemp, flax, yarn, wool, and for many other " purpoſes, which it is not neceſſary here to enumerate. If poſſible, " alſo, it ſhould be near ſome church, that the Poor might have the " benefit of divine ſervice every Sunday, and other days of public wor- " ſhip.

" All perſons, that begged, or aſked for relief, ſhould directly be ſent " to this houſe, and be immediately admitted, on an order ſigned by " the miniſter and overſeers for the time being, or by a majority of " the church-wardens and overſeers of every pariſh. No money, but " what paſſed through this houſe, ſhould be charged by the overſeers. " Here the Poor ſhould be well taken care of, and ſupplied with whole- " ſome diet, cloathing, and lodging: materials ſhould be provided for " the employment of all thoſe that ſhould be able to work, as hemp, " flax, wool, leather, yarn, both linen and woollen; iron, wood, &c.; " and likewiſe proper implements and working tools, as ſpinning- " wheels, cards, turns, knitting, and other needles, looms, ſhovels, axes, " hammers, ſaws for ſtone and timber, and, perhaps, ſome ſort of " mills, where a ſtream could be had, as corn, fulling, paper-mills, &c. " Here ſeveral ſorts of buſineſs, and ſome ſmall manufactures, might " be carried on; as ſpinning, weaving, ſtocking and net knitting, ſaw- " ing, rope-making, wool-combing, particularly in the Weſt of Eng- " land, where the woollen-trade is conſiderable; flax-dreſſing, particu- " larly in the North, where a good deal of hemp and flax is grown. " The manufacture of pin-making would employ a number of Poor. " A ſkilful manager would find work of ſome kind or other for every one. " The lame of foot might uſe their hands for many good purpoſes. The

" blind

" blind might turn a windlaſs, a wheel, or grinding-ſtone. Even chil-
" dren might ſoon be brought to do many things; to knit ſtockings or
" nets, to wind thread or yarn, and aſſiſt the weavers, &c. The aged,
" if they could do nothing elſe, might overlook, inſtruct, and direct,
" others, in thoſe ſeveral branches of buſineſs they were ſkilled in.

" The labour of the houſe," he thinks, " would go a great way to
" maintain them: the cloathing ſhould be an uniform: the charge of
" building, and all other expences, ſhould be borne by the ſeveral pa-
" riſhes of the hundred; each pariſh paying a proportion, according to a
" medium of what they had paid to the Poor for four years laſt paſt.
" The money ſhould be aſſeſſed, and collected in the ſame manner as
" at preſent.

" The two overſeers, and miniſter of the pariſh, if he thought pro-
" per to join with them, ſhould be the acting officers for a year, and
" ſhould have the management of the ordinary buſineſs of the hoſpital.
" And each pariſh in the hundred ſhould take the management by ro-
" tation, beginning alphabetically, according to the initial letters of
" each pariſh. No perſon ſhould be capable of being choſen overſeer,
" that had not £40. a year leaſehold, or £20. a year land. The ac-
" counts of the two acting officers ſhould be audited and paſſed every
" quarter, at a general meeting of all the overſeers of the hundred,
" and the miniſters of the reſpective pariſhes, together with the Juſ-
" tices of the hundred; and the determination of a majority of thoſe
" that attended, ſhould be final: in caſe of fraud, or wilful miſmanage-
" ment in the acting officers, the majority ſhould have a power to
" levy, by diſtreſs and ſale of the offender's goods, ſo much money as
" would make ſatisfaction. Market-towns ſhould have an hoſpital of
" their own, and not be admitted as members of the united hundred;
" becauſe their numbers might cauſe a good deal of trouble to the
" houſe, and, upon a decay of trade, accidents of fire, ſickneſs, &c.
" which towns are moſt liable to, might bring an extraordinary charge
" of Poor, and their payments would not be in proportion to their
" burthen."

The advantages that would ariſe from ſuch eſtabliſhments, Mr. Alcock thinks, would be, 1ſt, a reduction in the number of Poor. " For

" to be ſent to the Poor-houſe, however well they might be taken care " of there, would look like a ſort of exile, and be deemed ſome hardſhip, " and puniſhment: and many, that now live lazily on monthly pay, in " order to avoid going thither, would be content to labour, and fare " harder, and make a ſhift to ſubſiſt. For they would conſider they " muſt work at the hoſpital: and therefore, that it's better to live " among their friends, and work at home." That this has been the effect of work-houſes, in many parts of England, the reader will find various inſtances in the Second Volume of this Work.

2d. The hoſpitals would increaſe labour and induſtry.

3d. The conſequence of an increaſe of labour, and a diminution of the number of the Poor, would be a reduction of the Poor's Rate.

Mr. Alcock ſays, that " the whole ſum laid out on the Poor-account " in South Britain, for four years preceding his publication, amounted, " at a medium, to near three millions yearly, according to the accounts " given in to Parliament, in 1751, which is equal to a land-tax of ſix " ſhillings in the pound."

He alſo propoſes, that vagrants and diſorderly perſons ſhould be taken up, and kept to hard labour for a week, in the houſe of correction, in the hoſpital; that, for a ſecond offence, they ſhould be whipped, and confined to hard labour for a month; and for a third offence, ſhould be confined till the next Quarter Seſſions, and, on proof of their being incorrigible rogues, ſhould be tranſported, "*made ſlaves of, or whatever elſe the Quarter Seſſions ſhould think proper.*" This is a very lax and undiſtinguiſhing expreſſion for defining the puniſhment of idleneſs; which, indeed, is an offence of ſo dubious a nature, that it may be doubted, whether the wiſeſt courſe which a Legiſlator can purſue, is not to leave it to the puniſhment, that ariſes from theſe difficulties, which idleneſs, (more eſpecially, when combined with poverty,) will never fail to experience.

In 1753, a bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, by Mr. Potter, ſon of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for taking and regiſtering an annual account of the total number of people, and of the total number of marriages, births, and deaths; and alſo, of the total number of perſons receiving alms in every pariſh and extra-parochial place in Great Britain.

This bill was violently oppoſed by Mr. Thornton, the member for York, as ſubverſive of the laſt remains of Engliſh Liberty, and merely intended, in a period of exigency and diſtreſs, to facilitate the calculations of the political arithmetician, and to enable the tax-gatherer to exact the utmoſt farthing of a capitation. It appears from his ſpeech, that the numbering of the People, and the return of the Poor's Rate, were to be annual. The bill paſſed the Houſe of Commons; but was thrown out by the Lords, upon the ſecond reading. Notwithſtanding the very popular arguments which were urged againſt this meaſure, and which, it is probable, cauſed it's rejection, I think it is much to be regretted that Mr. Potter's propoſals were not adopted. Of political arithmetic, or "the art of reaſoning by figures, on matters relating to "government," a correct knowledge of the numbers and condition of the people is the principal foundation. To aſcertain, by enumerations taken from time to time, that the population of a country has gradually increaſed, is, perhaps, in other words, to determine, that the great buſineſs of Government has been wiſely and proſperouſly adminiſtered. Davenant juſtly remarks, that, as "the wealth of all nations ariſes from "the labour and induſtry of the people, a right knowledge of their "numbers is neceſſary to thoſe who will judge of a country's power "and ſtrength. And this is ſo far from being a matter of mere ſpecu-"lation, as ſome think, that many concluſions may be drawn from "thence, which are both uſeful and reducible to practice[1]." Such information,

[1] See Davenant, on the uſe of Political Arithmetic: Whitworth's ed. i. 138. The following judicious obſervations, on this ſubject, are annexed to a Return of the Population of Corſe Caſtle, containing the age, profeſſion, trade, &c. of every inhabitant; communicated to the Editor of the Annals of Agriculture, by W. M. Pitt, Eſq. M. P.

"From ſuch returns great parochial advantages would be derived, whereſoever they might "be adopted; and, if they were general, great national benefit would reſult therefrom.

"They would enable the clergyman, pariſh-officers, veſtry, and contributors to the Poor's "Rates in general, in any place, to form a perfect judgment on the ſituation and wants of "every diſtreſſed perſon or family, to diſcriminate between the deſerving and diſſolute or "idle, and to provide employment for thoſe who are in want of it, and eſpecially for chil-"dren, as they ſucceſſively become able to undertake work.

"They would enable the magiſtrates to form an opinion on the propriety of applications "for parochial relief, on the one hand; and of the refuſal of it, by the pariſh-officers, on "the other; to diſcover whether that very important part of the Statute of the 43d of "Elizabeth, the providing work for the Poor, be not neglected; and, from an accurate

formation, more eſpecially when combined with correct accounts of the produce of the different branches of the revenue, of the proportion which the opulent claſſes bear to thoſe who can barely ſubſiſt, and to thoſe, who, from their poverty, (inſtead of being able to contribute any thing towards the exigencies of the State,) are the greateſt burthen on the more able or more induſtrious part of the community, is the groundwork, on which every able miniſter will both reaſon, and act, whether called upon to remedy the local diſadvantages of a part, or to manage the general intereſts of the whole, of the empire. Of the utility of one part of Mr. Potter's plan, the object of which was to aſcertain the number of the Poor, and the expence of maintaining them, the Legiſlature themſelves ſeem to have been fully convinced; for, in the year 1776, the overſeers, of every pariſh in the kingdom, were enjoined, by Act of Parliament, to make returns, upon oath, to various queſtions relative to the

" knowledge of the characters and ſituations of the individuals, to correct ſuch abuſes as " may be within the reach of their authority, or report to the Quarter Seſſions any matters " which may require the interference and control of that Court.

" The exact population of the kingdom; the degrees of ſalubrity of different places; the " proportion between the ſexes, at various periods of life; the numbers of perſons employed " and unemployed; the cauſe of the want of employment, whether idleneſs or neceſſity; " the proportion between perſons ſupported by charity, and the whole population; the num- " ber capable of bearing arms for the defence of the State; the proportion between thoſe " employed in agriculture and in trade, and between thoſe of different trades and callings, " with reſpect to each other; and the increaſe or decreaſe of any, or all, manufactures, " would thus be aſcertained.

" The beſt *data* for calculating the value of annuities and reverſions would alſo be eſta- " bliſhed, as well as a check on frauds on the revenue; and the plan would very materially " tend to the improvement of the police and good order of the country.

" Returns ſimilar to theſe might be eaſily obtained by the following mode of proceeding:

" The church-wardens and overſeers of every pariſh in England, Wales, and the town " of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and the kirk-elders of every pariſh in Scotland, ſhould provide a " ſufficient number of blank tables, ſimilar to the ſpecimen here produced, to inſure uni- " formity in the returns, and ſhould then ſet down the names of all the houſe-keepers reſi- " dent at the time within the pariſh, affixing a number to each houſe, in ſuch order as to " enable them, with the leaſt poſſible trouble, to go from houſe to houſe to collect the in- " formation required. Every thing neceſſary being thus previouſly prepared, they ſhould " proceed throughout the whole kingdom, on one and the ſame day, that a perſon may not " be ſet down in more places than one, (ſuppoſe on the 24th of June,) to take an account of " the inhabitants, according to the form here given. In ſmaller pariſhes, the inquiry

" may

the amount of aſſeſſments, number of Poor, work-houſes, and the particular expences of the charges of ſettlements, removals, appeals, and other litigations, concerning the Poor; and in the year 1786, ſimilar meaſures were adopted by Parliament, for acquiring further information on the ſame ſubject. We cannot, therefore, diſapprove of the principles upon which the Bill in 1753 was founded, without equally condemning the Acts which paſſed in 1776 and 1786, relative to the ſame ſubject. The extreme neceſſity, however, not only of obtaining full, but periodical ſtatements, from year to year, of the condition of the Poor, ſeems now to be ſo ſenſibly felt, that the appointment of proper perſons, to report the ſtate of each pariſh, forms a principal feature in the plan lately brought forward by Mr. Pitt, for the amendment of the Poor Laws [1].

At this period the Poor Laws ſeem to have attracted very general

" may be beſt made by one perſon; in larger, by two, three or more, dividing the pariſh " amongſt them. The returns ſhould then be carefully examined, miſtakes corrected, de- " ficiencies ſupplied, and two copies prepared; the one to be kept among the pariſh records; " the other to be delivered, at the Michaelmas Quarter Seſſions, to the Clerks of the Peace " of the counties of England and Wales, or to the Sheriffs Deputy of the counties of Scot- " land: the perſons who drew up the returns ſhould be ſworn as to their accuracy, and " ſhould produce a certificate from the clergyman or miniſter of the pariſh, ſtating, that " he has himſelf examined the returns; that they are, to the beſt of his knowledge, juſt " and true; and that they were made on the 24th of June. Theſe returns ſhould be filed " among the records of the county: and the Clerk of the Peace, or Sheriff Deputy, (as " the caſe may be,) ſhould, previous to the 1ſt of December, make two abſtracts of them; " the one to be alſo preſerved among the records of the county, to be referred to by magi- " ſtrates, when they may think proper; the other to be tranſmitted to his Majeſty's Secre- " tary of State for the home department, who ſhall cauſe a general abſtract to be made of " the information procured from the whole kingdom, to be laid before his Majeſty and " both Houſes of Parliament. The perſons making the returns ſhould be allowed to charge " to the pariſh account, one farthing for every name inſerted therein; and the Clerk of the " Peace, or Sheriff's Deputy, ſhall receive, from the county ſtock, one ſhilling for every " parochial return which he ſhall abſtract. Penalties ſhould be inflicted on pariſh-officers, " &c. in caſe of neglect, and on perſons refuſing to give, or giving falſe, information." Annals of Agric. xxvi. 189.

It appears to me, that the population of the kingdom might be calculated with great correctneſs from the liſts, which, by the Militia Act, are directed to be returned to the Deputy Lieutenants, of males between the age of 18 and 45 years, in every pariſh in the kingdom, with the aſſiſtance of Dr. Price's Tables on the Rate of Human Mortality.

[1] See the Heads of Mr. Pitt's Bill, in the Appendix to this Volume, No. xii.

attention,

attention, both in and out of Parliament [1]. Two Schemes, in the forms of Acts, drawn up by two perſons of rank, Sir Richard Lloyd, and the Earl of Hillſborough, were publiſhed in the year 1753; but neither of them paſſed into a Law.

The Earl's Scheme repeals all the Poor Laws; and deſtroys the whole ſyſtem of ſettlements and removals: it, however, re-enacts, with ſome alterations, the clauſes reſpecting the appointment of overſeers, the manner of levying the Rates, the ordering of baſtard children, binding out apprentices, and the mutual liability of parents and children to maintain each other: he propoſes, that, in every county, there ſhall be one corporation, conſiſting of ſuch perſons as ſhall ſubſcribe not leſs than £ 5. annually, towards the relief of the Poor of the county; that they ſhall be called governors of the Poor; have power to purchaſe lands; make bye-laws; appoint officers, with ſalaries, as clerk and treaſurer; and alſo a ſteward, to ſuperintend and direct the whole economy of the eſtabliſhment; to provide diet, apparel, materials, implements of work, utenſils, and furniture; to ſell the produce of the work, and to enforce the obſervation of rules made for order and decency: and that they ſhall likewiſe have power to appoint an apothecary; and a maſter and matron, to inſtruct the boys and girls in the various branches of manufacture.

He then propoſes, that, in every county, one or more hoſpitals, with convenient ground adjoining, be erected, and be furniſhed with proper materials and implements for work; that none be admitted into the hoſpital, except the children of parents not able to maintain them; all expoſed and deſerted children; diſeaſed perſons, who cannot work, and are too poor to purchaſe medicines; idiots, lunatics, lame, old, blind, and others, having no means to maintain themſelves: and that

[1] The ingenious Author of the Police of France, who wrote in the year 1753, obſerves, "that, notwithſtanding the plentiful proviſion for the Poor in that country, there was a general complaint of the increaſe of beggars and vagrants; and adds, that the French political writers, diſſatisfied with their own plan, had preſented ſeveral memorials to the miniſtry, propoſing to adopt the Engliſh parochial aſſeſſments, as greatly preferable. This, (Lord Kames remarks,) "is a curious fact; for, at that very time, people in London, no "leſs diſſatisfied with theſe aſſeſſments, were writing pamphlets in praiſe of the French "hoſpitals." Sketches, B. 2. Sketch 10.

ſuch

ſuch perſons, (but no other kind of Poor whatſoever,) be admitted upon the recommendation of a governor: that each hoſpital ſhall contain three diſtinct apartments, for the children, the aged, and the diſeaſed; and that the boys and girls ſhall lodge and work apart from each other.

Phyſicians and ſurgeons, who attend, and the miniſter of the pariſh, if he viſits the ſick, and inſtructs the Poor in religion, ſhall be governors without ſubſcribing.

The charges of the building, furniture, and materials, are to be paid out of the contributions, and out of ſuch money as may be granted by Parliament for that purpoſe, and further, out of an aſſeſſment, for two years, of 3d. in the pound each year. And for maintaining the Poor admitted into the ſaid hoſpitals, an aſſeſſment is to be laid yearly, of 6d. in the pound: and the profits of any work that may be done in the ſaid hoſpitals, to be alſo added to the revenue of the ſaid hoſpitals, and applied towards the ſuſtentation thereof. Beſides this, the church-wardens and overſeers are to make collections in the church on Sundays, and from houſe to houſe at certain times, and diſtribute the ſame, together with other ſpecial benefactions, to ſuch as ſhall have moſt need, according to their ſeveral neceſſities: and the overſeers, with leave of the Lord of the manor, may incloſe and improve commons, not exceeding ten acres a year, for the uſe and benefit of the Poor.

All vagrants, idle and diſorderly perſons, and perſons able to work, (and having no means to maintain themſelves otherwiſe than by their labour, and refuſing to work,) to be ſent to the houſe of correction of the place where they ſhall be apprehended, there to be kept to hard labour, for ſuch time, and in ſuch manner, as ſhall be thought proper.

The Scheme of Sir Richard Lloyd recites, that the education of the children of the Poor cannot be ſo well effected, nor the Poor be ſo comfortably maintained in ſmall numbers, and diſtinct families, as in large and well-ordered houſes ſet apart for that purpoſe: and propoſes, that the Juſtices, in Seſſions, ſhall divide their county into as many diſtricts as they think proper; and that they, and other perſons of conſiderable property, to be choſen as jurors, ſhall be guardians of the Poor within the reſpective diſtricts: that ſubſcribers of certain ſums ſhall be additional guardians: that they ſhall be a body corporate, make bye-laws, chooſe committees, and appoint treaſurers, and other officers, with

with convenient ſalaries: they are likewiſe empowered to purchaſe land, and thereon to build *a houſe of induſtry*, and other convenient buildings, for lodging and employing the Poor within the diſtrict; and to provide furniture and materials for work: the expence to be defrayed by a lottery and by voluntary contributions, and, (if requiſite,) by aſſeſſments: the charges for the relief and employment of the Poor afterwards, from time to time, to be raiſed by an aſſeſſment on the ſeveral pariſhes, in proportion to the number of Poor they ſend to the houſe. The reſt of the Poor Laws he leaves untouched.

Of this Scheme, Dr. Burn remarks[1], that it does not oblige the overſeers to ſend all their Poor to the houſe of induſtry, but only to pay for thoſe they do ſend; others not ſo fit to be removed thither, may, he ſuppoſes, be ſuſtained at home, out of the Poor's Rate, as before. In Lord Hillſborough's Scheme, this kind of relief, on ſudden emergencies, ſeems to reſt wholly on voluntary contributions.

Under the year 1753, may be noticed a work by the late Henry Fielding, intituled, "An Enquiry into the cauſes of the late increaſe of robberies:" as, although publiſhed in 1751, it appears to have been intended as introductory to his "Propoſal for making an effectual proviſion for the Poor," which came out in the year 1753, I ſhall therefore conſider them as one work.

In the former, he reviews the Poor Laws very fully. He thinks the plans of Lord Hale and Sir Joſiah Child are inadequate either to remedy the defects in the laws, or in the execution of them. He divides the Poor into three claſſes:

1ſt. Such Poor as are unable to work.

2dly. Such as are able and willing to work.

3dly. Such as are able to work, but not willing.

Of the firſt claſs, he ſays, "there are but few. An utter incapacity "to work muſt ariſe from ſome defect occaſioned either by nature or "accident. Natural infirmities are greatly the moſt, (perhaps the only "conſiderable,) ones; for as to accidental maims, how very rarely do "they happen! and, I muſt add, how very nobly are they provided for "when they do happen! Again, as to natural incapacities, they are but "few, unleſs thoſe two general circumſtances, one of which muſt, and

[1] Hiſtory of the Poor Laws, 196.

" the other may, befal all men; I mean the extremes of youth and age:
" for, beſides theſe, the number of perſons who really labour under an
" utter incapacity to work, will, on a juſt inſpection, be found ſo trifling,
" that two of the London hoſpitals might contain them all." I moſt perfectly agree with him, in his firm perſuaſion, that this claſs might be ſafely left to voluntary charity, unenforced by any compulſive law. The great bounty to beggars will, he thinks, prove the truth of his aſſertion; " for, at a time when every man knows the vaſt tax which is
" raiſed for the ſupport of the Poor, and when all men of property muſt
" feel their contributions to this tax, mankind are ſo forward to relieve
" the appearance of diſtreſs in their fellow-creatures, that every beggar,
" who can but moderately well perſonate miſery, is ſure to find relief and
" encouragement; and this, though the giver muſt have great reaſon to
" doubt the reality of the diſtreſs, and when he can ſcarce be ignorant
" that his bounty is illegal, and that he is encouraging a nuiſance.
" What then muſt be the caſe, when there ſhould be no ſuch tax, nor
" any ſuch contribution; and when, by relieving a known and certain
" object of charity, every good man muſt be aſſured that he is not only
" doing an act which the Law allows, but which Chriſtianity, and hu-
" manity too, exact of him? However, if there be any perſon who is yet
" unwilling to truſt the Poor (of this deſcription) to voluntary charity;
" or if it ſhould be objected, that there is no reaſon to lay the whole
" burden on the worthier part of mankind, and to excuſe the covetous
" rich; and that a tax is therefore neceſſary to force open the purſes of
" theſe latter; let there be a tax then, and a very inconſiderable one
" would effectually ſupply the purpoſe."

Of the ſecond claſs, he remarks, that, to provide for theſe, ſeems to have been the chief deſign of the ſtatute of Elizabeth, as well as of ſeveral laws enacted ſince. That the deſign has failed, he thinks, ariſes from the Legiſlature having left the whole work to the overſeers: " They have rather told them what they are to do, (viz. to employ the
" induſtrious Poor,) than how they ſhall do it. It is true the original
" Act directs them, by a parochial tax, to raiſe a convenient ſtock of
" flax, hemp, wool, thread, iron, and other ware and ſtuff, to ſet the
" Poor on work: a direction ſo general and imperfect, that it can be

" no wonder, conſidering what ſort of men the overſeers of the Poor " have been, that it ſhould never have been carried into execution."

This finding employment for the induſtrious Poor is, he admits, buſineſs of great difficulty; but he thinks it is not impracticable, and ſays, that he has thought of a plan for the purpoſe, which he will produce whenever he ſhall ſee the leaſt glimpſe of hope that his labour in drawing it out at length would not be abſolutely and certainly thrown away.

With reſpect to the moſt numerous claſs of Poor, thoſe who are able to work and not willing, he is of opinion, that the Law has not been deficient in providing good regulations for obliging them to work. The ſtatutes empowering the magiſtrates to rate wages, are, he thinks, as much for the benefit of the labourer as of his maſter. " It is the ſame " thing," he ſays, " to have the liberty of working or not at your own " pleaſure, and to have the abſolute nomination of the price at which " you will work."

In a ſubſequent pamphlet publiſhed in 1753, he laid before the public the ſcheme which he had hinted at in his former publication. The following is a ſummary of its principal contents. He propoſes to make trial, firſt, in the county of Middleſex, as he was beſt acquainted with the ſtate of the Poor there, and the well-regulating them was of the greateſt advantage to the Public; and the plan, if found to anſwer, might be eaſily extended over the whole kingdom.

He recommends erecting, in the county of Middleſex, a large building, conſiſting of three courts: the two outermoſt to be called the county-houſe, and the innermoſt the county-houſe of correction; with a chapel and offices: the county-houſe to be large enough to contain 5000 perſons, and the houſe of correction 600 perſons: that the houſe be under the management of commiſſioners, who ſhall meet once a fortnight: that the governor ſhall have very large powers, particularly with regard to the buying of implements and materials for employing the people in the houſe in all kinds of manufacture, and once a month to hold a market for the diſpoſal of the goods manufactured in the houſe: that any perſon convicted of being a rogue or vagabond, or perſons wandering without a paſs, may be ſent to the county-houſe, or county-

houſe

houſe of correction; but that poor perſons having occaſion to travel into another county, or labourers and artificers, may have a paſs from the magiſtrate, miniſter, or church-warden of the pariſh. The following clauſe relates to providing work for the Poor: "Whereas many able "and induſtrious perſons, who are willing to get a livelihood by honeſt "labour, are often, for want of ſuch labour, reduced to great diſtreſs, "and forced againſt their will to become chargeable to the pariſhes to "which they belong; when any poor perſon ſhall apply to the mini-"ſter or church-warden of any pariſh, and ſhew to either of them ſuch "their inability to procure a livelihood in their own pariſh, or in any "other pariſh in the neighbourhood, the miniſter or church-warden "ſhall deliver to ſuch poor perſon a certificate in the words following:

'To the Governor of the County-houſe of the ſaid County.

'Pariſh of } 'I recommend to your care C. D. the bearer
'Middleſex. } 'hereof, to be provided for in your county-
'houſe, he being an honeſt induſtrious perſon,
'but incapable, at preſent, of procuring work in
'this neighbourhood.

'Given under my hand this 10th Nov. 1752.

'A. B. Church-warden of the ſaid Pariſh.'

"Which ſaid paſs being produced and ſworn to before any Juſtice of "Peace of the ſaid county, ſhall be counterſigned by him; provided "that it ſhall appear to the Juſtice, that ſuch paſs was obtained at the "deſire of the party obtaining it, and that, from abſolute want of labour "in the ſaid pariſh.

"That when any perſon ſhall come to the county-houſe with a cer-"tificate as above, the governor, or his deputy, ſhall examine the ſaid "perſon as to his age, ability, and ſkill in any work or manufacture, "and ſhall then order the receiver to enter in a book, to be kept for "that purpoſe, the name and age of the ſaid perſon, the pariſh to which "he belongs, and the day of his admiſſion into the county-houſe, to-"gether with the kind of labour to which he is appointed; and a dupli-"cate thereof ſhall likewiſe be entered in another book, to be kept by "the ſtore-keeper; after which, the ſaid perſon ſhall be ſet to work ac-

" cording to his abilities. In the ſaid book ſhall likewiſe be entered an " account of the monies advanced to him by the receiver, and of the " repayments to be made by him, as hereafter is ordered and appointed.

" And if any ſuch perſon ſhall depart from the ſaid houſe more than " the ſpace of one mile, or ſhall abſent himſelf above one hour from the " ſaid houſe, without the leave of the governor or deputy governor, ſuch " perſon being thereof convicted upon the oath of one witneſs, or on his " own confeſſion, before the governor, his deputy, or any one Juſtice " of the Peace, ſhall be committed to the county-houſe of correction, " there to remain till the next ſeſſions, or for any leſs time: provided, " nevertheleſs, that the governor or his deputy are hereby required to " grant a licence of departure to all ſuch perſons, whenever the ſame " ſhall be demanded; unleſs ſuch perſons ſhall not then have finiſhed " the particular piece of work in which they ſhall be employed, or " unleſs they ſhall then remain indebted to the receiver of the ſaid " houſe; ſuch licence of departure to be in the following words:

'County-houſe of Middleſex.' 'A. B. the bearer hereof, who came voluntarily 'to the county-houſe aforeſaid, is, at his own 'requeſt, diſcharged from the ſame, and at 'liberty to return to his lawful habitation in 'the pariſh of in the ſaid county.

'C. D. Governor.'

" To which the governor may, at his diſcretion, add a clauſe ſignify- " ing the induſtry or good behaviour of the ſaid party.

" That, as often as any perſon ſhall be committed or admitted to the " county-houſe, the receiver ſhall immediately advance to him, or her, " if deſired, the ſum of two ſhillings, and ſo weekly the ſame ſum, until " the firſt ſale of the manufacture wrought by ſuch perſon; after which, " it ſhall not be lawful for the ſaid receiver to make any farther ad- " vancement, without a ſpecial order from the governor or deputy, " ſpecifying the ſum to be advanced, oppoſite to which ſhall be entered " the letter O; and ſuch order ſhall likewiſe be filed as a voucher for " that purpoſe. All theſe advancements to be afterwards deducted by " the receiver, after the rate of four-pence in the ſhilling, out of the

" monies

" monies due to the ſaid labourer from the ſale of his manufacture, till " the whole ſhall be repaid.

" Upon application made by any nobleman, gentleman, merchant, " tradeſman, farmer, or ſubſtantial houſholder, dwelling within the " county of Middleſex, or within twenty miles of the ſaid county-houſe, " to the governor, or deputy, ſignifying that ſuch nobleman, &c. is " deſirous to take into his ſervice any labourer or labourers then con- " fined in the ſaid county-houſe, it ſhall be lawful for the governor or " deputy, and he is hereby required to deliver over the ſaid labourer or " labourers to ſuch perſon ſo applying, and to deliver to each of the " ſaid labourers, a certificate, in the words following:

' County-houſe, Middleſex.

' A. B. is delivered to C. D. as his ſervant to ſerve him until ' , and then to return to the ſaid houſe. Dated the 5th of ' Auguſt, 1753. E. F. Deputy Governor.'

" Provided, nevertheleſs, that where ſuch ſervant ſhall be hired for a " year certain, the clauſe relating to his return ſhall be omitted; and " when any labourer ſhall be ſo hired, as aforeſaid, for any leſs time than " one year, the perſon ſo hiring ſuch labourer ſhall depoſit, in the hands " of the ſaid houſe, one half of the labourer's wages for the time he " ſhall be ſo hired: and if he ſhall be hired for any longer time than " two months, then one month's wages to be depoſited; which money " ſo depoſited ſhall be paid by the receiver to every ſuch labourer imme- " diately upon his return to the ſaid houſe, deducting one penny in every " ſhilling. And if ſuch labourer ſhall depart, or be lawfully diſcharged " from his ſaid ſervice, before the wages ſo depoſited ſhall become due, " the receiver ſhall return the whole to the perſon depoſiting the ſame, " deducting only as above; but if the ſaid labourer ſhall abide with his " ſaid maſter during the limited time, and ſhall not return within two " days after the expiration thereof, (ſickneſs, or other lawful impediment, " excepted,) then ſhall the money depoſited be forfeited to the uſe of " the ſaid houſe; of all which retainers, depoſits, repayments, and for- " feitures, a double entry ſhall be made by the receiver and ſtore-keeper.

" And if any perſon ſo hiring any labourer, as aforeſaid, ſhall diſ-
" charge the ſame before the expiration of the term for which he was ſo
" hired, he ſhall forfeit the whole money depoſited by him as above;
" which money ſhall be paid to ſuch labourer at his return to the ſaid
" houſe: provided, that it ſhall be lawful, on reaſonable cauſe ſhewn,
" to the ſatisfaction of any one Juſtice of the Peace, either by the maſter
" or labourer, for ſuch Juſtice to diſcharge ſuch labourer, and to ſend
" him back to the county-houſe, or order him to the county-houſe of
" correction, at his pleaſure. And if ſuch labourer ſhall have been hired
" into any foreign county, the Juſtice of ſuch county may, if he pleaſes,
" commit him to the houſe of correction there: provided, likewiſe, that
" if ſuch labourer ſhall, by ſickneſs, or any accident, be rendered inca-
" pable of working, it ſhall be lawful for his maſter, at his expence, to
" turn him to the county-houſe, to be provided for in the infirmary of
" the ſaid houſe; in which caſe, the money depoſited ſhall be paid to
" him to whom it ſhall appear to be due.

" And if any labourer ſo hired, as aforeſaid, for leſs time than one year,
" ſhall not, at the end of his term, return to the ſaid houſe; or if any
" labourer whatſoever, ſo being hired, ſhall run away or depart from
" his maſter's ſervice before the expiration of his term, unleſs for ſome
" default in his maſter or miſtreſs, or ſhall aſſault his maſter or miſtreſs,
" or ſhall refuſe to work at the command of his ſaid maſter, or his agent,
" or be guilty of any miſdemeanor in his ſaid ſervice, it ſhall be lawful
" for any Juſtice of the Peace, if ſuch maſter ſhall reſide in the county
" of Middleſex, to commit the ſaid labourer to the county-houſe of cor-
" rection, there to be firſt ſeverely whipped, and to remain to hard la-
" bour till the next ſeſſions, when he may be further dealt with by the
" Juſtices at their diſcretion: or, if the ſaid maſter ſhall reſide in any
" other county, then to be ſent by a Juſtice of that county to the houſe
" of correction there, to be ſeverely whipped, and to remain for any
" time not exceeding three, nor leſs than one calendar month; provided
" that no perſon, who comes voluntarily to the ſaid houſe, ſhall be forced
" into ſuch ſervice contrary to his own conſent and option."

There are other rules, for regulating the hours of work, of reſt, and recreation; the appointment of officers; the juriſdiction of the governor; the

the puniſhment of petty offences; and the inſtruction of labourers in all kinds of manufactures; upon the due execution of which, Mr. Fielding ſays, the ſucceſs of his plan will principally depend.

In anſwer to the objection, that he has computed the number of the Poor in the county of Middleſex at too ſmall a number, and has not provided for one half of them, he obſerves, that a great number of thoſe who are in Bridewell, (or ought to be inhabitants of that place,) do not properly belong to the county, but are vagabonds from all parts of the kingdom, allured from their own homes by the hopes of labour, and the encouragement which this great town holds out to beggars and thieves: but when, inſtead of ſuch inviting proſpects, a work-houſe, or a Bridewell, ſhall preſent itſelf to their eyes, the number of vagabonds will diſappear, and the houſe be fully ſufficient for providing for all the able Poor. The aged, the infant, and the accidentally impotent, Poor, may, he thinks, with great ſafety, be left to voluntary contributions. He cites Sir William Petty's Political Arithmetic, to prove, that the proportion of impotent Poor does not exceed 1 in 500; and that £6. a year for each individual of this deſcription would be an ample maintenance. The following is his computation of their number in the county in which he wiſhes his ſcheme to be tried: "If the people in "Middleſex amount to 200,000, the impotent Poor will be 2,400; the "expence of maintaining which number will be £13,600. The above "excellent author (Petty) eſtimates the children under ſeven years of "age at the rate of one-fourth of the people: theſe then, according to "my eſtimate in Middleſex, will be 300,000; of theſe, I preſume, not "above 1 in 150 will be a burthen on the public. This number, then, "will be 3000; for whom £3. each, one with another, will be ſuffi-"cient, and which will make the ſum of £9000. The whole expence, "therefore, of the impotent Poor in Middleſex will be £22,600. about "the fourth part of what it now is. And if the number of hoſpitals, "infirmaries, and various donative charities within this county of "Middleſex, do not reduce this ſum, ſo as to bring the whole expence "to one-ſixth part of what it now is, I am greatly deceived, or thoſe "muſt be groſsly miſapplied."

This plan, Dr. Burn obſerves, ſeems to have been intended as ſupplementary to the ſchemes offered by Sir Richard Lloyd and Lord Hillſ-

 borough:

borough: but, notwithſtanding the very ſanguine hopes, which Fielding[1] himſelf entertained, that it would prove in the higheſt degree effectual, it does not appear that it received any attention from the Legiſlature. It is probable, they thought that the great expence of erecting the building propoſed, the ſalaries of a numerous train of officers, the dungeons, cells, and faſting-rooms, would not be reliſhed by the public. The inſtitution ſeems more calculated for a populous city, than for the generality of country pariſhes. It muſt, however, be admitted, that, in many particulars, this publication exhibits both the knowledge of the magiſtrate, and the energy and expreſſion of the novel-writer. The following remarks, in the introduction to his propoſal, are animated and juſt: they evince ſo much obſervation of the habits and manners of the vagrant and the beggar, that, we may be aſſured, many of the moſt intereſting ſcenes, in his works of fancy, were drawn from real life.

"That the Poor are a very great burthen, and even a nuiſance, to this "kingdom; that the laws for relieving their diſtreſſes, aud reſtraining "their vices, have not anſwered thoſe purpoſes; and that they are at "preſent very ill provided for, and much worſe governed, are truths, "which every man, I believe, will acknowledge. Such have been the "unanimous complaints of all writers who have conſidered this matter, "down from the days of Queen Elizabeth; ſuch is apparently the "ſenſe of our preſent Legiſlature, and ſuch is the univerſal voice of "the nation.

[1] Of the good effects of Henry Fielding's activity as a magiſtrate, his brother John publiſhed a ſhort account in 1758; it was owing to a plan of police projected by him, and preſented to the Duke of Newcaſtle in 1753, that a notorious gang of ſtreet-robbers, (which at that time infeſted the metropolis, and not only pillaged, but cut and wounded thoſe they ſtopt,) was brought to condign puniſhment. Very ſoon after this, Henry Fielding's ill-ſtate of health totally diſqualified him from continuing in the fatiguing office of acting magiſtrate in the metropolis: he therefore reſigned his ſituation to his brother, (the late Sir John Fielding,) who had been an aſſiſtant magiſtrate to him for three or four years. In the abovementioned publication, he gives an account of ſeveral of his projects for the improvement of the police of this great town. Concerning beggars, he ſays, he had formed and executed a plan, in conjunction with the Juſtices of four pariſhes, which had effectually anſwered this end; for, within the ſpace of ſix weeks, no more than five beggars could be found in one whole week together in the four pariſhes.

This little tract alſo contains propoſals for employing the children of thieves, or the deſerted offſpring of idle and profligate parents, in the ſea-ſervice; and for the preſervation of thoſe unfortunate females, who become proſtitutes from neceſſity.

"The

" The facts muſt be very glaring that can produce this unanimous " concurrence in opinion; and ſo in truth they are. Every man, who " hath any property, muſt feel the weight of that tax which is levied " for the uſe of the Poor; and every man of any underſtanding muſt " ſee how abſurdly it is applied. So very uſeleſs, indeed, is this heavy " tax, and ſo wretched it's diſpoſition, that it is a queſtion whether the " Poor or the Rich are more diſſatisfied, or have indeed greater reaſon " to be diſſatisfied; ſince the plunder of the one ſerves ſo little to the real " advantage of the other; for, while a million yearly is raiſed among the " former, many of the latter are ſtarved; many more languiſh in want " and miſery; of the reſt, many are found begging or pilfering in the " ſtreets to-day, and to-morrow are locked up in gaols and bridewells.

" Of all theſe deplorable evils we have conſtant experience before our " eyes. The ſufferings of the Poor are indeed leſs obſerved than their " miſ-deeds; not from any want of compaſſion, but becauſe they are leſs " known; and this is the true reaſon why we hear them ſo often men- " tioned with abhorrence, and ſo ſeldom with pity. They ſtarve, and " freeze, and rot among themſelves; but they beg, and ſteal, and rob " among their betters."

Several other propoſals reſpecting the Poor made their appearance in 1758: a pamphlet written by James Maſſie aſcribes the increaſe of the Poor to monopolizing farms, and encloſures of common lands: it alſo aſſerts, that the decreaſe in the number of labourers, and many other evils, have been occaſioned by removing multitudes from the ſolid baſis afforded them by agricultural employment, to the artificial and fluctuating baſis of trade. He propoſes that an equal aſſeſſment ſhould be laid on the full rental of all perſons of property; that poor perſons ſhould be entitled to relief in every part of England, where they happened to be when they became chargeable; and that a ſufficient number of poor-houſes for their reception ſhould be eſtabliſhed in each county.

Mr. Bailey, a member of the Society for promoting Arts and Commerce, in the ſame year, publiſhed a Treatiſe on the Utility of Work-houſes; in which he gives the following liſt of trades, which, he thinks, are ſuited to ſuch eſtabliſhments. He remarks, that they require but little room for each perſon to work in, and a very ſmall ſtock of money and materials; and may therefore be ſet up, ſome in one pariſh, and

ſome in another, according to the circumſtances of each place, and the number and ability of the Poor.

A Liſt of uſeful Trades and Employments.

To ſwingle flax.
To heckle flax.
To ſpin flax.
To ſpool linnen and woollen.
To twiſt linnen and woollen yarn.
To wind quills for the weavers.
To card tow and wool.
To weave linnen and woollen.
To weave linſey-woolſey.
To buck and bleach linnen.
To weave wadding.
To weave bed-lace.
To make hair-ſieves.
To warp for the weavers.
To knit ſtockings, caps, &c.
To knit nets.
To make pegs for the tilers.
Ditto for the ſhoe-makers.
To make paſte-board boxes.
To make gloves.
To knit cawls for wigs.
To pick hairs for barbers.
To make thread and hair buttons.
To make ſlays and harneſſes for the weavers.
To make all ſorts of wicker ware.
To make ſtraw and chip hats for the women.
To make bone lace.
To make bee-hives and haſſocks.
To make matches and mops.
To cut corks.
To make baſkets and door mats.
To teaze oakum and beat hemp.
To make Engliſh carpets and tapeſtry.
To make *papier maché*.

A manufactory, conſiſting of 150 Poor, may, he thinks, be employed in the following manner:

	People.
To attend the ſick and young infants, - - -	5
To inſtruct children and others in their occupations, -	6
To dreſs the victuals, and clean the houſe, - -	4
To ſalt and cut the victuals, - - -	1
To do the tailor's work for men, women, and children, -	2
To make and mend the linen, ſtockings, &c. - -	4
To waſh and get up all the linen, - - -	6
To make and mend all the ſhoes, - - -	2
Sick, ſuperannuated, and children that are too young to do any ſort of work, - - - - - -	20

	People.
Brought over -	50
Old and infirm people, and children who can earn only 1d. a-day, - - - - -	20
Such grown people and children as can earn only 2d. a-day,	20
Apprentices, and ſuch people as are in health, may, after a few months practice in weaving, warping, ſwingling, heckling, whitening, &c. earn 4d. per day one with another; after the firſt year 6d. per day; and at the expiration of two years, 8d. or 10d. per day; and for the four or five laſt years, from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per day, - - -	60
	150

	£	s	d
According to the common way of providing for the Poor, if 150 people are maintained at the rate of 2s. 4d. per week each, the ſum total per day will be - -	2	10	0
If the ſame number of people are employed according to the following plan, their earning will be - -	2	10	10
30 employed about family affairs, - -	0	0	0
20 ſick people and infants, - - -	0	0	0
20 old people and children, at 1d. per day, -	0	1	8
20 grown people and children, at 2d. per day, -	0	3	4
10 apprentices and grown people, at 4d. per day, -	0	3	4
10 ditto, after a year's practice, at 6d. per day, -	0	5	0
15 ditto, after two years practice, at 8d. per day, -	0	10	0
20 ditto, for the laſt four or five years, at 1s. per day, -	1	0	0
5 ditto of the moſt expert, 1s. 6d. per day, -	0	7	6
	£ 2	10	10

In order to encourage pariſhes to ſet up work-houſe manufactories, he propoſes the following expedients:

"Firſt. Notice ſhall be given, in writing, of the inſtitution of every "manufactory eſtabliſhed on this plan, to the Regiſter of the Society for

" the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, at their " Office in London.

" Secondly. The ſaid Society ſhall give ſuch premiums as they may, " from time to time, think proper, to the uſe and ſupport of ſuch work- " houſes, ſo regiſtered, as ſhall produce the greateſt number of yards, " in proportion to the number of hands ſo employed, of dowlas, canvaſs, " tarpaulin, ſail-cloth, or linſey-woolſey, made and manufactured " therein, from Engliſh flax or hemp, within a certain time to be li- " mited by the ſaid Society.

" Thirdly. A certificate under the hands and ſeals of the preſident, " managers, rector, vicar or curate, and two or more of the church- " wardens or overſeers of the pariſh wherein the manufactory is ſituat- " ed, ſhall be ſent to the Society, from each work-houſe which ſhall " put in a claim to a premium, ſetting forth the quantity and quality " of the cloth, and the number of people (their ſex and ages,) employ- " ed in each manufacture; and certifying alſo that the Poor have not " been oppreſſed or ill-treated.

" Fourthly. Some premiums ſhall be given alſo to and for the uſe of " that regiſtered work-houſe, which (in proportion to the number of " people employed in any trade or occupation,) produces, within a time " to be limited, the greateſt clear profit from the labour of the people " maintained therein. A certificate of which to be ſent to the Society's " Office, ſigned as above; and, with the ſaid certificate, a daily, weekly, " and monthly liſt of all the work done, and people concerned in each " employment, ſpecifying their names, ſex, and ages.

" Fifthly. Some premiums ſhall be given to any perſon, either a native " or foreigner, who ſhall ſet on foot, introduce, or diſcover, any new " manufacture, trade, or employment for the Poor, in either of the " ſaid regiſtered houſes: ſuch new manufacture or employment, if " approved of by the managers, ſhall be experienced and proved for the " ſpace of months; and if the profits ariſing from the ſame " ſhall anſwer to the ſatisfaction of the managers, &c. they ſhall forth- " with ſend a full and particular account and deſcription of the ſaid new " manufacture, with the number of people employed therein, and the " clear profit ariſing therefrom, to the ſaid Society's Office; and that a

" certificate of the truth thereof be ſigned and ſent to the ſaid Society, " in the ſame manner as before mentioned."

He adds: " It may be of great uſe that the governor of any houſe " that gets a premium from the Society, ſhall have a gratuity from the " pariſh, and the Poor a holiday, after the premium is paid, by way of " encouragement."

He lays down rules to be obſerved by the governor and matron of the work-houſe, the ſchoolmaſter and miſtreſs, and the Paupers; but as the Reader will find fuller details on this ſubject in the Second Volume of this Work, I think it unneceſſary to tranſcribe them. Such, however, of Mr. Bailey's Tables relative to the quantity of proviſions neceſſary for different numbers in a work-houſe, and the weekly accounts of the governor, as appear to me likely to be uſeful, are put together in a ſmall compaſs, and inſerted in the Appendix to this Volume [1]. It is much to be deſired, that printed forms, of this nature, (though they might be conſtructed with conſiderable improvements,) were uſed in all work-houſes.

Conſidering the multiplicity of Acts of Parliament which have paſſed during the 36 years of the preſent reign, very few general alterations of conſequence have taken place in the Poor Syſtem, except with regard to removals, the vexatious conſequence of which, it is hoped, will in a great meaſure be prevented by the Act paſſed in 1795 [2], for preventing the removal of poor perſons till they become actually chargeable. Several local Acts, however, have been paſſed, of conſiderable importance to the places immediately concerned; and, indeed, ſome of them, which affect numerous claſſes of the community, might, perhaps, without impropriety, be conſidered, rather as general, than as local, regulations. Of this nature are the various Acts which have been enacted ſince the year 1760, for the improvement of the police, and the correction of parochial abuſes in the metropolis. When we reflect, that, in population, London contains above a tenth of the inhabitants of Great Britain [3], and

[1] See Appendix, No. xv. [2] 35 Geo. 3. c. 101.

[3] In the Treatiſe on the Police of the Metropolis, (2d edit. p. 405,) the number of houſes in this great city is ſtated at 162,000 houſes, warehouſes, and other buildings. Allowing 12,000 for warehouſes, churches, &c. there will remain 150,000 houſes; which, if multiplied

and that, in point of commerce, the preeminence of this favoured emporium, above the reſt of the kingdom, is ſtill more conſpicuous,

tiplied by 6, (which, it would ſeem, is not too great a proportion of inhabitants for a houſe in a large city,) will produce 960,000 inhabitants; a population, which, I am perſuaded, though I do not poſſeſs ſufficient documents to prove the fact, is far from being over-rated.

To a reaſonable mind, I conceive, the increaſed conſumption of various commodities will afford very ſatisfactory proof of the increaſed population of the metropolis, in the courſe of the preſent century. Thus, for inſtance,

In 1732 the number of black cattle ſold in Smithfield was	76,210;	and of ſheep	514,700
1794	ditto	109,064	ditto	717,990
	Increaſe in 62 years	32,854		203,290

This increaſe will appear more prodigious when we conſider, that, in the beginning of the century, oxen ſold in Smithfield, on an average, weighed only 370lbs. and ſheep only 28 lbs.: whereas, at preſent, the former weigh 800 lbs. and the latter 80 lbs.; but as the number of calves and lambs are not ſpecified in the Smithfield returns, (ſee Appendix, No. I. p. lxxxvii.) I ſhall only reckon an increaſe of one-fourth in weight, as eſtimated in the 1ſt Report of the Select Committee appointed to take into conſideration the means of improving the waſte-lands of the kingdom, p. 12. According to this proportion, the conſumption of the two periods will be as follows:

		Conſumption in 1732.
In 1732,	76,210 cattle, at 370 lbs. each,	28,197,700 lbs.
	514,700 ſheep, at 28 lbs. each,	14,411,600 lbs.
		Conſumption in 1794.
In 1794,	109,064 cattle, at 462½ lbs. each,	50,442,100 lbs.
	717,990 ſheep, at 35 lbs. each,	25,129,650 lbs.

The increaſed conſumption of coals in London, and it's environs, is no leſs remarkable:

In 1744 the quantity of coals imported into London was	467,625 chaldrons.
In the year ending on the 10th of October 1795	912,236

See Ann. of Agric. xxvi. 180.

Some part of this quantity, it muſt be admitted, is carried up the Thames, and not conſumed in the metropolis. Many parts, however, (and particularly Oxfordſhire,) which were formerly ſupplied with coal from London, are now, by means of canals, ſupplied from the inland counties. I remember, (in a hard winter about ten or eleven years ago,) coals brought from London ſelling in Oxford at 10s. 6s. the ſack, of three buſhels, or £6. 6s. the chaldron. The increaſed conſumption of malt liquor, in the metropolis, would, I am perſuaded, turn out to be no leſs aſtoniſhing, if it could be accurately aſcertained. Dr. Price, indeed, contends, that there is evidence of a declenſion in our population, from the circumſtance of the exciſe on beer having produced more at the Revolution than it did in 1768. Obſerv. on the Popul. of E. & W. 21.—Many objections might be made to his concluſions; but it is ſufficient to obſerve, that, with the exception of the three years ending in 1689, other periods in the laſt, and in the beginning of the preſent, century, exhibit a much inferior conſumption, than that, which,

ous [1], it muſt be admitted, that the preſervation of order in the capital, the encouragement of it's induſtry, and the promotion of the comforts of it's inhabitants, are objects of great national importance. In 1761, the Legiſlature very humanely interfered in the behalf of a claſs of beings, who, from their age and ſituation, were peculiarly expoſed to neglect and ill-treatment;—the infant Poor in the work-houſes within the bills of mortality: and in the Seſſions of 1761 and 1762 an Act was paſſed for the regular uniform regiſter, (according to the form of two ſchedules contained in the Act,) of all Pariſh Poor under four years of age within the bills of mortality. This Act ſeems to have been intended as merely preparatory to further regulations on the ſame ſubject. Mr. Hanway, (whoſe philanthropic exertions on this occaſion are well known,) remarks, that the bill, if it did not at once accompliſh all that was neceſſary to be done, was the ſureſt way of inveſtigating the ſubject;

which, notwithſtanding the increaſed tax, takes place at preſent: and to this it may be added, that wine, which was little drank at the Revolution, or even forty years ago, is, (or at leaſt *was*, two years ago,) very generally drank by middling tradeſmen. The conſumption of ſpirits is likewiſe much greater than it was an hundred years ago; though leſs than it was in the dram-drinking period of 1752. Before the ſtoppage of the diſtilleries laſt year, 3,000,000 gallons of gin and compounds were drank in the public-houſes in the metropolis. See the Treatiſe on the Police, 2d ed. 40.

Concerning the Population of England, very different conjectures have been formed. Dr. Price, (in his Eſſay on Rev. Paym. 5th ed. 1. 247.) eſtimates it at five millions, allowing five perſons to a houſe, and reckoning from the ſurveyor's books the number of houſes at a million. Of the fallibility of evidence, derived from ſuch documents, the Reader will find ſufficient proof in the Appendix to this Volume, No. XIV. Mr. Howlett, in his Examination of Dr. Price's Obſervations on the Population of England and Wales, calculated the number of people at 8,691,597: Arthur Young, a few years ago, computed it at 8,500,000: but the concurrent opinions of political arithmeticians agree, (as Mr. Ruggles, in his Hiſtory of the Poor, juſtly obſerves,) that the higher numbers are neareſt the truth.

[1] The following eſtimate, (which is taken from the intereſting Treatiſe on the Police of the Metropolis,) exhibits abundant proof of the extended commerce of the metropolis:

ABSTRACT

ſubject[1]; and it is probably owing to his forcible repreſentations of the dreadful mortality occaſioned by the practice of nurſing pariſh children within the walls of crowded work-houſes, that an Act was paſſed in the Seſſions of 1767, for obliging all pariſhes, within the bills of mortality, to ſend all pariſh children, under ſix years of age, within a fortnight

ABSTRACT of the Imports into, and Exports from, the Port of London, for one Year, ending on the 5th of January 1795: formed upon the preſent Value *of Commodities, as nearly as it can be aſcertained.*

Names of the Countries.	Value of Imports into London.	Value of Exports from the Port of London to Foreign Parts.	
		Brit. Manufactures.	For. Merchandize.
Ireland	£ 2.209.501 3 4	£ 168.687 18 3	£ 914.352 4 4
Britiſh Weſt Indies	6.072.117 5 0	2.249.043 13 11	579.453 6 0
Conquered Iſlands	1.226.064 13 8	260.976 0 11	110.817 18 0
Britiſh American Colonies	307.412 13 0	654.842 19 4	251.551 6 2
Guernſey and Jerſey	91.936 1 2	12.001 13 10	21.616 16 8
Gibraltar	12.947 16 8	83.473 14 11	69.315 2 8
Honduras Bay	14.696 4 2	2.029 18 11	2.550 16 2
South Fiſhery	197.680 8 6	21 6 8	
Aſia, including Eaſt Indies	8.916.950 2 10	3.398.680 1 4	185.190 16 0
Africa	66.013 8 4	90.593 12 9	188.743 16 6
Turkey	641.860 19 2	32.065 12 0	123.776 7 2
Streights	8.389 14 0		
Venice	82.107 16 0	6.203 17 11	16.305 7 2
Italy	1.215.012 15 0	80.980 18 9	340.786 0 8
Spain	1.070.697 18 0	205.096 4 4	265.169 3 4
Portugal	644.610 3 8	182.780 6 2	119.813 12 6
Madeira	7.479 16 8	27.998 6 10	6.886 18 2
Canaries	6.763 19 10	20.116 18 4	377 5 2
France	130 6 8	3.216 5 3	63.625 10 6
Auſtrian Flanders	137.249 5 0	129.413 9 7	887.642 18 10
Holland	1.203.515 3 6	114.458 3 7	1.968.687 3 4
Germany	1.089.307 19 4	1.044.634 18 0	6,176.100 14 8
Pruſſia	196.657 3 2	54.380 14 0	272.719 17 4
Poland	104.978 10 4	7.022 11 10	57.067 2 4
Sweden	262.727 3 4	33.845 5 6	111.457 14 4
Ruſſia	1.269.688 9 6	95.519 8 8	491.244 9 2
Denmark and Norway	166.366 1 0	147.340 5 11	545.509 19 8
Greenland	26.753 11 2		
United States of America	811.511 18 8	2.251.280 12 1	429.248 7 8
Florida	16.239 16 0	38.067 0 3	8.855 0 0
Foreign Weſt Indies	56.240 2 0	1.767 13 10	60 0 0
Prize Goods	1.572.868 8 8		included in the account of each country.
	29.706.476 17 4	11.396.539 13 8	14.208.915 14 6

RECA-

[1] Letters on the Importance of the Riſing Generation, i. 89.

night after they were born in, or received into, the work-houſes, to a diſtance not leſs than three miles from any part of the cities of London and Weſtminſter, to be nurſed [1] till they are ſix years of age, and maintained afterwards till they were put out apprentices, or returned to the work-houſe: the Act further directed, that, for the maintenance of every ſuch child put out to nurſe in the country, not leſs than two ſhillings and ſixpence a week ſhould be paid for the firſt ſix years of their age; and not leſs than two ſhillings a week from that time until the child was taken away. As an inducement to nurſes to take proper care of the children entruſted to them, a ſum not leſs than 10s. was ordered to be paid to every nurſe, who had nurſed a child one year, to the ſatisfaction of the five guardians of the pariſh poor children, who were directed to be choſen every three years from the Noblemen and Gentlemen within each pariſh in the metropolis; or in caſe ſuch perſons would not accept the office, from the moſt reſpectable of the inhabitants, the church-wardens and overſeers excepted. The pariſh-officers were likewiſe empowered and directed to provide proper cloathing for every child ſent into the country, and to defray all expences for conveyance, medicines, burials, and other charges on account of the children [2]. The Foundling Hoſpital was authorized to take in pariſh children upon the ſame terms [3].

RECAPITULATION.

The aggregate value of goods imported into London in one year -		£29.706.476	17 4
Idem value of Britiſh merchandize exported -	£11.396.539 13 8		
Idem value of foreign merchandize, ditto -	14.208.915 14 6		
		25.605.455	8 2
Idem value of goods imported in upwards of 9000 coaſting veſſels, averaged at £500. each	£ 4.500.000 0 0		
Idem value of goods exported coaſtways in about 7000 veſſels, at £1000. each - -	7.000.000 0 0		
		11.500.000	0 0
Total amount of property ſhipt and unſhipt in the river Thames in the courſe of a year, eſtimated at - - - -		66.811.932	5 6

beſides the tackling, apparel, proviſions, and ſtores of above 13.500 ſhips and veſſels, (including their repeated voyages,) which lade and unlade in the courſe of a year, eſtimated (in what may be called *moving property*, liable to depredation and plunder,) at three millions ſterling more! Treatiſe, &c. 2d ed. p. 60.

[1] 7 Geo. 3. c. 39. § 2. 3. [2] § 4. [3] § 10.

Reſpecting apprentices, the Act very judiciouſly remarks, that "it "often diſturbs the peace of domeſtic life, checks marriage, and diſcou- "rages induſtry, to place out boys to the age of twenty-four years;" and enacts, that, for the future, pariſh-officers ſhall be at liberty to bind out boys and girls apprentices for the term of ſeven years, or till they attain the age of twenty-one years, and no longer[1]: and, in order to encourage maſters of apprentices to treat them properly, it was forbidden to bind out pariſh children with a leſs fee than £4. 2s.; of which 40s. were directed to be paid to the maſter or miſtreſs within ſeven weeks after executing the indentures, and the remaining 42s. after the apprentice had ſerved three years[2].

Forms for regiſters and liſts of Pariſh Poor until they are apprenticed are contained in ſeveral Schedules annexed to the Act[3].

That this Act has preſerved the lives of many thouſand children, who would otherwiſe have periſhed, there can be little doubt. Dr. Price allows that it has prevented a great number of deaths; and ſays, that, before it paſſed, almoſt all pariſh infants in the metropolis died in the firſt ſix years[4]. It's operation ſhould be taken into conſideration in all calculations drawn from burials within the bills of mortality, reſpecting the population of London. Mr. Howlett, indeed, in his Examination of Dr. Price's Eſſay upon Population, reckons, that a deficiency of 2100 burials a year has been occaſioned by this Act[5].

It may, perhaps, be thought to argue a want of humanity to object to laws which are confeſſedly framed for the purpoſe of preſerving, and have, no doubt, in the courſe of the laſt thirty years, preſerved, the lives of thouſands of human beings. Infants, it muſt be admitted, whether we conſider their innocence, the perils to which they are expoſed, and their inability to relieve their wants, (or even to ſignify them, except by cries, which are not always heard, or underſtood,) are peculiarly entitled to our foſtering care and protection. I think, however, that it is rather as *individuals*, than in our *collective* capacity, that we are bound to relieve deſerted children and orphans. Of the latter the proportion

[1] 7 Geo. 3. c. 39. § 14. [2] § 15. [3] § 13. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. Theſe forms are inſerted in the Appendix, No. xvi. Forms, rather more ſimplified, would anſwer many good purpoſes in country work-houſes. [4] Obſerv. on Rev. Payments, 5th ed. i. 259. [5] Examination of Dr. Price's Eſſay on the Population of England and Wales.

in

in every country, that has not been viſited by extraordinary calamities, will, according to the uſual courſe of nature, be very inconſiderable; and may be fairly left to the diſcretionary interference of individuals, without the probability either of exhauſting benevolence, or of expoſing it's objects to periſh from neglect. Of deſerted children, there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe, that their extraordinary number in the two moſt opulent countries in Europe, France and England, has been occaſioned by the liberal proviſion made for their reception in public charities. We are aſſured that, previous to the Revolution, a third of the children born in Paris were annually received into the "Enfans Trouvés," the Foundling Hoſpital of that metropolis [1]; and in our own, in conſequence of the indiſcriminate admiſſion of foundlings, (which was ſanctioned in 1756, by the Legiſlature, probably with a view of recruiting the nation, then engaged in an expenſive and depopulating conteſt,) the number of infants admitted into the hoſpital annually, increaſed from 100 to 4000, and would, probably, if the Legiſlature had not interfered in 1760, very ſoon have conſiſted of half the children born within a hundred miles of London. Mr. Hanway, in his account of the inſtitution, informs us, that infants from villages, 50, 100, or even 200 miles diſtant, were ſent to town, oftentimes in a manner too ſhameful to relate, to take their fortune with the pariſh children of the metropolis [2]. There ſeems to be but little difference in the tendency of foundling hoſpitals, properly ſo called, and parochial inſtitutions for the relief of the Poor, (whether acting by work-houſes, houſes of induſtry, or pecuniary allowances,) if the parent, by deſerting his child, can oblige them to rear and maintain it. That many of the poorer claſs of the community avail themſelves of the liberality of the Law, and leave their wives and children on the pariſh, the reader will find abundant proof in a ſubſequent part of this Work; and perhaps enough to juſtify the remarks of Arthur Young on

[1] The Paris Almanack for the year 1768, mentions, that there were baptized 18,576 infants, of whom the Foundling Hoſpital received 6025. The Almanack for the year 1773, ſays, that of 18,518 children born and baptized, 5989 were ſent to the Foundling Hoſpital. Lord Kames's Sketches, B. ii. Sk. 10. The author of the Police of France, ſays, that a *third* of all that die at Paris die in hoſpitals. See Dr. Price's Eſſay on Rev. Paym. 5th. ed. i. 290.

[2] Letters on the Importance of the Riſing Generation, i. 84. He ſays, the annual mortality among pariſh children in London was frequently 60 or 70 in a hundred.

this ſubject, that "foundling hoſpitals," (and it is by no means clear, that other national charities, which relieve the infant Poor, may not be included,) "encourage that vicious procreation, which, from its miſery, "does not deſerve the name of population: the encouragement afforded "by foundling hoſpitals, is an encouragement alſo of vice and inhu-"manity, and a public premium given to the baniſhment of the beſt "feelings of the human boſom[1]."

The Dean of Glouceſter[2], in a pamphlet publiſhed in 1760, conſiders the defects of the Poor Syſtem to be the diviſion into parochial diſtricts; the maintaining the Poor in ſeparate families; and the annual election of pariſh-officers. "Every perſon," he obſerves, "who is elected only "for twelve months, will naturally adopt that ſcheme which will give "him the leaſt trouble during his office, whatever it may give his ſuc-"ceſſor, or however it may affect the public: nor will he give himſelf "much concern about any plan that is offered to him, if it cannot be "brought to bear within the compaſs of his own year; but muſt be at-"tended with preſent clamours againſt himſelf, whilſt it reſerves the "praiſe and honour for his ſucceſſor."

He propoſes, "that, inſtead of ſingle pariſhes for the maintenance of "the Poor, ſeveral ſhould be incorporated together for this purpoſe, "though to be diſtinct and ſeparate in all other reſpects as before.

"That this incorporation be effected in the following manner:—Let "the veſtries of thoſe pariſhes which are within any market town or "city, and alſo of all others whoſe pariſh-churches are within the diſ-"tance of ſix meaſured miles of ſuch market town or city, have the "liberty of incorporating together, and of making that town or city the "centre of their incorporation; and after any three of ſuch pariſhes have "incorporated together by mutual conſent, let each of the others, as

[1] Young's Travels through France, i. 440. He ſays, that, of 101,000 children received into the hoſpitals in ſixteen years, only 15,000 ſurvived. The mortality among the pariſh children in London, previous to the paſſing of the ſecond of George the Third for an uniform regiſter, was equally great. Mr. Hanway mentions inſtances of every child received into the work-houſes under a twelvemonth old, dying within the year. Some pariſhes, however, even before the paſſing of the Act in 1767, adopted the ſalutary meaſure of ſending their children to be nurſed in the country. See Hanway's Letters on the Importance of the Riſing Generation.

[2] Dr. Tucker, the enlightened author of *Cui Bono*, and other able political tracts.

"they

" they become willing to aſſociate or incorporate, have the liberty of ſo " doing without being liable to be rejected by thoſe who have already " incorporated: all incorporations, when once formed, and notified to " the Juſtices of Peace for the county at their Quarter Seſſions or ad- " journment, are there recorded, are to be held valid, and not to be " diſſolved.

" If any pariſh-church ſhould be equally near to two, three, or four " cities or towns, the centres of their reſpective incorporations, ſuch a " pariſh may incorporate with which it pleaſes: if it be nearer to one cen- " tre, and yet be within ſix miles of the other, it muſt nevertheleſs incor- " porate, (if it doth at all,) with the neareſt; unleſs the Juſtices at their " Quarter Seſſions or adjournments ſhould, at the petition of the pariſhion- " ers, ſee reaſon to diſpenſe with this rule. If there ſhould be no centre " within the diſtance of ſix meaſured miles, then ſuch a pariſh muſt in- " corporate with that which happens to be neareſt, unleſs the pariſhion- " ers ſhould petition the Juſtices, and obtain their conſent to be incor- " porated elſewhere. But no incorporations whatever ſhould exceed " the bounds of their reſpective counties: and wherever it can be done, " the incorporating pariſhes ought to confine themſelves to the diviſions " already known and eſtabliſhed, viz. *hundreds*.

" To induce theſe incorporations to be formed, all the burthenſome " Poor in each of the pariſhes, that ſhall incorporate, ſhall be maintained " and ſupported by the taxes that ſhall be hereafter mentioned; but " thoſe pariſhes which will not incorporate, ſhall maintain their own " Poor, according to the preſent method.

" That all perſons reſiding for three months in the year, or upwards, " within theſe aſſociated diſtricts, poſſeſſed of the yearly value of £50. " for life, above all charges, or of £1000. in money or effects, ſhall be " deemed the hereditary legal and perpetual guardians of the Poor within " ſuch diſtricts; and, together with them, the mayor and aldermen, or " other chief officers of each town within the diſtrict; and alſo the " miniſter and church-wardens and chapel-wardens of each pariſh or " chapel for the time being. If any perſon will commence a ſubſcriber " of three guineas or more yearly, or thirty guineas for life, he ſhall be " deemed a guardian, although not qualified in other reſpects.

" That theſe guardians ſhall meet ſome time in the month of Janu-

"ary or February, in every year, to elect a president, and four vice-"presidents, out of their own body; which president and vice-presidents "shall be obliged to serve in their respective offices for one whole year, "dating from the 25th of March next ensuing: and if the Society shall "judge it expedient, for the good of the charity, that all or either of "these Gentlemen should be continued longer in office, then, at the next "time of election, they may chuse one or more of them for another "year, and so on for a third. The penalty, in cases of refusal, to be as "follows:

"The person elected for president to forfeit,			
"the first year, for not serving - -	£20	0	0
"the second year - - - -	10	0	0
"the third year - - - -	5	0	0
"And each of the vice-presidents to forfeit,			
"the first year, for not serving - -	10	0	0
"the second year - - - -	5	0	0
"the third year - - - -	2	10	0

"That, as soon as may be after the election of a president and four "vice-presidents, an yearly catalogue shall likewise be made of all the "guardians of the district: and this catalogue shall be distinguished into "columns, viz. such as are guardians by right of £50. a year for life— "such as are so by virtue of a stock or capital in money or goods of £1000. "—and such as are so by virtue of their voluntary subscriptions or con-"tributions. Therefore, if any person shall think himself aggrieved by "being inserted in this list, he may appeal to the General Quarter "Sessions.

"That regular court-days shall be held at the Poor-house once a "month: that fines be imposed on absentees: that these courts shall "have the power of making what bye-laws and regulations they judge "necessary for the government, maintenance, and employment of the "Poor."

The taxes for the support of the Poor, the Dean thinks, are not founded on a judicious principle. He says, the *first* view in imposing such taxes should be to remove or lessen all such causes and temptations as may have contributed towards making the people poor; so that similar evils may be prevented in future: and after that is accomplished, then,

then, *secondly*, to raiſe a ſum of money ſufficient to maintain thoſe who are already become poor, and to defray ſuch expences as cannot now be prevented, and therefore muſt be ſubmitted to. With this view, beſides taxes on the ſtock in trade, dwelling-houſes, and lands of bachelors, and childleſs widowers, he propoſes laying heavy taxes on coffee-houſes, taverns, inns, and ale-houſes; on billiard tables, and other apparatus for play; on theatres, puppet-ſhews, fights of wild beaſts, and other ſpectacles of the like nature, exhibited for profit or gain; on muſic, gardens, bowling-greens, cock-pits, horſe and foot-racers; on dogs; and on electioneering; and that the turnpikes be doubly taxed on Sundays, and a moiety of their receipts applied to the uſe of the Poor. If theſe taxes ſhould not prove ſufficient, all lands and ſtock ſhould be moderately aſſeſſed.

He likewiſe propoſes the eſtabliſhment of a Court of Conſcience in each diſtrict, for the recovery of any ſum not exceeding £5.; but loads the proceſſes of the Court with double ſixpenny ſtamps, one moiety whereof he gives to the Poor of the diſtrict.

The remainder of his tract relates to the general economy of the poor-houſes, and the particular regulations of the work-ſhops and manufactures in which the Poor are to be employed.

Mr. Cooper, in a treatiſe, publiſhed in 1763, intituled, "Definitions "and Axioms relative to Charity, Charitable Inſtitutions, and the Poor "Laws," recommends the eſtabliſhment of houſes of induſtry. County-houſes, however, he thinks, would be too large, and Parochial houſes too ſmall. He therefore propoſes, that, in every large hundred, or, where the hundreds are ſmall, in every two or three hundreds united together, there ſhould be a building erected, which ſhould contain an infirmary for the ſick, and ſuch Poor as are unable to work; a work-houſe for thoſe who are able; and a houſe of correction for thoſe who are not willing: and that theſe houſes ſhould be under the management of the Gentlemen and Clergy in their reſpective hundreds.

He ſays, this plan had been put in execution with good effect, in the two ſmall hundreds of Colneis and Carlford, in the county of Suffolk, (incorporated by the 29 Geo. 2. c. 79.) and that in four years, between 1758 and 1762, they had ſaved above £2000[1].

[1] See Burn's Hiſt. of the Poor Laws, 201.

In

In Burn's Juſtice of the Peace, which was publiſhed in 1754, are a few remarks relative to the origin of the compulſory proviſion for the Poor. The author ſeems to agree with thoſe writers who think that the maintenance of the Poor was anciently an eccleſiaſtical concern; that a fourth part[1] of the tithes of pariſhes was originally ſet apart for this purpoſe, and diſtributed by the Biſhop, with the aſſiſtance of the church-wardens, and other principal inhabitants; and that, afterwards, when the tithes of pariſhes became appropriated to monaſteries, thoſe ſocieties contributed towards the relief of the Poor.

This

[1] Afterwards, when ſees were endowed with land, the Biſhops receded from their claim to a fourth part; and tithes were divided into three parts; of which one was conſidered as deſigned for the entertainment of ſtrangers, and relief of the Poor. Kennett, on Impropriations, 14, 15. I do not find, notwithſtanding the aſſertions of Dr. Burn, and other writers on this ſubject, that the Poor conſidered themſelves entitled to a maintenance from the Clergy, under a ſtronger claim, than, what it is fair for them to preſume they have, to be relieved by every perſon who is ſenſible of the benevolent tenets of Chriſtianity, and poſſeſſes the means of practiſing the chief virtue inculcated by the Goſpel. There ſeems to be no reaſon for ſuppoſing, that this obligation, however reſpected, by a pious, charitable, and opulent eccleſiaſtic, was ever the general law of the land. Indeed, I have already ſhown, that it was owing to the extinction of *villeins*, that a *national* Poor aroſe. The fifteenth of Richard the Second, c. 6. which requires, that, upon every appropriation of a benefice, a convenient portion of the profits ſhould be reſerved for the Poor, was, I imagine, framed for the purpoſe of making the pariſh ſome compenſation for the injury they ſuſtained in the benefice being transferred from an incumbent, who reſided with them the greateſt part of the year, to a religious body, who, perhaps, only ſent a preacher to officiate twice or thrice a week. I have no doubt, but that the Poor found the relief thus provided for them, a very inadequate compenſation for the loſs of their pariſh prieſt, who was their inſtructor and adviſer both in ſpiritual and temporal concerns, and, (whilſt the ſtipends of the ſecular officiating clergy were commenſurate with their duties,) the liberal diſpenſer of charity and hoſpitality. The Legiſlature ſeems to have thought that pariſhes, (notwithſtanding the fund aſſigned to the Poor, by the Statute above cited,) were greatly injured by appropriations; for, by the 4th of Henry the IVth (c. 12.) it was enacted, that, in every church, which ſhould be appropriated, there ſhould be ordained a Vicar perpetual, covenably endowed to inſtruct the people, and maintain hoſpitality in his pariſh. It does not appear whether this Statute exonerated the religious houſes from contributing towards the relief of the Poor of the pariſh: but no inſtance can be met with, of appropriators being called on to conſign any ſpecific portion of their revenues to this purpoſe. It is true, that, in one of the Acts of Diſſolution, (27 H. 8. c. 28.) it was required, that all perſons, to whom the King ſhould demiſe the ſcites and demeſnes of any of the diſſolved houſes, ſhould continue to exerciſe hoſpitality there; but this clauſe ſeems to have been diſregarded, and was repealed in the twenty-firſt year of King James I.

If,

This able magiſtrate entered more fully into the ſubject in his "Hiſ-"tory of the Poor Laws," which he publiſhed in 1764. The object of this Work was, (as he informs us in his Preface,) to "ſet forth, what "laws for the Poor were anciently in this kingdom; what the laws "are now; and what propoſals have been made by ingenious and "public-ſpirited men, from time to time, for the amendment of the "ſame." He divides the Poor into three claſſes, and arranges the Statutes relative to them under a three-fold diviſion. "Acts," he ſays, "have "been made for the employment of ſome; for the encouragement of "others; and for the maintenance of the reſt:" the firſt claſs he denominates ſervants, labourers, and artificers; the ſecond, rogues and vagabonds; and the third, impotent Poor.

He concludes a very full hiſtorical deduction of the Statutes, on this ſubject, with ſome judicious obſervations of his own; and offers a ſhort abſtract of the principal propoſals, which had been made before his time, for

If, therefore, it ſhould ever again be contended, (from the circumſtance of church-wardens being entruſted with the management of the Poor, and other peculiarities in our Poor Syſtem, extremely analogous to eccleſiaſtical inſtitutions,) that the maintenance of the indigent claſſes ſhould be thrown on the Church, it ſhould at the ſame time be recollected, that a very ſmall fund, which relieved them, is now in the hands of the Clergy; and that their principal revenue, (which the Legiſlature expreſsly charged with the ſupport of the Poor,) is almoſt entirely enjoyed by lay-impropriators. In making theſe obſervations, I am no advocate either for the extenſion of tithes, (which might, perhaps, be commuted, without injury to any party concerned;) or for an eccleſiaſtical Poor Syſtem, though I think it could not be a greater national evil than the far-famed code of Elizabeth.

I have already mentioned a propoſal of this nature, made by Leſlie, in the reign of Queen Anne: to which I will add a few judicious obſervations, made by a more modern writer on the ſame ſubject. Mr. Alcock, in his "Obſervations on the Defects of the Poor Laws," publiſhed in 1752, after alluding to a project of this ſort, which had again been brought forward, remarks, that "in fact, it is not true, that the Church maintained the Poor," in ancient times. "The religious houſes did no otherwiſe than the religious houſes abroad; and "the hoſpitable maſters of other houſes did, and do now, live generouſly, keep a plentiful "table, and give the ſurplus to the Poor. The abbies, monaſteries, &c. as being rich bodies, "and not encumbered with wives and children, and expenſive families, were able to contri-"bute largely: but, could what the Poor received from them be a ſufficiency? Meat and "drink were only given here; at leaſt, not commonly any thing elſe: the Poor had ſtill "lodging, cloathing, firing, &c. to find; that is to ſay, the greater part of the neceſſaries of "life. Private charities were quite needful, and were as much beſtowed then as ever. Col-"lections were made on the Sabbath-days, and at ſeveral other times. Poor boxes, now

for remedying the defects in the Poor Laws: the reason, he thinks, why none of them have succeeded, is, that they generally take it for granted that the 43d of Elizabeth was the first compulsory Statute, and propose expedients which had occurred to the Legislature long before. The plans he notices are those suggested by Sir Matthew Hale, Sir Josiah Child, Mr. Cary, Mr. Hay, Mr. Alcock, the Author of "Considerations "on several Proposals lately made for the better Maintenance of the "Poor," published in 1752, the Earl of Hillsborough, Sir Richard Lloyd, Mr. Fielding, and Mr. Cooper.

Dr. Burn objects to all these schemes: he says, they aim at too much at once. "To repeal all the present laws relating to the Poor; to "abolish the whole doctrine of settlements; to be at a certain expence "in erecting work-houses, with an uncertain prospect of their success; "these, and other like proposals, though they may possibly be good in

"fallen in a manner into disuse, were kept up in the churches, and received the secret alms "of many generous benefactors. Upon a recovery from a fit of sickness; upon returning "safe from a voyage, or a long journey; upon the birth of an heir; upon any signal success "or blessing, the thankful never failed to repair hither, and shew, by their regard to the Poor, "their gratitude to God." He adds: "If the abbies maintained the Poor, how came the "Poor not to have been equally destitute in other Protestant countries, on the secularization "of them? and how came the Poor Laws not to have passed here in England immediately on "the dissolution, or secularization, when the Poor, we must suppose, were most to seek for a "maintenance, and no new resources were as yet opened? How did they subsist the latter "part of Henry the Eighth; all the reign of Edward the Sixth; of Queen Mary, and of "Queen Elizabeth, till about a year before her death, that is, near seventy years in the whole? "We don't read of any extraordinary sufferings of the Poor during this time, nor of any "tumults or risings amongst the lower sort of people on account of their distress, though "many on account of the alteration in religion."

Of the practice, on the Continent, of appropriating a portion of ecclesiastical revenue to charitable uses, the author of a very interesting book, lately published, gives the following account:—"Suivant les anciens canons de l'église, les biens ecclésiastiques d'un diocèse "étoient en commun; un quart appartenoit à l'evêque; un quart au clergé; un quart "étoit destiné au frais du culte, par conséquent, à la construction et à l'entretien des églises; "et *un quart étoit le pain des Pauvres.* Si l'evêque avoit des biens de patrimonie suffisans pour "subsister, il ne devoit point prendre son quart. Nul prêtre ne devoit être ordonné qu'il n'y "eut un titre à lui conferer, qui donnât charge d'ames; et la fonction ecclésiastique donnoit "seule droit aux bienfaits de l'église. Si le secours du Pauvre est un devoir pour tout Chré-"tien, *c'est un dette de rigueur pour l'ecclésiastique*, son neceſſaire prélevé."——Rapport fait à sa Majesté Louis XVIII. note, p. 79. Ascribed to Monsieur de Monthion, formerly Conseiller d'Etat.

"them-

" themſelves, yet ſeem to put too much to the hazard; ſince it may " happen, in an unexperimented caſe, that the remedy may be worſe " than the diſeaſe."

He propoſes two regulations: the firſt is, to prevent common begging: till this be done, he ſays, all other regulations of the wiſeſt Legiſlature upon earth will be vain and fruitleſs. The infallible way to reſtrain beggars and vagrants is to " *give them nothing*. If none were to " give, none would beg; and the whole myſtery and craft would be " at an end in a fortnight. Let the laws continue to apprehend and puniſh " the mendicants; but let ſomething alſo be done effectually againſt thoſe " who encourage them. If the principal is puniſhed, it is not reaſon- " able the acceſſary ſhould go free. In order to which, let all who re- " lieve a common beggar be ſubject to a penalty."

His other regulation is intended to correct the fundamental error of leaving the Poor almoſt wholly to the care of the overſeer[1]. He ſays, " The

[1] Dr. Burn exhibits the following animated, though ſomewhat too highly coloured, picture of a pariſh overſeer. He ſays, " the office of an overſeer of the Poor, ſeems to be un- " derſtood to be this: to keep an extraordinary look-out to prevent perſons coming to in- " habit without certificates, and to fly to the Juſtices to remove them; and if a man brings " a certificate, then to caution the inhabitants not to let him a farm of £ 10. a year, and to " take care to keep him out of all pariſh offices; to warn them, if they will hire *ſervants*, " to hire them half-yearly, or by the month, or by the week, or by the day, rather than by " any way that ſhall give them a ſettlement; or if they do hire them for a year, then to en- " deavour to pick a quarrel with them before the year's end, and ſo to get rid of them: to " maintain their Poor as cheap as they can at all events; not to lay out two-pence in pro- " ſpect of any future good, but only to ſerve the preſent neceſſity: to bargain with ſome " ſturdy perſon to take them by the lump, who yet is not intended to take them, but to hang " over them *in terrorem*, if they ſhall complain to the Juſtices for want of maintenance: to " ſend them out into the country a begging, (for why cannot they go, as well as others they " will mention, who are leſs able in body? and the feebler they are, the more profitable " will be their peregrination): to bind out poor children apprentices, no matter to whom, or " to what trade, but to take ſpecial care that the maſter live in another pariſh: to move heaven " and earth if any diſpute happens about a ſettlement; and in that particular, to invert the " general rule, and ſtick at no expence: to pull down cottages: to drive out as many in- " habitants, and admit as few, as poſſibly they can; that is, to depopulate the pariſh, in " order to leſſen the Poor's Rate: to be generous indeed, ſometimes, in giving a portion " with the mother of a baſtard child, to the reputed father, on condition that he will marry " her; or with a poor widow, (for why ſhould ſhe be deprived of the comforts of matri- " mony?)—always provided, that the huſband is ſettled elſewhere: or if a poor man, with a

" The remedy, in this caſe, is not to aboliſh the office altogether. Let " the overſeers of the Poor continue; but let there be a general ſuper- " intendant over a certain number of pariſhes, as the Juſtices in Seſ- " ſions ſhall find moſt convenient. Let the overſeers collect the Poor " Rate; but let them be under the direction of their ſuperior, as to the " diſpoſal of it. This is not any new imagination: for it occurred to " the wiſdom of Parliament in the Statute of 14 Eliz. c. 5. After " *collectors* for the Poor were appointed, there was to be appointed the " *overſeer* of the Poor. And their ſeveral offices are diſtinguiſhed in " their title: the former were to *collect*; the latter was to *overſee*; " that is, to direct the maintenance, and to provide employment.

" Theſe offices were afterwards united, under the name of *collec-* " *tors and governors of the Poor*; and after that, as they ſtill continue, " under the general name of *overſeers of the Poor*. And this ſeems to " be the particular reaſon why they are required to be ſubſtantial " houſe-holders; as thereby ſuppoſed to be more capable of executing " the ſeveral branches of the office. And this might do very well in " thoſe days: for the maintenance of the Poor was the thing principally " intended. Their employment was but a ſecondary conſideration, and " came in long after the regulations for their maintenance. And the " reaſon is, trade and manufacture were then little attended to. There " was in very deed little or no employment for the Poor. And therefore, " the ſpecial office of *overſeer*, which was then thought of and eſta- " bliſhed, did not continue, but was ſunk in the other office of *collector*; " that is no reaſon, conſidering the great difference in the circumſtan-

" large family, appears to be induſtrious, they will charitably aſſiſt him in taking a farm in " ſome neighbouring pariſh, and give him £ 10. to pay his firſt year's rent with: and if any " of their Poor has a mercantile genius, they will purchaſe for him a box, with pins, needles, " laces, buckles, and ſuch like wares, and ſend him abroad in quality of a petty chapman; " with the profits whereof, and a moderate knack at ſtealing, he can decently ſupport him- " ſelf, and educate his children in the ſame induſtrious way.—But to ſee that the Poor ſhall " reſort to church, and bring their children there to be inſtructed; to contract with a maſter, " that he ſhall procure his apprentice, at proper times, to be taught to read or write; to pro- " vide a ſtock of materials, to ſet the Poor on work; to ſee the aged and impotent comfort- " ably ſuſtained, the ſick healed, and all of them cloathed with neatneſs and decency: theſe, " and ſuch like, it is to be feared, are not ſo generally regarded, as the Laws intended, " and the neceſſity of the caſe requires."

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" ces of the times, why it ought not now to be reſtored in it's intire " vigour. Here is now work for all the Poor, if they were ten times " as many as they are; here are more Poor now to be provided for, " becauſe we are become much more populous; here is ſcope to make " the Poor exceeding uſeful, and to render their lives comfortable and " eaſy.

" But this is not to be done by the preſent church-wardens and over- " ſeers, not one in twenty of whom is adequate to the performance; " and if he were, the ſhort duration of his office would not admit it. " Therefore, let there be a *general overſeer*, within each hundred, (for " inſtance,) for that ſeems the moſt appoſite diviſion; or, if a hundred " ſhall be too large, there may be two or more within ſuch hundred.

" The ſaid overſeer ſhould be, not a perſon of the moſt eminent " rank and dignity; for it is not to be ſuppoſed that ſuch perſons will " ſufficiently attend. He ſhould not be of the loweſt rank, leſt ſome- " thing of authority ſhould be wanting. In general, a perſon about the " degree of a high conſtable, ſeemeth the moſt proper; and the high " conſtable himſelf, in ſome hundreds, perhaps, might be appointed, " with a reaſonable addition to his ſalary: for it is eſſential to the exe- " cution that ſuch perſons have ſalaries. People may talk as much as " they pleaſe about ſerving the Public for nothing. Many public ſpi- " rited men, no doubt, there are in the nation; perhaps there were " never more than in this preſent age. But this ſort of men is not al- " ways the moſt active; and it is certain the buſineſs of the world is " done by another ſort of people. From the higheſt ſubject to the low- " eſt, no man chuſes to ſerve for nothing. Nor is it reaſonable they " ſhould; therefore, this overſeer muſt be paid; and that ſhould be " according to the extent of his office. Each pariſh or townſhip under " his juriſdiction, ſhould be required to pay ſo much in the pound, ac- " cording to their Poor Rate.

" His buſineſs ſhould be, to require the church-wardens and over- " ſeers within his diſtrict, to bring him an account in writing, and re- " new the ſame from time to time, of all the Poor within their reſpec- " tive pariſhes; diſtinguiſhing therein their age, ability of body, diſpoſi- " tion of mind, trade and other employment, and what they are moſt " apt and fit for; and from thence take his meaſures for their relief and

" employ-

" employment. And particularly, to provide work, according to the " manufactures of the ſeveral places; or to ſet up ſome eaſy manufac- " ture, if there ſhall chance to be none."

In the year 1772, Baron Maſeres publiſhed a " Propoſal for eſtabliſh- " ing Life Annuities in pariſhes, for the benefit of the Poor[1];" to which is annexed a Draft of a Bill, which, in the following year, (1773,) was brought into the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Dowdeſwell, and ſupported by Sir George Saville, Mr. Burke, and many other members of eminent abilities. It paſſed in that Houſe, but was thrown out by the Lords, in conſequence of a ſpeech from Lord Camden.

As this plan received the approbation of the preſent Chancellor[2], and the able political arithmetician Dr. Price, by whom it is highly ſpoken of in the Supplement to his excellent Treatiſe on Reverſionary Payments[3], I ſhall tranſcribe a ſhort account of it's deſign and proviſions, which the original contriver has introduced into his work, intituled, " The Principles of the Doctrine of Life Annuities[4]."

" The deſign of this Bill," he ſays, " was to encourage the lower " ranks of people to induſtry and frugality, by laying before them a " ſafe and eaſy method of employing ſome part of the money they could " ſave out of their wages or daily earnings, in a manner that would be " moſt ſtrikingly for their benefit. It was obſerved, that their wanting " opportunities of this kind was probably one very principal cauſe of their " neglecting ſo obvious a piece of prudence: that they knew, for the " moſt part, but little of the public funds; and that, when it happened " that they were acquainted with them, the ſmallneſs of the ſums they " would be entitled to receive, as the intereſt of the money they could " afford to lay out in them, was no encouragement to them to diſpoſe " of it in that way. For, what inducement, for inſtance, can it be to " a poor man, who has ſaved £ 10. out of his year's wages, to inveſt

[1] It was firſt publiſhed in the Public Advertiſer of July 22, 1771, under the ſignature of Eumenes; and afterwards re-publiſhed, with improvements, under the ſame ſignature, in the Lewis Journals, of Oct. 14 and 21, of the ſame year.

[2] The Principles of Life Annuities, 40.

[3] Obſerv. on Rev. Payments, 5th ed. i. 141.

[4] P. 34.

" it

" it in the *Three per cent* Bank Annuities, to conſider that it will produce " him about 6 or 7 ſhillings a year? It is but the wages of three days' " labour. And, if they lend their money to tradeſmen of their acquaint- " ance, as they ſometimes do, it happens not unfrequently that their " debtor becomes a bankrupt, and the money they had truſted him with " is loſt for ever; which diſcourages others from ſaving their money " at all, and makes them reſolve to ſpend it in the enjoyment of preſent " pleaſure. But that, if they ſaw an eaſy method of employing the " money they could ſpare in ſuch a manner as would procure them a " conſiderable income in return for it, in ſome future period of their " lives, without any ſuch hazard of loſing it by another man's folly or " misfortune, it was probable they would frequently embrace it; and " thus a diminution of the Poor's Rate on the eſtates of the Rich, an " increaſe of preſent induſtry and ſobriety in the Poor, and a more " independent and comfortable ſupport of them in their old age than they " can otherwiſe expect, would be the happy conſequences of ſuch an " eſtabliſhment. To effect theſe uſeful purpoſes, the Bill provides as " follows:

" 1ſt, That in every pariſh in England or in Wales, in which there " were two church-wardens, and two or more overſeers of the Poor; " that is, four, or more, pariſh-officers intruſted with the care of the " Poor, it ſhould be lawful for the body of the rateable inhabitants of " ſuch pariſh, that is, of thoſe inhabitants who contributed to the " Poor's Rate, to grant Life Annuities, payable every quarter of a " year, to ſuch of the inhabitants thereof as ſhould be willing to pur- " chaſe them, at the prices ſet down in the tables annexed to the Bill, " which were computed upon a ſuppoſition that the intereſt of the " money was only *three per cent.*

" 2dly, That the money received from the purchaſers of theſe an- " nuities ſhould be veſted in the *Three per cent* Bank Annuities, in the " name of the pariſh which had granted it; and the dividends duly re- " ceived by them every half-year, and employed in the purchaſe of new " ſtock, ſo as to be improved at compound intereſt, to the end that it " may be able to anſwer the annuities bought with it, when they ſhall " become due.

" 3dly, That, for the aforeſaid purpoſes of granting theſe Life An- " nuities,

" nuities, and receiving the money paid for them, and holding the ſtock " purchaſed with it in the Bank Annuities, and the other purpoſes of " this Bill, the ſaid rateable inhabitants of every ſuch pariſh ſhould be " made a body politic corporate, and have a common ſeal.

" 4thly, That if the pariſh fund in the *Three per cent* Bank Annuities " ſhould, by the miſmanagement of it, or from any other cauſe, prove " inſufficient to ſupply the Life Annuities charged upon it, the Poor's " Rate ſhould be made a collateral ſecurity to the poor purchaſers of " theſe annuities, for the payment of them, and ſhould be increaſed to " ſuch a degree as ſhould be ſufficient to make good the deficiencies.

" 5thly, That no ſuch annuity ſhould be granted to any one perſon of " more than £ 20. ſterling a year.

" 6thly, That no ſuch annuity ſhould be granted to any of the inha- " bitants of a pariſh, but ſuch as were legally ſettled in it, or had a right " to be relieved by it, in caſe they became poor and helpleſs.

" 7thly, That no ſuch annuity granted to any man ſhould commence " before he was compleatly 50 years of age; nor to any woman before " ſhe was compleatly 35 years of age.

" 8thly, That no ſum leſs than £ 5. ſhould be received by the ma- " nagers of theſe annuities, as the price of any ſuch annuity.

" 9thly, That the miniſters and church-wardens, and overſeers of the " Poor, ſhould be the overſeers and managers of theſe annuities for the " whole body politic and corporate of the rateable inhabitants of the " pariſh, and ſhould receive the money from the purchaſers of them, " and veſt it in the *Three per cent* Bank Annuities, and receive the di- " vidends, and employ them in the purchaſe of freſh ſtock, and pay the " annuities to the purchaſers when they became due: and that, for the " tranſacting of the ſaid buſineſs at the Bank, they ſhould give a power " of attorney to ſome perſon reſiding in London.

" 10thly, That, nevertheleſs, the ſaid managers ſhould not have the " power of granting any of theſe annuities, without the conſent of " the rateable inhabitants of the pariſh, who ſhould be aſſembled in " veſtry, for that purpoſe, after public notice of ſuch intended meet- " ing given in the pariſh church, on two Sundays, immediately after " Divine ſervice. And in theſe meetings of the pariſhioners, it ſhould " be neceſſary not only that the majority in number of them ſhould

" conſent to granting the annuity propoſed, but that thoſe, who ſo con-
" ſented, ſhould have paid more than half the laſt Poor's Rate paid by
" all the rateable inhabitants ſo aſſembled.

" This reſtraint was intended to prevent the renters of ſmall tene-
" ments in the pariſh from involving the pariſh in the contingent bur-
" then on the Poor's Rate, that might ariſe from theſe annuities,
" againſt the will of the more ſubſtantial inhabitants.

" And it was further provided, that no ſuch annuity ſhould be
" granted, unleſs there were preſent at the meeting, in which it was
" granted, at leaſt twelve of the ſaid rateable inhabitants of the pariſh,
" except in pariſhes where the whole number of rateable inhabitants
" was leſs than 19; and, in that caſe, it ſhould be neceſſary that at
" leaſt two-third parts of the whole number of inhabitants ſhould be
" preſent at it.

" And in the 11th and laſt place, it was provided, that the purchaſers
" of theſe annuities ſhould not be permitted to alienate them, without
" firſt making an offer of them to the pariſh, at the price they are
" worth at the time of ſuch offer being made, according to the tables
" annexed to the Bill, or at ſome lower price: and that ſuch of them
" as ſhould, at the time of purchaſing them, conſent to a clauſe that
" ſhould declare them to be abſolutely unalienable, ſhould, in conſe-
" quence of ſuch conſent, be incapable of alienating them at all.

" The reaſon of this reſtraint upon the alienation of theſe annuities
" was to guard the poor owners of them againſt their own folly and
" weakneſs, by making it impoſſible for them to ſell their annuities
" for a ſmall part of their true value, over a pot of ale, and without a
" proper degree of deliberation.

" The reaſon of computing the values of theſe Life Annuities, upon
" the ſuppoſition of ſo low a rate of intereſt as *three per cent*, was to
" make the fund ariſing from the money paid for them be amply ſuffi-
" cient to anſwer them when they ſhould become due; ſo that it ſhould
" be almoſt impoſſible, without great negligence in the management of
" this fund, that there ſhould ever be a neceſſity of having recourſe to
" an augmentation of the Poor's Rate to make good it's deficiencies.
" Yet even at this low rate of intereſt, the purchaſers of the annuities
" would uſually get *nine* or *ten per cent* for their money, if they pur-

" chaſed them only 5 years before the time of their commencement;
" and *thirty* or *forty per cent*, if they would be content to wait for them
" 25 or 30 years; which men under 30 years of age might do, with-
" out any inconvenience. And the hope of this, it was preſumed,
" would be a ſufficient inducement to them to employ ſome part of
" their money in this way, and to be diligent in their callings, and fru-
" gal in their expences, with that view.

" The only objection that ſeemed likely to be made to this project,
" was the difficulty of carrying it into execution, ariſing from the in-
" ability of the church-wardens and overſeers of the Poor of the pariſh
" to manage the money received from the purchaſers of the annuities,
" without an agent in London for that purpoſe; who would probably
" be, for the moſt part, either ſome ſtock-broker, or banker, or banker's
" clerk, or other man of buſineſs, that dealt in money tranſactions;
" whom it might be difficult to engage in an employment of this kind,
" without paying him for his trouble, in a manner that the pariſh fund
" could hardly afford. But this objection is not ſo ſtrong as it appears to
" be: becauſe the buſineſs of this kind, to be done in London, would
" not be ſo much as might at firſt be apprehended; and the price of
" brokerage upon buying and ſelling the pariſh ſtock in the Bank An-
" nuities, and receiving the dividends of it when they became due, is
" no great matter. But how far this difficulty was likely to hinder
" the execution of the Bill, could not be known with any tolerable de-
" gree of certainty, without giving it a trial. And therefore the Houſe
" of Commons paſſed it. But that the experiment might be as little
" hazardous as poſſible, and pariſhes might not be involved by it, againſt
" their wills, in the danger of theſe remote incumbrances, the Bill was
" made entirely optional, and the rateable inhabitants of every pariſh
" were left at liberty to grant, or not grant, any of theſe annuities, as
" they ſhould think fit, and, even after they had granted ſome ſuch, to
" deſiſt from granting any more. And this full liberty of proceeding
" herein, according to their own judgments and inclinations, was
" thought, by the Gentlemen who ſupported the Bill in the Houſe of
" Commons, to be a complete anſwer to the objection above-men-
" tioned, ariſing from the ſuppoſed difficulty of carrying it into exe-
" cution."

Baron Maſeres notices another objection, " that the option above-
" mentioned was not given to the right perſons, or to thoſe who were
" moſt likely to be affected by the burthens which the granting theſe
" annuities might hereafter bring upon the pariſhes. For that the option
" was given to the rateable inhabitants of the pariſh, who were, for the
" moſt part, only renters of the lands they occupied; whereas the bur-
" then upon the Poor's Rate, ariſing from the ſuppoſed deficiency of the
" Annuity-fund, was not likely to be felt till many years after the grant-
" ing of the annuities, when the leaſes of the renters, who had voted for
" the granting them, would be at an end, or, if they were renewed,
" would have been renewed at a lower rent than before, in conſideration
" of the approaching and probable increaſe of the Poor's Rates ariſing
" from the ſaid ſuppoſed deficiency; which would be an injury to the
" freeholders of the land, who are poſſeſſed of the permanent property
" of it:—and that, therefore, the conſent of the ſaid freeholders ought
" to be obtained to every act by which the lands of the pariſh might be
" expoſed to the danger of ſuch a future burthen."

To this objection he anſwers, that " the rateable inhabitants of
" pariſhes are of three ſorts; either owners of the houſes and lands
" which they occupy; or renters of them under long leaſes for 21 years,
" or for three lives, and often with a right of renewal; or renters of
" them under ſhort leaſes for one or two years, or merely at the will
" of the owners without leaſes. If they are of the firſt ſort, they are
" the very perſons in whom the noble author of the obſervation thinks
" the option of granting, or refuſing to grant, theſe life-annuities, ought
" to have been veſted. If they are of the ſecond ſort, that is, renters
" of the lands they occupy under long leaſes, they then are more
" likely to feel the burthen brought upon the pariſh by the ſuppoſed
" augmentation of the Poor's Rates than the freeholder or owner of the
" reverſion, and therefore are fitter than he is, according to the principle
" of the obſervation, to be truſted with the power of bringing this con-
" tingent burthen upon the pariſh. And laſtly, if they are renters of
" the lands they occupy under ſhort leaſes, or at will, (which is the caſe
" ſuppoſed in the objection,) they are, in conſequence of the precarious-
" neſs of ſuch a tenure, ſo much under the influence of their landlord,
" that, if he ſhould but ſignify his pleaſure to them, by his ſteward, or

" by a letter, that he does not chuſe that any of theſe annuities ſhould be " granted in the pariſh, leſt his lands ſhould be expoſed to ſuch a future " increaſe of the Poor's Rate, they will be ſure to give their votes " againſt them. So that in all theſe caſes, the intereſts of the perſons " who are moſt likely to be affected by the apprehended burthen on the " Poor's Rate, are ſufficiently protected by the proviſion that veſts " this option in the rateable inhabitants of the pariſh. And beſides, " experience ſhews, that the inhabitants of pariſhes in general, as well " thoſe who rent lands and houſes by the year, or at will, as thoſe who " have more permanent intereſts in them, are wonderfully averſe to " every thing that has even a remote tendency to increaſe the Poor's " Rate. And conſequently there is no reaſon to apprehend that they " would conſent to grant any of theſe pariſh-annuities whenever there " was the ſmalleſt danger of their being ill-managed, and producing, in " conſequence thereof, an augmentation of the Poor's Rate, in order to " make good the deficiencies of their proper fund."

I confeſs that this ſcheme, however well calculated for the benefit of ſmall tradeſmen, does not appear to me to be quite ſo well contrived to aſſiſt the *labouring Poor*. There are few perſons in that ſphere of life, with families, who could poſſibly accumulate £10. from their earnings in leſs than two years; and to a man who receives a ſhilling or eighteen-pence a day, the temptation which the ſum, accumulating in his drawer, would preſent, would be ſo great, that we muſt ſuppoſe him to poſſeſs an uncommon degree of ſelf-denial to wait till it amounted to the ſum requiſite to purchaſe the pariſh annuity. Even if he ſhould acquire the ſum of £10. what great temptation would he have to veſt it in a fund, from which he could receive no benefit till he was 50 years of age? The period at which the annuity becomes payable, is too remote to intereſt a young man of 25, or 30, to aſſign ſo large a ſum as £10. to the pariſh; more eſpecially as, if any caſualty or ſickneſs happened to him in the interval, neither he nor his family could poſſibly receive any benefit from it. Friendly Societies are in every reſpect better calculated to attract the notice of the induſtrious labourer[1]. They offer him the

[1] In ſome inſtances, where the allowances from Friendly Societies do not become payable to a ſubſcriber till he has been a member two or three years, the expectation of benefit ſeems too remote to allure the labouring claſſes, who live from hand to mouth, to enter into theſe inſtitutions.

gratification of ſpending a ſocial hour with his neighbours once a month, and of ſecuring to him a decent allowance in any future ſickneſs, for a ſum which ſeldom exceeds three-pence a week. This is ſo trifling a deduction from his weekly earnings, that I am convinced no member of a box-club has ever been ſenſible of any diminution in his domeſtic comforts from paying it. He cannot ſave ten pounds, in order to purchaſe a life-annuity, to commence when he is 50 years of age, without letting the ſavings of many a day's earnings lie a long time idle and unproductive. The great excellency of Societies, which depend upon frequent periodical ſubſcriptions, is, that they call for a portion of a man's earnings very ſoon after he has received them; and do not leave him expoſed to the temptation of ſquandering, or of being cheated of, an accumulated ſum. Every inſtitution of this nature, to be palatable to thoſe for whoſe benefit they are intended, ſhould depend on moderate, but frequent, payments. A Friendly Society, which required one annual payment of 10s. or 12s., would, I am perſuaded, have very few ſubſcribers.

In 1773, the ſtatute-labour on highways, which had been impoſed on agricultural labourers[1], was more accurately expreſſed than it had been in former Acts of Parliament, and the various Laws on the ſubject reduced into one Act[2]. This capitation tax, (for in no other light can it be

[1] The ancient Statutes reſpecting highways empower Juſtices, with the aſſent of the conſtables of towns, &c. to tax the inhabitants for the reparation of the highways. See 22 H. 8. c. 5. By the 2 & 3 P. & M. c. 8. every cottager or labourer, who was not a hired ſervant by the year, was compelled to work four days in the year on the highways. This duty was extended by the 5th of Eliz. c. 13. to ſix days. Several other ſimilar Acts were enacted in ſubſequent reigns.

[2] By 13 Geo. 3. c. 78. of which the following are the principal clauſes, which directly affect the labourer: "And be it enacted, that every man inhabiting in any pariſh, townſhip, "or place, and being of the age of eighteen, and under the age of ſixty years, not chargeable "in any of the reſpects aforeſaid for lands, tenements, woods, tithes, or hereditaments, of "the yearly value of four pounds or upwards, and not being *bonâ fide* an apprentice or me-"nial ſervant, nor having performed the ſaid duty, or paid the compoſition for the ſame, in "any other pariſh, townſhip, or place, for that year, ſhall, by themſelves, or one ſufficient "labourer for every of them, upon every of the ſaid days, (that is, ſix days in the year,) on "which they ſhall be called forth by the ſaid ſurveyor, together with the ſaid other labourers, "work and labour in the amendment of the ſaid highways. § 35. And every inhabitant lia-

"ble

be conſidered,) was at length repealed in the year 1794; and a very humane clauſe was added, to empower two Juſtices to exempt poor perſons, occupying rateable tenements, from highway aſſeſſments, if it appeared to them that ſuch poor perſons, by reaſon of age, ſickneſs, a numerous family, or misfortune, were deſerving objects of relief[1]. There is a ſingular clauſe in one of the Highway Acts[2], which directs the magiſtrates at their Eaſter Seſſions to aſſeſs and rate the prices of all land-carriage of goods to be brought into any place within their juriſdiction by any common waggoner or carrier. This Statute, which does not ſeem to be repealed, is, I preſume, as little enforced as thoſe which direct the rating of wages.

In Lord Kames's very animated Sketches of the Hiſtory of Man, publiſhed in 1774, we meet with ſeveral pertinent remarks on the evil tendency of the Poor Syſtem. "The Engliſh plan," he ſays, "beſide "being oppreſſive, is groſsly unjuſt. If it ſhould be reported of ſome "diſtant nation, that the burden of maintaining the idle and profligate "is laid upon the frugal and induſtrious, who work hard for a mainte-"nance to themſelves; what would one think of ſuch a nation? Yet "this is literally the caſe of England." I am ſurpriſed to find this obſervation in an Author who declares "reſolutely againſt a perpetual tax for the Poor;" for to leave the Poor to voluntary charity, whatever advantages it might produce in other reſpects, would neceſſarily take the burthen from the ſhoulders of the hard-hearted, and unfeeling, (who are now, as far as the regulations of human wiſdom can oblige them, compelled to contribute in proportion to their abilities,) and throw it entirely on the conſiderate and the benevolent.

"ble to perform ſuch duty or labour, as aforeſaid, and not chargeable in any other reſpect, "as aforeſaid, ſhall and may compound for the ſame, if he, ſhe, or they, ſhall think fit, by "paying to the ſurveyor the ſum of four-pence for and in lieu of every ſuch day's duty or "labour reſpectively." § 38. The Juſtices are alſo empowered, when they think wages high and extravagant, "to order the labourers liable by this Act to perform or compound for "ſtatute duty, or ſuch part of them as they ſhall think fit, to perform ſix days labour upon "ſuch highways *in kind*, in caſe ſo many days' duty ſhall be required, upon being paid for ſuch "labour the uſual and cuſtomary wages given to labourers in ſuch pariſh, townſhip, or place, "deducting thereout the ſum of four-pence for each day's duty ſo performed, being the "compoſition hereby allowed for labourers." § 39.

[1] 34 Geo. 3. c. 74. § 1 & 5. [2] 3 W. & M. c. 12. § 24.

He

He aſſerts, that depopulation, inequality in the price of labour, and extravagant wages, are occaſioned by the Poor Laws; that unhinging or ſuſpending the exerciſe of charity relaxes every ſocial virtue, by ſupplanting the chief of them; and that, in fact, the tax for the Poor has contributed greatly to the growth of that groveling paſſion of ſelfiſhneſs in England. "Engliſh authors," he ſays, "who turn their thoughts "to the Poor, make heavy complaints of decaying charity, and in- "creaſing poverty;" and yet, in another part of his work, he aſſerts that "every Engliſh town is infeſted with an endleſs number of beggars;" a proof, I think, that charity is not decayed, and that the groveling paſſion he alludes to is not the national vice of Engliſhmen. I agree with Dr. Woodward, the late biſhop of Cloyne, (who has detected[1] many of the miſtakes and inconſiſtencies which are to be found in this, (in many reſpects ingenious,) Scotch writer,) that the preſent age, whatever its characteriſtic vices may be, is an age of alms-giving. The evil, perhaps, moſt to be complained of, is, that benevolence is exerciſed without diſcrimination or ſelection, and that idleneſs is encouraged by what Lord Kames calls "an overflow of charity in the good people of "England."

It is ſingular, that, notwithſtanding his great diſlike to permanent taxes for the ſupport of the Poor, this writer himſelf ſuggeſts a plan which is in effect a national eſtabliſhment for the ſupport of the indigent. The following is his "Specimen of a Plan for a Reform in the Poor Laws." It does not, I think, evince a ſtrong capacity for legiſlative regulation. "Let a tax," he ſays, "be impoſed by Parliament on every "pariſh for their Poor, variable in proportion to the number; but not "to exceed the half of what is neceſſary: directing the landholders to "make up quarterly a liſt of the names and conditions of ſuch perſons "as in their opinion deſerve charity; with an eſtimate of what each "ought to have weekly. The public tax makes the half, aad the other "half is to be raiſed by voluntary contribution. To prevent colluſion, "the roll of the Poor, and their weekly appointment, with a ſubſcrip- "tion of Gentlemen for their part of the ſum, ſhall be examined by the

[1] In an "Addreſs to the Public on the Expediency of a regular Plan for the Maintenance "and Government of the Poor, &c. By Richard Woodward, LL. D. Dean of Clogher." London, 1775.

"Juſtices

" Juſtices of Peace at a quarterly meeting; who, on receiving ſatiſ-
" faction, muſt order the ſum ariſing from the public tax to be diſtri-
" buted among the Poor contained in the roll, according to the eſtimate
" made by the landholders. As the public fund lies dead till the ſub-
" ſcription be completed, it is not be imagined that any Gentleman will
" ſtand out; it would be a public imputation on his character. Far
" from apprehending any deficiency, confident I am, that every Gentle-
" man would conſider it as honourable to contribute largely. This
" agreeable work muſt be blended with ſome degree of ſeverity, that of
" excluding from the roll every profligate, male or female. If that rule
" be ſtrictly followed out, the innocent Poor will diminiſh daily; ſo as
" in time to be ſafely left upon voluntary charity, without neceſſity of
" any tax.

" But, muſt miſerable wretches, reduced to poverty by idleneſs or
" intemperance, be, in a chriſtian country, abandoned to diſeaſes and
" famine? This is the argument, ſhallow as it is, that has corrupted the
" induſtry of England, and reduced multitudes to diſeaſes and famine.
" Thoſe who are able to work, may be locked up in a houſe of cor-
" rection, to be fed with bread and water; but with liberty of working
" for themſelves." As for the remainder, he thinks that an hoſpital for the ſick, the wounded, and the maimed, is a right eſtabliſhment, productive of good, without doing any harm: that a ſort of hoſpital for ſervants, who for twenty years have faithfully adhered to the ſame maſter, would be extremely beneficial; and that a houſe of correction is neceſſary for the puniſhment of vagrants. He ſays, " I heartily
" approve every regulation that tends to prevent idleneſs—common
" begging ought abſolutely to be prohibited, even at the hazard of a
" few lives." Yet if the compulſory maintenance for the Poor were annihilated, would not many of the impotent Poor neceſſarily become beggars? He adds, " An officer muſt be appointed in every pariſh, with
" a competent ſalary, for apprehending and carrying to the work-houſe
" every ſtrolling beggar. Thoſe who are able to work may be locked
" up in a houſe of correction, to be fed with bread and water; but with
" liberty of working for themſelves." On this plan Dr. Woodward very ſenſibly obſerves: " This mixed multitude muſt include the real
" Poor, as well as the Impoſtor. Here is palpably a legal eſtabliſhment;

" an

" an houſe, a maintenance, (though a ſcanty one,) officers in and out " of the houſe provided at the public expence. It is open to all—they " need only beg to be admiſſible; but thoſe who cannot work muſt be " confined to their wretched appointment of bread and water, whilſt the " ſturdy vagabond adds to it the full produce of his labour. The only " difference then between Lord Kames's and other plans for a work- " houſe, is, that he allots much better maintenance to the Impoſtor than " the real Poor, or indeed the induſtrious labourer; for he gives him the " entire profits of his work, beſides the accommodation and allowance " of the houſe. In this plan he contradicts too his former ideas; for, " with reſpect to thoſe who were reduced by their profligacy, he had " before ſuggeſted a curious mode of diſcrimination, ' to ſhut up thoſe " ' who are able to work in an houſe of correction,' to leave the helpleſs " at large. ' If,' ſays he, ' by overſight or neglect, any happen to die of " ' want, the example will tend more to reformation than the moſt pa- " ' thetic diſcourſe from the pulpit[1].'"

Among the leſs conſiderable alterations which have taken place in the Poor Laws during the preſent reign, may be noticed the Act, which paſſed in 1775[2], for repealing the Act of Elizabeth againſt erecting cottages, unleſs four acres of land were laid to each cottage. Indeed there does not ſeem to be much danger, at preſent, of cottages becoming too numerous. I know ſeveral pariſhes, in which the greateſt difficulty, the Poor labour under, is the impoſſibility of procuring habitations. The preſent is ſaid to be an age of ſpeculation, and particularly ſo in building; but adventurers in this line, I believe, ſeldom think of erecting cottages in country pariſhes, on the contingent poſſibility of letting them to labourers' families. Neither can labourers themſelves, who wiſh to migrate from their parents, and ſet up for themſelves, although they may poſſeſs the ſmall ſum requiſite to erect a cottage, always obtain permiſſion from the lord of a manor to build one on a common. I am acquainted with one pariſh, in the neighbourhood of a populous city, in which, from the difficulty of procuring tenements, or ſmall plots of land to build on, poor people have, more than once, availed themſelves of a long night, to rear a hovel on the road-ſide, or on the common.

[1] See Dr. Woodward's Addreſs to the Public on the Expediency of a regular Plan for the Maintenance and Employment of the Poor (of Ireland.)

[2] 15 Geo. 3. c. 32.

Several Acts were paſſed between the year 1760 and 1780, for the incorporation of pariſhes, diſtricts, and hundreds, in different parts of the kingdom; which veſted them with power to borrow money, erect houſes of induſtry, and frame local regulations for the government of their Poor. Of ſome of theſe inſtitutions the Reader will find an account in the Second Volume of this Work.

It appears from the 20th of George the Third, that ſome doubts had ariſen, whether perſons were compellable to receive ſuch poor children as ſhould be bound apprentices to them under ſuch local Acts: it was therefore enacted, that *all perſons*, to whom any children ſhall be appointed to be bound, in purſuance of any Act for the relief of the Poor in any particular diſtrict in England, ſhall be obliged to provide for them, under the penalty of ten pounds; but that no perſon ſhall be obliged to take a poor child apprentice, except he be an inhabitant and occupier of lands in the pariſh to which ſuch child belongs. The Act likewiſe directs, that baſtards born in houſes of induſtry ſhall belong to the mother's pariſh[1].

The patriotic exertions of Mr. Gilbert, in attempting a reform in the Poor Laws, are well known to every perſon who has ſtudied the ſubject. As early as the year 1765, he brought forward a Bill in the Houſe of Commons, for remedying the evils which were principally complained of; the diſtreſſes of the Poor, and the miſapplication of the money raiſed for their relief. For this purpoſe, he propoſed to divide every county into large diſtricts, compoſed of a whole hundred, or at leaſt a great number of pariſhes. His Bill, after much inveſtigation, and after receiving conſiderable amendments, paſſed the Houſe of Commons; but, (as Mr. Gilbert informs us, from ſome circumſtances unconnected with it's merits,) it was defeated by the Lords, in a very full Houſe, on a diviſion of 66 againſt 59.

Between that period and the year 1787, no general Bill for the relief or regulation of the Poor was introduced into either Houſe of Parliament: Mr. Gilbert, however, at different times, in that interval, proceeded, under the ſanction of Parliament, to make enquiries, as a groundwork for future proceedings.

[1] 20 Geo. 3. c. 36.

As a preliminary to future diſcuſſion, an Act was paſſed in 1776, by which the overſeers of the Poor throughout England and Wales were directed to make returns, upon oath, to the following queſtions relative to the ſtate of the Poor :

1. What was the amount of the aſſeſſments for the relief of the Poor in the year ending at Eaſter 1776?

2. How much of thoſe aſſeſſments was applied for the relief, or on account of, the Poor ; and how much for the payment of county-rates, or any other purpoſes ; diſtinguiſhing alſo the amount of what was paid for the rent of work-houſes, or paid, or allowed, for habitations for the Poor ; and if any Poor reſide in houſes built at the expence of the pariſh, townſhip, or place, ſtate the total annual value of ſuch houſes ?

3. What number of Poor have received conſtant relief during that year ; and what has been the expence thereof, as near as the ſame can be eſtimated ?

4. Is there a work-houſe in the pariſh ? If ſo, what number of Poor will it accommodate ?

5. What was expended in litigations about ſettlements, removals, appeals, or other diſputes concerning the Poor within that year ; diſtinguiſhing how much of ſuch expences aroſe from diſputes with pariſhes, townſhips, or places, not within the county, riding, diviſion, precinct, ſoke, franchiſe, liberty, city, or county corporate, wherein ſuch pariſh, townſhip, or place lay ?

The following is the total reſult of the Returns from the overſeers for the year 1776[1]:

Money raiſed by Aſſeſſment ;—in England -	£ 1,679,585	0 0
Wales - -	40,731	14 7
	£ 1,720,316	14 7

[1] See Annual Regiſter for 1777. There is a trifling difference between the ſum mentioned in this account, as the net expences for the Poor, and the ſum mentioned under that head, in returns of the overſeers in 1786. See page 370.

Amount of County-rates - -	in England	£131,387	18	11
	Wales	6,268	11	9
		137,656	10	8
Expended on the Poor - -	in England	1,523,163	12	7
	Wales	33,640	13	8
		1,556,804	6	3
Expended in Rents -	in England	78,176	4	0
	Wales	2,120	10	7
		80,296	14	7
Expended in Litigation - -	in England	33,935	18	0
	Wales	1,136	2	8
		£35,072	0	8

In the year 1782, Mr. Gilbert made another effort to procure a reform in the Poor Laws: for this purpoſe he prepared and preſented three Bills; the firſt, for amending and rendering more effectual the laws in being relative to houſes of correction; the ſecond, for the better relief and employment of the Poor; the third, for amending and rendering more effectual the ſeveral laws in being relative to rogues, vagabonds, beggars, and other idle and diſorderly perſons. The firſt [1] and ſecond of thoſe Bills paſſed into Laws: the third was thrown out in the Houſe of Commons.

[1] By the firſt Act, Juſtices, at their Midſummer Quarter Seſſions, are empowered to nominate a Juſtice, in each diſtrict, to viſit the houſes of correction within his juriſdiction, and to make a report thereof at the next Michaelmas Quarter Seſſions. They are, likewiſe, empowered to make orders for the regulation of the houſes of correction, and for providing mills, looms, and implements for employing perſons committed to ſuch houſes; and an account in writing of the works performed by them is to be given in by the keeper at every Quarter Seſſions. Felons are directed to be kept in ſeparate apartments from other priſoners; and the keepers authoriſed to handcuff the refractory. See likewiſe 17 Geo. 2. c. 5.; and 24 Geo. 3. ſt. 2. c. 55.

Of

Of the Bill reſpecting the Poor, Mr. Gilbert remarks, that it was only intended as a temporary expedient, to afford ſome relief to diſtreſſed pariſhes, until an Act, upon a more general and extenſive plan, could be procured [1].

It appears, from it's preamble, that, for want of proper regulations and management in the poor-houſes, and controul over the perſons who engaged in ſuch contracts, the practice of letting out the Poor had been productive of great oppreſſion. Dr. Burn remarks, that, in many places, the overſeers contrived to contract with obnoxious perſons, of ſavage diſpoſitions, for the maintenance of the Poor; not with a view of making their ſituation more comfortable, but to hold out a work-houſe as a terrible alternative to thoſe who would not acquieſce in the pittances which the pariſh-officers thought fit to allow them. And, (he adds,) one ſuch taſk-maſter oftentimes undertook for the Poor of ſeveral pariſhes or townſhips [2]. The 22d of George the Third [3], therefore, repeals ſo much of the Act of George the Firſt as empowers pariſh-officers to contract with any perſons for maintaining and employing their Poor; and directs Juſtices of Peace within the limits where the poor-houſe of the united pariſhes is intended to be ſituated, to appoint guardians for each pariſh, with all the authority given to overſeers of the Poor, except with regard to the making and collecting of Rates: the Juſtices are likewiſe empowered and directed to appoint a governor of the poor-houſe, and a treaſurer; and, upon the recommendation of the guardians, to chooſe a viſitor, whoſe duty is, either by himſelf or deputy, to inſpect the accounts and management of the poor-houſe from time to time, and to ſettle the accounts between the guardians and the treaſurer; to adjuſt all queſtions which may ariſe concerning the perſons who ought to be ſent to the poor-houſe; and, in general, to give ſuch directions to guardians, governor and treaſurer, concerning theſe matters, as he thinks proper. The other clauſes of the Act ſpecify the deſcription of perſons which may be ſent to the poor-houſe; the mode of adminiſtering relief; the ſteps which are to be taken with reſpect to idle perſons, who neglect to provide for their families, and poor perſons who cannot get employment; the regulations for the internal management of the

[1] Conſiderations, &c. 5. [2] Burn's Juſtice, iij. title Poor, (relief.)
[3] 22 Geo. 3. c. 83. See Appendix, p. clxxxii.

houſe, and various other matters, ſo fully and minutely, that it would be impoſſible to give the Reader a clear idea of the proviſions of the Act by any moderate abſtract: I muſt therefore refer him to the Appendix of this Volume, in which he will find the Act at length, together with the forms of appointment of officers, notices of meetings, and other proceedings relative to incorporated diſtricts.

That few incorporations of pariſhes have taken place under this Act is not to be wondered at, when it is conſidered, that, although it empowers the pariſhes uniting to borrow money upon the ſecurity of the Poor's Rate, it directs that the perſons ſent to the poor-houſe ſhall be maintained at the general expence of the pariſhes uniting. The author of a very intereſting account of the Shrewſbury Houſe of Induſtry [1] remarks, that "it does "not appear to have been the intention of the Legiſlature to provide, by "theſe general Acts, (the 9th of George the Firſt, and 22d of George "the Third,) for the eſtabliſhment of houſes where the Parochial Poor "may be furniſhed with employment. For the laſt Act expreſsly ordains," as quoted by Burn, "that no perſon ſhall be ſent to the houſe, except "ſuch as are become indigent by old age, ſickneſs, or infirmities; and "except ſuch orphan children as ſhall be ſent thither by order of the "guardian and viſitor, and ſuch other children as neceſſarily go with their "mothers for ſuſtenance. With reſpect to idle and diſorderly perſons, "and thoſe alſo who cannot get employment, it directs, not that they "ſhall be taken into the houſe, and there ſet to work; but that the "former ſhall be puniſhed agreeably to the Vagrant Act, and the latter "*hired out* by the guardians [2]. It likewiſe directs, that the guardians "ſhall be *annually* choſen, which would be attended with all the diſad-"vantage of annual overſeers. It does not inveſt the guardians with "thoſe powers which are abſolutely neceſſary for the due government "and employment of ſuch a family, nor empower them to enact thoſe "particular bye-laws and regulations which local circumſtances will "always require [3]." It is, therefore, not extraordinary that ſeveral diſtricts,

[1] Mr. Wood. [2] § 32.

[3] See the 29th §; which expreſsly ſays, that no perſon ſhall be ſent to the poor-houſe, except ſuch as are become indigent by old age, ſickneſs, or infirmities, and are unable to acquire a maintenance

diſtricts, which have been incorporated ſince the paſſing of this Act, inſtead of adopting it's proviſions, ſhould have preferred making a trou-

maintenance by their labour; and except ſuch orphan children as ſhall be ſent thither by order of the guardians of the Poor, with the approbation of the viſitor; and except ſuch children as ſhall neceſſarily go with their mothers thither for ſuſtenance. The 30th §, I conceive, does not authorize the guardian to ſend children above the age of ſeven years, who have parents, to the poor-houſe; nor even thoſe under that age, without the conſent of their parents: I ſay this, however, with great deference; for I know it is the opinion of many able magiſtrates, that, under this Act, they are empowered to ſend children, above ſeven years of age, who are capable of working, to the poor-houſe, and to employ them there. (See the 30th §. & 35th §.) At the laſt Surrey Quarter Seſſions, held at Kingſton in October 1756, a queſtion aroſe on this ſtatute in the caſe of "Reigate Foreign againſt Whately and others." A woman, at Reigate, had applied to the guardians of the poor-houſe, lately erected there, for relief for her daughter, who was upwards of ſeven years of age, but in a bad ſtate of health. The guardians offered to take the child into the houſe, which the mother objected to, (as her daughter was dying of a conſumption: this fact, however, did not come before the Court;) and applied to a Juſtice, who ordered her relief at home. The order was appealed againſt. The queſtion to be decided ſeemed to be, whether the relief offered by the guardians was *proper relief?* (ſee § 35.) The point, however, argued, was rather, whether the magiſtrates were bound by this Act to ſend a Pauper, above the age of ſeven years, to the poor-houſe; or whether they were veſted with a diſcretionary power to grant them pecuniary relief at home? The Court were of opinion, that, in this caſe, the magiſtrates might exerciſe their diſcretion; and the order of Juſtices was confirmed. I am warranted in the opinion that poor-houſes, erected under Mr. Gilbert's Act, are confined to caſes of age, infancy, or infirmity; and that they are intended merely as aſylums for the decrepid, and ſchools for orphan children, and children under ſeven years of age, who may be ſent thither with the conſent of their parents, by the ſentiments delivered in a report inſtituted by order of the Epiphany Quarter Seſſions in Hampſhire laſt year. (See Annals of Agric. xxv. 376.) and the remarks of a well-informed member of the Legiſlature on this ſubject. (See Sir William Young's Conſiderations on the Subject of Poor-houſes, &c. p. 29.) The 36 Geo. 3. c. 23.; which enables a Juſtice, notwithſtanding the 9 Geo. 1. c. 7. (which compels Paupers to enter the pariſh work-houſe,) to direct the overſeers to diſtribute relief to poor perſons at their own houſes, does not extend to diſtricts incorporated under Mr. Gilbert's or other Acts. As it's preamble ſays that the proviſion of 9 Geo. 1. c. 7. which obliged poor perſons to go into the work-houſe, "in certain caſes held out conditions of relief injurious to the comfort and domeſtic ſituation and happineſs" of the Poor; and as many caſes may occur, in which the ſending a Pauper into a poor-houſe erected under Mr. Gilbert's Act, might have the like tendency, it ſeems not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that the Legiſlature thought the Juſtices had ſo neceſſary a diſcretionary power, under Mr. Gilbert's Act, to relieve the Poor at home. I muſt, however, confeſs, that I have heard it urged that the 4th § of the 36 Geo. 3. c. 23. affords a very contrary preſumption.

bleſome

bleſome and expenſive application to the Legiſlature for ſuch ſpecial Act of Parliament as they thought beſt calculated for their particular eſtabliſhment.

In the year 1786, another Act paſſed[1], for obliging the overſeers of the Poor to make returns, on oath, to certain queſtions relative to the ſtate of the Poor. A penalty of £ 50. was impoſed on officers making falſe returns: and perſons taking falſe oaths were made ſubject to the pains and penalties of thoſe convicted of wilful and corrupt perjury.

The queſtions contained in the Act are as follows:

Queſtion 1ſt. What money was raiſed by aſſeſſments for the relief of the Poor in the reſpective years ending at Eaſter 1783, 1784, and 1785?

2d. What number of Poor received conſtant, and what number occaſional, relief, during each of the ſaid three years, as near as you can aſcertain the ſame?

3d. How much was paid out of the ſaid money in each of the ſaid three years, for expences of overſeers in journies, and attendances on magiſtrates and others; and how much for entertainments at meetings of the inhabitants, on affairs relative to the Poor?

4th. What payments were made out of the ſaid money for law-buſineſs, and for orders, examinations, certificates, and other proceedings reſpecting the Poor, in each of the ſaid three years?

5th. How much of the money collected under theſe aſſeſſments was applied for the payment of county rates, or any other, and what purpoſes, that did not concern the Poor?

6th. How much of the money ſo raiſed has been expended in providing materials and utenſils for ſetting the Poor to work?

In 1786, the committee of the Houſe of Commons, after unremitting attention and labour, reduced the chaos of returns tranſmitted from the overſeers to a regular arrangement; and a very voluminous abſtract was printed for the information of the Public on this very important, (but, I fear, notwithſtanding this maſs of additional information, hitherto

[1] 26 Geo. III. c. 56.

little

little underſtood,) branch of political economy. The Returns exhibited every pariſh in England and Wales, placed alphabetically under it's reſpective county, and hundred; and comprizing, in fourteen diſtinct columns, the following particulars relative to the ſtate of parochial concerns:

1. Name of the hundred, &c.
2. Name of pariſh, townſhip, &c.
3. For the year 1783,
4. For the year 1784,
5. For the year 1785,

} Money raiſed by aſſeſſment.

6. Medium of thoſe three years.
7. Medium of money applied for county purpoſes, including vagrants, militia, conſtables' expences, proſecution of felons, county bridges, gaols, houſes of correction, &c.
8. Medium of expences for purpoſes which did not concern the Poor; viz. repairing churches, roads, clocks, ſtocks, pounds; ſalaries to miniſters, pariſh clerks, ſextons, watchmen, &c.

} Expences not applicable to the Poor.

9. Medium of net money annually paid for the Poor.
10. Net expences for the Poor in 1776, taken from the returns then made to Parliament.
11. Medium expences of overſeers in journies, and attendances on magiſtrates, &c.
12. Medium expences of entertainments at meetings relative to the Poor.
13. Medium expences of law buſineſs, orders, examinations, and other proceedings relative to the Poor.
14. Medium of money expended in ſetting the Poor on work.

} Heads of particular Expences.

The following is an Abſtract of the Overſeers Returns in 1776 and 1786[1]:

Names of the Counties in England.	Medium of net money annually paid for the Poor, for the years 1783, 1784, & 1785.			Net expences for the Poor in 1776[2], taken from the Returns then made to Parliament.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Bedford	20,977	0	11	16,662	17	1
Berks	47,006	10	1	36,718	2	8
Bucks	45,340	0	3	31,745	16	0
Cambridge	26,175	12	10	18,079	10	10
Cheſter	39,292	0	11	29,644	13	2
Cornwall	28,531	19	9	22,004	11	10
Cumberland	11,687	13	4	8,029	19	2
Derby	22,924	15	3	17,441	1	8
Devon	80,681	11	5	62,481	2	6
Dorſet	31,528	8	6	24,538	5	8
Durham	19,530	12	4	14,440	13	4
Eſſex	94,569	14	6	74,067	3	5
Glouceſter	64,895	5	8	53,812	3	1
Hereford	16,727	18	2	10,393	7	2
Hertford	32,779	9	8	25,486	9	0
Huntingdon	12,162	14	5	7,659	3	11
Kent	106,606	7	11	80,150	10	0
Lancaſter	73,363	14	8	52,220	0	11
Leiceſter	30,805	5	0	24,339	16	4
Lincoln	43,024	2	6	31,930	8	7
Middleſex	94,012	17	7	80,226	18	0
London	52,657	11	6	49,067	0	2
Weſtminſter	48,856	2	1	44,969	3	1
Monmouth	8,108	1	3	5,575	1	7
Norfolk	94,670	17	5	64,296	13	10
Northampton	46,079	8	7	35,232	15	8
Northumberland	20,737	16	2	14,698	12	0
Nottingham	18,068	8	9	11,833	1	11
Oxford	36,109	3	5	28,750	4	9
Rutland	3,537	5	1	2,664	6	6
Salop	33,937	2	3	22,316	10	1
Somerſet	66,267	0	9	50,271	5	2
Southampton	58,956	9	3	48,928	8	2
Stafford	40,963	13	7	32,088	17	1
Suffolk	69,407	8	1	56,804	0	5
Surrey	66,155	10	0	49,743	19	8
Suſſex	72,877	10	10	54,734	8	7
Warwick	59,557	9	2	44,070	11	0
Weſtmoreland	5,616	12	3	2,834	8	0
Wilts	62,893	1	8	54,021	10	10
Worceſter	34,508	19	9	26,755	0	9
York, Eaſt Riding	15,499	7	10	11,036	9	7
North ditto	18,865	16	7	12,676	1	8
Weſt ditto	66,695	3	3	50,688	1	5
	£ 1,943,649	15	10	£ 1,496,129	6	3
Names of the Counties in Wales.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Angleſey	930	5	6	169	1	9
Brecon	4,237	10	2	2,407	15	2
Cardigan	2,248	1	4	1,084	18	1
Carmarthen	5,671	3	3	2,948	4	8
Carnarvon	1,579	6	1	471	17	5
Denbigh	9,762	0	0	5,364	14	8
Flint	7,076	5	5	4,043	12	0
Glamorgan	8,817	10	9	5,300	19	11
Merioneth	2,256	1	9	1,046	16	5
Montgomery	8,970	17	2	5,508	15	7
Pembroke	5,150	15	1	3,049	8	3
Radnor	3,888	13	7	2,254	9	11
	£ 60,588	10	1	£ 33,650	13	10

[1] See Parliamentary Regiſter, xxxix. 438.

[2] Lord Kames (upon what authority I know not,) aſſerts, that, in 1773, the Poor's Rates amounted to £ 3,000,000. Sketches, B. ii. Sk. 10.

Money raiſed by Aſſeſſment,

For the year 1783	England	£ 2,068,585	7 1
	Wales	63,901	5 1
		2,132,486	12 2
For the year 1784	England	2,117,432	11 0
	Wales	68,456	16 8
		2,185,889	7 8

For the year 1785 - -	England	£	2,115,775	2	5
	Wales		69,129	16	6
			2,184,904	18	11
Medium of thoſe years - -	England		2,100,587	16	11
	Wales		67,161	16	9
			2,167,749	13	8

Expences not applicable to the Poor.

Medium of money applied for county purpoſes—Vagrants, militia, bridges, gaols, &c.—England -		£	113,714	15	6
	Wales -		5,565	11	4
			119,280	6	10
Medium of Expences not concerning the Poor—Repairing churches, roads, ſalaries to miniſters, &c.					
	England -		43,223	5	7
	Wales -		1,007	15	4
			44,231	0	11
Medium of net money annually paid for the Poor—					
	England -		1,943,649	15	10
	Wales -		60,588	10	1
			2,004,238	5	11
Net expences in 1776 - - -			1,529,780	0	1
Increaſe - - - - - -			474,458	5	10
Net expences for the Poor in 1776, taken from the returns then made to Parliament—England			1,496,129	6	3
	Wales -		33,650	13	10
			1,529,780	0	1

Heads of particular Expences.

Medium of expences of overſeers in journies, attendances on magiſtrates, &c. -	England	£23,545	0	10
	Wales	948	17	8
		24,493	18	6
Medium expences of entertainments at meetings relative to the Poor - -	England -	11,329	15	11
	Wales	383	4	10
		11,713	0	9
Medium expences of law, orders, examinations, and other proceedings relative to the Poor—				
	England -	53,757	11	0
	Wales -	2,033	11	6
		55,791	2	6
Medium of money expended in ſetting the Poor to work - - - - -	England -	15,680	14	9
	Wales -	211	14	1
		15,892	8	10

By another Statute, paſſed in the ſame year[1], the miniſters and church-wardens of each pariſh were directed to make returns upon oath, in writing, to the following queſtions:

Queſtion 1ſt. What charitable donations have been given, by deed or will, for the benefit of poor perſons, within your pariſh, (or place,); by whom, when, in what manner, and for what particular purpoſe, were they given, to the beſt of your knowledge, information, and belief?

[1] 26 Geo. III. c. 58.

Queſtion

Queſtion 2d. Were the ſaid reſpective donations in land or money; in whom are they now veſted, and what is the annual produce thereof reſpectively, to the beſt of your knowledge, information, and belief?

The Committee, appointed to conſider the Returns made by the miniſter and church-wardens to theſe queſtions, having cauſed the produce of the different charities, (as far as they could be collected from the Returns, which were in many inſtances very defective and obſcure,) to be caſt up in each county, found the annual amount of the produce of land and money appropriated to charitable uſes to be as follows:

Money in England,	-	£ 46,173	9	9		
Wales,	- -	2,070	0	8		
					£ 48,243	10 5
Land in England,	-	206,301	8	8		
Wales,	- -	4,166	0	2		
					210,467	8 10
Making together a total of	- -				£ 258,710	19 3

The Committee added, that they had reaſon to believe, that very conſiderable further ſums would appear to have been given for ſimilar purpoſes, whenever proper means could be found for compleating their diſcoveries, by extending the enquiry to corporations, companies, and ſocieties, as well as feoffees, truſtees, and other perſons.

In 1786, Mr. Acland publiſhed a Scheme for enabling the Poor to maintain themſelves, by ſubſcribing a ſmall portion of their earnings to a general ſociety, conſtructed, in many reſpects, on principles extremely ſimilar to thoſe on which the numerous box-clubs, which are now to be found in every part of the kingdom, were formed. As his ideas received the approbation of that able calculator and philanthropiſt Dr. Price, and the utility of theſe inſtitutions is becoming every day more apparent, (and indeed ſo much ſo, that one part of Mr. Pitt's Bill propoſes the eſtabliſhment of parochial funds, which are partly to be ſupported by the ſubſcriptions of the perſons for whoſe benefit they are principally intended,) I ſhall make no apology for laying before the

Reader the principal outlines of a plan, which Mr. Acland explains very fully, and very ſatisfactorily.

He propoſes, that there ſhall be eſtabliſhed, by the authority of Parliament, throughout the whole kingdom of England, one general Club or Society, to which every male or female, between twenty-one and thirty years of age, ſhall be obliged to ſubſcribe to the common ſtock, in the following manner: that is to ſay—Every perſon, on arriving at the age of twenty-one, or on being ſo far emancipated as to receive, if a man, for his own uſe, the daily hire of, or above, 10d. a day; or, being a ſervant in a houſe, the clear wages of 1s. 6d. a week, or £4. a year: or if a female, for her own uſe, the daily hire of, or above, 6d. a day, or the clear wages of 1s. 3d. a week, or the yearly ſum of £3., ſhall pay into the common ſtock 2d. a week, if a male, or 1½d. if a female; and that all ſuch perſons ſhall be bound to contribute under certain penalties: with the exception, however, of ſuch perſons as ſhall, through any ſickneſs, diſorder, or accident, be incapable of maintaining themſelves; or that ſhall be above the age of thirty, or, being married, ſhall have one or more children: and ſuch as ſhall come under either of theſe predicaments, ſhall not be compellable to ſubſcribe; but perſons married, and having children, may, if they chooſe it: but no perſon ſhall be entitled to pay from the club, but for ſuch children only as ſhall have been born in wedlock, nine months at leaſt after the commencement of his or her ſubſcription. All perſons likewiſe ſhall be permitted, but not compelled to ſubſcribe, from thirty to fifty, that are in perfect health, and will pay one year's ſubſcription by way of entrance-money, together with the addition of one ſhilling for every year compleat that they ſhall, at their entrance, exceed thirty.

All perſons poſſeſſed of freehold, or leaſehold, eſtates to the amount of £10. a year, and upwards, ſhall be obliged [1] to contribute in the following

[1] Mr. Acland likewiſe propoſes, that all perſons poſſeſſed of lands or leaſehold eſtate of or above the value of £10. a year, and not worth the ſum of £1000. excluſive of land, though at liberty to ſubſcribe any ſum not exceeding 1s. a week, yet, on account of the ſtability of their property, and their contributions to the Poor's Rate, ſhall not be compellable to ſubſcribe at all. No monied property, however, he thinks, ſhould exclude from ſubſcription: but all perſons of ſuppoſed perſonal property of £1000., who refuſe to declare that they are not

lowing manner: that is to ſay, that every male ſhall be at liberty to ſubſcribe any ſum he pleaſes, not leſs than 2d. nor more than 1s. a week; and every female, in the like manner, any ſum not leſs than 1½d. nor more than 1s. a week; for which 1½d. every female ſubſcriber, during any time that ſhe ſhall, by ſickneſs, or any other affliction, (not brought on by any unlawful action,) be confined to her room, and be incapable of labour, ſhall receive 3s. a week; and for any ſubſequent time that ſhe ſhall be incapable of earning 3d. a day, (in the eſtimation of the miniſter, church-wardens, and overſeers of the Poor, aſſiſted by the pariſh apothecary,) ſhe ſhall receive 2s. a week during her incapacity; and after the age of ſixty-five, 10½d. a week, till ſeventy; and, after that period, or any time before, that the above-mentioned perſons think her incapable of earning 3d. a day, the weekly ſum of 1s. 4½d.; and after ſeventy-five, or any time before, that ſhe is adjudged to be incapable of labour, 3s. a week, during life: and for every legitimate child more than two that ſhall be alive at the ſame time, and be under eight years of age, ſhe ſhall, in her own right, be entitled to the weekly ſum of 1s.

And, in like manner, that the weekly contributor of 2d. whether male or female, ſhall be entitled, in the firſt inſtance, to 6s. a week, and in the ſecond, (while under an incapacity of earning, the man 6d. or the woman 3d. a day,) to 3s. a week; and, for every living child more than two, (under the above reſtrictions,) to 1s. 4½d. a week; and after ſixty-five, to 1s. a week; and after ſeventy, to 1s. 7½d. a week; and after that period, or any time before, that he or ſhe may be rendered incapable of all labour, to 3s. 6d. a week.

not worth that ſum excluſive of real property, ſhould be compellable to contribute 3d. a week, and to increaſe that contribution by 1d. a week for every £1000. they ſhall be deemed to be worth. There are, I think, inſuperable objections to this part of the plan: in a commercial country, it cannot be expected, that a man ſhould either himſelf know the amount of his perſonal property, or, if he did, be inclined to divulge it to the pariſh-officers. "An in-"quiſition into every man's private circumſtances, and an inquiſition, which, in order to ac-"commodate the tax to them, watched over all the fluctuations, would be a ſource of ſuch "continual and endleſs vexation as no people could ſupport."—Smith's Wealth of Nations, 5th ed. iii. 295.——The objections to a *direct* tax on perſonal *capital* do not apply to an *indirect* tax on *income*.

He propoſes, that, in caſe either parent ſhould die, the widow or widower ſhall receive the allowance allotted for children, equally the ſame as if both parents were alive: and that all orphan children of deceaſed members ſhall receive the pay allotted to the parents' ſubſcription, until eight years of age; with this exception only, that the ſum which the parents muſt in either caſe have ſubſcribed, ſhall be deducted out of their weekly receipts; and the ſurpluſſes that may accumulate over and above the neceſſary nurture of the orphans, ſhall be veſted in church-wardens and overſeers of the pariſh for the time being, and be deemed part of a parochial fund, for which the pariſh at large ſhall be reſponſible, when called for in a ſummary way, before one or more neighbouring Juſtices, on the complaint of any friend of the orphans.

The plan alſo provides, that no perſon ſhall, except in the inſtance relating to children, be entitled to any weekly receipt, unleſs it can be proved, to the ſatisfaction of the miniſter, &c. that ſuch perſon is neither worth £1000. nor has an annual income, from any ſource whatever, amounting to £50. a year: nor ſhall any perſon, in the fourth and fifth inſtances, be entitled to any receipt on account of age, who ſhall not, in like manner, make it appear that they have not £500. nor £25. a year [1].

No man not having two children, and no woman not having one child to maintain, ſhall, in the firſt inſtance, (that is, during confinement to their rooms,) receive full pay for any longer time than four months, on account of any one illneſs; but after ſuch period, only ſuch pay as is provided in the ſecond inſtance, (that is, while they cannot earn more than 3d. a day,) and is commonly called walking-pay. Any man having two children, or woman, one child, to maintain, ſhall be entitled to

[1] But as there might be caſes, (againſt which it is impoſſible to provide,) of perſons having large families, from whom it would be unjuſt to withhold the reſult of their own contributions, at the ſame time that their neceſſities required it, Mr. Acland propoſes, that, in ſuch caſes, the Juſtices, at their Quarter Seſſions, ſhould have a diſcretionary power, on the unanimous petition of the miniſter, church-wardens, and overſeers of the Poor, to order ſuch payments to be made out of the aſſociated fund, to ſuch perſon, if ſick or aged, notwithſtanding their private fortune, as the weekly contribution entitled ſuch perſon to receive. So, by Mr. Pitt's Bill, allowances are directed to be made to induſtrious Poor, not able to ſupport themſelves and families by their labours, although they may poſſeſs ſome little property of their own.

his

his or her full pay, for any time that he or ſhe ſhall be confined in any hoſpital: but any man having leſs than two children, or woman not having any child, to maintain, ſhall, during ſuch confinement, be entitled only to walking-pay.

It is further propoſed, that every member, on being taken ill, or on meeting with any accident whatever, ſhall notify the ſame to the miniſter, or, in his abſence, to one or other of the church-wardens or overſeers of the Poor, (of the pariſh to which that member belongs,) who, on ſuch notice, ſhall, as ſoon as may be, but within twenty-four hours after the receipt of the ſame, under the penalty of 10s. to be forfeited to the uſe of the Poor of the pariſh, be obliged to attend, or to find ſome proper perſon to attend for him, and inſpect the ſituation of the ſaid member; and, if need require, to ſend for the pariſh apothecary to inſpect, judge, and take care of, the diſorder, or other accident, under which the perſon may labour; and in order that all poor perſons may have proper care taken of them during any illneſs, every pariſh is required to agree with ſome neighbouring apothecary to provide medicines and attendance for the Poor; and ſuch members of the club as are not deemed able, by the miniſter, &c. to provide themſelves: and one moiety of the apothecary's ſalary ſhall be paid by the pariſh, and the other out of the weekly contributions of the club.

The following Table ſhews the allowances, which Mr. Acland propoſes giving to the different claſſes of ſubſcribers. It is obvious that the higher claſſes receive leſs for their ſubſcription than the lower: on which Mr. Acland remarks, that the reaſon of making this diſtinction is this; that the lower claſſes of ſubſcribers, on account of the relief which their ſubſcription gives the public, are, without doubt, entitled to an allowance, beyond what their own contribution would, of itſelf, afford; but the reſt, receiving from the ſtock a very deſirable convenience, ought to pay for that convenience, and therefore there is no need to give them ſo good a bargain.

	shall be entitled to receive weekly					
	In the first Instance.	In the second Instance,	In the third Instance,	In the fourth Instance,	In the fifth Instance,	In the sixth Instance.
The weekly Subscriber of	For bed-lying pay.	Walking do.	Ditto for children more than 2.	65 Years of Age.	70 Years of Age.	75 Years of Age [1].
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
0 1½	4 0	2 0	1 0	0 10½	1 4½	3 0
0 2	6 0	3 0	1 4½	1 0	1 7½	3 6
0 3	7 6	3 6	1 7½	1 1½	1 9	4 0
0 4	8 6	3 9	1 9	1 3	1 10	4 4½
0 5	9 0	4 0	1 10	1 4	1 11	4 9
0 6	9 4½	4 3	1 11	1 5	2 0	5 0
0 7	9 9	4 6	2 0	1 6	2 1	5 3
0 8	10 0	4 7½	2 1	1 7	2 2	5 6
0 9	10 3	4 9	2 2	1 8	2 3	5 9
0 10	10 6	4 10½	2 3	1 9	2 4	6 0
0 11	10 9	4 11	2 4½	1 10	2 5	6 3
1 0	11 0	5 0	2 5	1 11	2 6	6 6

The following is the mode in which the subscriptions are to be received and enforced. "Every Sunday, immediately after evening "prayer, the church-wardens and overseers of the Poor, (who, in virtue "of their office, shall be considered as treasurers of the said club,) shall, "for the purpose of receiving all contributions that shall be due to, "and paying all claims that shall be due from, the said club, "attend with a folio parchment book, bought at the parish's expence; "every two opposite pages of which, beginning with the second and "third, shall be perpendicularly divided into 53 columns. On the first "column towards the left hand shall be entered the several names of "the members on equidistant lines drawn across the opposite pages, so "as to leave on the right hand of each name 52 squares, to answer the "purpose of a like number of receipts from the person to whose name "those squares are opposite: half-way on in the same book shall, in the "same manner as before, be written, on two opposite pages, a second "list of subscribers' names, for the purpose of entering the weekly pay-"ments that shall be made to each subscriber; and upon a line drawn "on the top of each of these opposite pages, and above the uppermost "name, shall be written over every column of squares, beginning with

[1] Or any time before that a member shall be rendered incapable of labour.

"that

" that immediately following the firſt name, the number 1, 2, 3, and " ſo on to 52. In the firſt inſtance, every marked ſquare ſhall ſtand as " a valid receipt to that member to whoſe name it is oppoſite, for the " 1ſt, 2d, or 3d, or any other week's payment, to which the number at " the top ſhall anſwer. In the ſecond inſtance, every ſquare, beſides " being numbered at the top, ſhall have *s. d.* to denote ſhillings and " pence, written over every column of ſquares, for the purpoſe of enter- " ing in figures, in the ſeveral ſquares beneath, the ſums received by any " ſubſcriber, and the particular weeks in which they were received. " By this proviſion a great many members may be accounted with, to " the number, I ſuppoſe, of 200 or more, in the ſpace of an hour. " Poſſibly, where the pariſhes are large[1], and the inhabitants too nu- " merous to be accounted with by one overſeer or church-warden, ſingly, " it may be proper that there ſhall be provided, for every ſuch pariſh, " one book, for the ſole purpoſe of entering the payments made to the " ſeveral members, and two or three other books, if need require it, " with the names of the ſeveral members arranged alphabetically in two " or three portions, for the purpoſe of entering all receipts from the " ſaid members: by theſe means, the two church-wardens and two " overſeers might, without confuſion, or interference with each other, " at one and the ſame time, be each of them tranſacting the buſineſs of " his proper department; as every member would know, according as " the alphabet directed him, to whoſe department he belonged. The " church-wardens and overſeers, when called out of the pariſh upon any " neceſſary buſineſs of the club, ſhall be made moderate ſatisfaction for " the ſame: the ſatisfaction itſelf to be taken out of the Poor's Rate. " But as to the Sunday attendance, that ſhall be executed *gratis*, as " part of the burthen of their office; foraſmuch as not only no time " will be hereby taken off from their worldly employments, but the " preſent proper buſineſs of their office, reſpecting the Poor, will at " length become almoſt evaneſcent. Beſides, as perſons of property, " they will be partakers of the general benefit reſulting from hence to

" [1] It would ſave a great deal of trouble, and in moſt pariſhes it would be ſufficient, if their " attendance was given but once a month; and in the more numerous ones (where a more fre- " quent attendance might be neceſſary, the members being divided alphabetically into two or " four diviſions) the buſineſs of each diviſion might be tranſacted either weekly, or once in a " fortnight, as occaſion ſhould require."

" the public; and few men, probably, will be called upon more than " once in their lives, in reſpect to any one eſtate; and as to thoſe who " have many, as their benefit will be the greater, they muſt be contented " either to do the office oftener, or to pay others for doing it for them. " But as it is generally the caſe, that the under-tenant takes upon him- " ſelf the burden of all the pariſh-offices, at the ſame time that he may " in every reſpect be unequal to the truſt here allotted him; that the " public may receive no damage thereby, the pariſh, in veſtry aſſembled, " having firſt determined on the tenant's incapacity, ſhall be empowered " to provide another perſon, at a reaſonable ſalary. And as all the " duty on the club account is new and poſterior to the covenant, it " ſeems not unreaſonable that the landlord ſhould at leaſt divide the " expence with the under-tenant. And as it may ſometimes happen, " that a veſtry may not pay a proper attention to the diſqualifications of " the tenant, the miniſter of the pariſh, who may commonly be ſup- " poſed to be one of the moſt competent judges of ſuch a matter, ſhall " always be obliged, as a neceſſary corroboration to ſuch a nomination, " to give under his hand, in writing, his approbation or diſapprobation " thereof in theſe words: 'I do declare, that I ſincerely believe that A. B. 'is (or is not) a perſon capable of diſcharging the ſaid office.' And in " caſe of his diſapprobation, it ſhall be matter to be inquired into, and de- " termined by the Juſtices, at the time of their giving out their nomi- " nation-warrants. Moreover, as ſome ſmall compenſation for the " execution of a new and troubleſome office, every perſon diſcharging " the ſame (excepting ſuch as ſhall do it for hire, and, in that caſe, the " perſon ſo hiring) ſhall be entitled to an exemption from a certain por- " tion of ſtatute-labour, according to the number of ſubſcribers that may " fall to his particular department to attend."

In a pamphlet publiſhed in 1788, intituled, " The inſufficiency of the cauſes to which the increaſe of our Poor and of the Poor's Rates have been aſcribed, &c." Mr. Howlett reviewed Mr. Acland's plan, which, he very juſtly remarks, goes upon the ſuppoſition that, upon an average, only one in 48 of the whole aggregate ſociety is, (except from old age,) ſo incapacitated, without offering any evidence to ſhew that ſuch a calculation is well founded.

His other principal objections are, " that this promiſed future income,

" inſtead of ſharpening the ſpur to induſtry, will only blunt it. The " great incitements to active exertion and vigilant economy among the " lower claſſes are," (he ſays,) " the dread of want on the one hand, " and the hopes of a comfortable proviſion againſt ſickneſs and old age " on the other. The operation of both theſe the plan before us ſeems, in " a great meaſure, likely to deſtroy : it tells the young labourer, whether " in ſervice or married, if he contributes two-pence a week to the legal " public funds, he ſhall thereby purchaſe a ſecurity againſt all the con- " tingencies of ſickneſs, infirmity, and age. The aſſurance is pleaſing ; " his heart is at reſt ; his utmoſt exertion, he thinks, can ſecure nothing " further. By this, therefore, his views are bounded. The regular " payment of the legal demand is all he minds. It is uſeleſs to lay up " money while at ſervice; he therefore ſquanders it away as fancy or in- " clination dictates ; or if married, provided he can live from hand to " mouth, as the phraſe is, and pay what the law requires of him, it is " fully ſufficient. In the mean time, his wants and neceſſities increaſe, " and the ſum of two-pence a week, ſmall as it is, he finds it more and " more difficult to ſpare ; the regular payment is ſoon diſcontinued ; his " hopes are conſequently blaſted, and he ſinks into poverty much ſooner " than he would have done, had this flattering proſpect never been held " out to them."

Mr. Howlett further remarks, " that the plan propoſes no meaſures " to obviate the increaſed expences of living, from the poſſible increaſe " of the price of proviſions ; for the ſudden and exorbitant advance of " them upon particular emergencies ; for the incidental ſeverity of " the ſeaſons, and the incidental ſcarcity of work ; and yet from theſe, " and theſe alone, have almoſt all the hardſhips and diſtreſſes of the " Poor originated ; and from theſe will they chiefly originate in time " to come."

Theſe objections, I confeſs, appear to me to be ill-founded, when applied to a Friendly Society, which, in conſideration of a ſmall weekly or monthly payment from a man whilſt in health, will allow him a moderate penſion in ſickneſs or old age. They might, perhaps, be advanced with a conſiderable degree of truth againſt the Poor's Rate. The labourer, it might be ſaid, ſees in it " a ſecurity againſt all the contin- " gencies of ſickneſs, infirmity, or age. The aſſurance is pleaſing ; his " heart

"heart is at reſt; his utmoſt exertion, he thinks, can ſecure nothing "further. By this, therefore, his views are bounded. It is uſeleſs to "lay up money while at ſervice; he therefore ſquanders it away as "fancy or inclination dictates." That a compulſory proviſion for the Poor ſometimes produces theſe effects, there can be little doubt. A Gentleman who reſides in a pariſh a few miles from London informs me, that a paper-maker, who worked laſt year in a mill near Dover for a guinea a week, in conſequence of his maſter's having refuſed to increaſe his wages, entered into a combination with his fellow workmen to "ſtrike," as it is called, or leave off working. The conſequence was, that the maſter manufacturer has been greatly diſtreſſed for hands: the man, declining to work, has returned to his pariſh, and, although not incapacitated from labour, is content to avail himſelf, and his children, of what Sir William Young calls "a legalized ſyſtem of priſons," the pariſh work-houſe, into which he has gained a ready admittance, and lives at his eaſe, although he is maintained by a contractor—a being who, it is too generally ſuppoſed, is either unfeeling or improvident.

But, to return to Mr. Howlett's objections:—they appear to me to be equally applicable to the modern Friendly Societies; inſtitutions of which he elſewhere ſpeaks in terms of approbation, and which, I am perſuaded, far from relaxing, afford the ſtrongeſt ſtimulus to the labourer's induſtry. Flattered with the hope of ſecuring a decent proviſion in ſickneſs or old age, or perhaps only actuated by a wiſh to ſpend a convivial evening, once a month, with his neighbours at the alehouſe, he is tempted to ſubſcribe: when he has continued his payments for a few weeks, punctuality will become eaſy and habitual; and even if it ſhould not, the apprehenſion of forfeiting every contingent advantage, which, as a member, he will be entitled to in the hour of adverſity, will ever be a powerful check to deter him from declining to continue his ſubſcription.

I admit, however, that Mr. Acland's Scheme has many great defects. Some I have already pointed out; and will only add, that in many reſpects it operates as a Poor's Rate; that it would always be unpalatable, becauſe the members would not be governed by laws of their own making; and that, in many of the inſtances, the allowances bear too ſmall a proportion to the payments ever to attract ſubſcribers.

Mr. Howlett combats, with great force, the following ſuppoſed cauſes of the increaſe of the Poor:

1. Our injudicious ſyſtem of Poor Laws, and their defective execution.
2. The great number of our ale-houſes.
3. The growing wickedneſs and profligacy of the Poor.
4. The engroſſing of farms.

The grand and leading cauſe of the increaſe of the number of the Poor has, he thinks, been the greater advance in the price of proviſions than in the price of labour. He remarks, that, at the periods, in which Sir Matthew Hale, Sir Joſiah Child, Mr. Firmin, Mr. Locke, Mr. Hay, and a long liſt of writers, in 1753, propoſed plans for the relief of the Poor, the price of the moſt eſſential article of human ſubſiſtence was extremely high; and, therefore, very ſatisfactorily accounted for their difficulties. Of the years 1783, 4, and 5, the aſſeſſments of which were laid before the Houſe of Commons, he ſays, the winter of 1783 was rather ſevere; but thoſe of 1784, and 1785, were vaſtly more ſo[1]. From this circumſtance, and from an inveſtigation of the medium annual expences of maintaining the Poor in forty-two pariſhes[2], of very conſiderable extent, in the counties of Kent, Eſſex, and Suffolk, he infers, that the expence of maintaining the Poor was actually decreaſing; and that, inſtead of having increaſed upwards of £474,000. in nine years, as ſtated by the Committee in the Houſe of Commons, they had increaſed only about £250,000. in the courſe of eleven years, between the years 1776 and 1787; and, conſequently, that thoſe alarms on this ſubject, which have been ſo zealouſly ſpread amongſt "us, to "our no ſmall terror and affright, as if we were hurrying faſt to ruin "and deſtruction, are mere childiſh panics. For an increaſe of £250,000

[1] The net expence of maintaining the Poor in 1776, was - - £ 1,529,780 0 1
The medium annual expence of maintaining the Poor, on an average of three years, ending at Eaſter 1785, was - - - 2,004,238 5 11

[2] In theſe 42 pariſhes, the medium annual expence of maintaining the Poor, for the years 1781 and 1782 was - - £ 18,588 7 10
Ditto for 1783, 1784, and 1785 - - 20,264 10 5
Ditto for 1786 and 1787 - - - 18,050 14 5

"a year, in the courſe of eleven years, conſidering the events which "have taken place in that compaſs of time, is a mere trifle to what "has been expected. An expenſive War brought an additional debt of "more than a hundred millions. This occaſioned a variety of taxes, "ſome of which have fallen upon what the preſent ſtate of things ren-"ders, even to the loweſt of our people, the immediate neceſſaries of "life, ſuch as ſoap, leather, candles, &c. and increaſed their price one-"fifth; wheat, mean time, in the diſadvantageous manner in which it "generally comes to the poor labourer, has been almoſt ſix ſhillings a "buſhel; malt, above four ſhillings and ſix-pence; butter and cheeſe "have riſen three-halfpence a pound, meat a penny. Twelve years ago, "our labouring Poor were ſcarcely ſix millions; they are now ſix mil-"lions and a quarter [1]. Suppoſe each individual of them conſumes a "quarter of wheat in a year, which is rather below the fact, and the "ſum expended in their bread-corn is annually upwards of fourteen "millions ſterling. Allow that leather, ſoap, candles, meat, beer, but-"ter, cheeſe, after making every abatement for thoſe who uſe but very "little of theſe, coſt but one-fourth part more: and admitting that "all theſe articles, taken together, are advanced only one-fifth in their "price; and we have an addition of £ 700,000. a year, for the main-"tenance of our labouring poor, without noticing the increaſe in their "numbers, which has taken place as juſt now ſtated. What advantage "have they had to enable them to bear this augmented burden? What "advance, within the laſt 10 or 12 years, has been made in their wages? "Very little, indeed!—in their daily labour nothing at all, either in huſ-"bandry or manufactures. In ſome branches of the latter, by the iniqui-"tous oppreſſive practices of thoſe who have the direction of them, they "are at this moment conſiderably lower. The only advantage they enjoy "more than they did a few years ago, is in piece-work; a cuſtom, to "the mutual preſent benefit of maſter and labourer, more and more "adopted. But it is to be obſerved, that this is chiefly confined to par-"ticular kinds of work, to particular ſeaſons of the year, and that the "greateſt emolument of it is to perſons of peculiar dexterity and abi-"lity; nor ſhould it be forgotten, that, whilſt it augments the wages of "the workmen, it ſhortens the duration both of their lives, and of their

[1] "Including wives and children."

" capacity for labour. So that the final advantage of this expedient to " the community at large, may, perhaps, may be doubted: but, at " moſt, it can ſcarcely more than counterbalance the increaſe of three " or four hundred thouſand in the number of the Poor, which, we " have juſt obſerved, has taken place within the period under our pre- " ſent conſideration. After, therefore, every reaſonable deduction is " made, we may fairly conclude, that the additional expence of main- " taining the labouring families of this kingdom, in only the ſame de- " gree of comfort they were in ten or twelve years ago, cannot be leſs " than £ 700,000. a year: £ 250,000. of thoſe only we have ſeen are " now paid by the middle and higher ranks; the reſt is ſqueezed out of " the fleſh, and blood, and bones of the Poor."

In the period of thirty years preceding the year 1776, Mr. Howlett thinks the inequality between the riſe in the price of proviſions, and of labour, was ſtill more manifeſt. Wheat, he ſays, which, between the year 1746 and 1765, was only 32s. a quarter, was, almoſt from that time to the year 1776, above 45s.; " which circumſtance alone muſt " have increaſed the annual expence of living to the Poor nearly four " millions, whilſt that cauſed by the advanced price of other proviſions " could ſcarcely be leſs than a million more."

To counterbalance this, he ſays, " the riſe in the price of labour " was very little, if any thing, more than two-pence in the ſhilling, " except only the money earned by piece-work, which, ten or twelve " years ago, was not nearly ſo general as at preſent."

He exhibits the following ſtatement of the moderate riſe in the price of labour, in the South of England[a]:

		In 1737.	In 1787.	
		d.	*d.*	
Agriculture.	Labourers out of doors in the country - -	10	12	the day.
	Threſhers - -	9	12	"
	Labourers out of doors near great towns - -	16	16	"

[a] From the information which I have received from various parts of England, I have reaſon to think, that the price of labour, in moſt parts of England, except in the vicinity of great towns, has been nearly doubled within the laſt 60 years. I ſhall exhibit ſome inſtances of this riſe in a ſubſequent part of this work.

		In 1737.	In 1787.	
		d.	d.	
Cloth manufacture.	Scribblers - -	14	15	the day.
	Shearmen - -	15	18	
	Weavers' wages raiſed about 2d. per day in the coarſe trade, and nothing at all in the ſuperfine - -	—	—	
	Women ſpinners -	6	7	

Of the benefits to be derived from houſes of induſtry, he has no very ſanguine expectations. He produces ſome very ſtrong inſtances of the mortality amongſt pariſh children, which he ſuppoſes theſe houſes occaſion; but fairly admits, that the only way of arriving at perfect certainty on this ſubject, would be, from an accurate account of the condition of every child as to health or ſickline's upon it's admiſſion, the annual average number of every age reſpectively, and the average number of deaths at each of thoſe ages.

On that part (and, in my opinion, the moſt uſeful part,) of Mr. Gilbert's Bill, which propoſes to limit the Poor's Rates, in future, to the average of the years 1783, 4, and 5, he makes the following judicious (but, I think, not unanſwerable) obſervations. "This," he ſays, "is "ſurely an abſurdity of the firſt magnitude. He might juſt as rationally "have propoſed a Bill, that no further taxes ſhould ever be laid upon "this kingdom, than what at preſent exiſt. Both are equally depen-"dent on future contingencies. If we ſhould eight or ten years longer "be bleſſed with the continuance of Peace, and if population ſhould "be nearly ſtationary, a conſiderable reduction of the national debt "will be effected; a reduction of taxes will ſoon follow; this will "lower the price of proviſions, and naturally occaſion a diminution of "the Rates, even though our Poor Laws, and their execution, remain "in the preſent ſtate. On the contrary, ſhould we ſoon be again "plunged into the horrors of War, and add another million to our pre-"ſent debt; and ſhould there be a rapid increaſe of manufactures, "trade, and people; an augmentation of taxes, an increaſe of the "price of proviſions, and of pariſh rates, would be the inevitable

"conſequence;

" conſequence; or, ſhould the propoſed legal limitation take place, it " would only throw the burden entirely upon the humane and benevo- " lent, which ought be equally ſhared by the cruel and penurious."

Various other plans were offered to the conſideration of the Legiſlature, about this period. Mr. Townſend, in a diſſertation on the ſubject, publiſhed in 1787, argues very forcibly on the injuſtice, oppreſſion, and impolicy of the Poor Laws. He thinks that the labouring Poor are greatly deficient both in induſtry and economy, and that, till the degree of preſſure be increaſed, they will never acquire habits of diligent application, and of ſevere frugality. To effect this, the Poor's Rates might, he ſays, " in the ſpace of nine years, be reduced nine-tenths; " and the remainder being reſerved as a permanent ſupply, the Poor " might ſafely be left to the free bounty of the Rich, without the inter- " poſition of any other law. But if the whole ſyſtem of compulſive " charity were aboliſhed, it would be ſtill better for the State."

To aſſiſt the induſtrious Poor, he propoſes, that, in every pariſh, one or more work-ſhops ſhould be eſtabliſhed, in which they might be certain of employment, and of daily pay for the work performed. Friendly Societies, he thinks, have been productive of good effects, and in ſome places have reduced the Rates; of their defects, he remarks, that " all " their members contribute equally to the public fund, without reſpect " to their ability, to the proportion of their gains, or to the number of " their children. By this regulation, ſome pay too little; others pay " too much. The ſum which they depoſit weekly, is inſignificant and " trifling, when compared with what it ought to be. But the greateſt " misfortune is, that they are altogether left to their own option to join " theſe Societies or not; in conſequence of which liberty, many of " theſe aſſociations for mutual aſſiſtance are going to decay. If this " be indeed a good expedient, it ſhould be puſhed as far as it will go; " it ſhould be firmly eſtabliſhed, made univerſal, and ſubjected to whol- " ſome regulations. The unmarried man ſhould pay one quarter of " his wages weekly, and the father of four young children, not more " that one thirtieth of his income, which is nearly the ſum which all " contribute to their preſent clubs. To drive them into theſe Societies, " no man ſhould be entitled to relief from the parochial fund, who did " not belong to one of theſe,"

He alſo recommends the diviſion of common-fields in ſeveralty, leaving the incloſure of the lands to every owner's diſcretion; the laying a tax upon ale-houſes, and upon horſes uſed in huſbandry, to be gradually increaſed till farmers have returned to the uſe of oxen. This change, he thinks, would enable England not only to maintain her preſent population, but greatly to increaſe it. "The land which now ſupports one "working-horſe, in proper working order, would bear two oxen for "draft and for the ſhambles, if not alſo one cow for the pail, or any "two of theſe, with a man, his wife, and his three children." I confeſs, I do not ſee what advantage would be gained by an increaſed population, till there is an increaſed demand for them; or, in other words, till the national capital is ſo far increaſed as to be ſufficient to provide a new ſtock with full employment. That there are more hands than work, is the caſe in ſome, (though not many,) parts of England, and in a conſiderable part of Scotland. Such places, (it has been juſtly remarked by Arthur Young, who, I believe, is the firſt political writer who has expoſed the erroneous ideas on the advantages of exceſſive population not actively employed,) are over peopled; for they afford neither food nor employment for the inhabitants. Siberia, I have no doubt, is much more overſtocked with people than Holland or Tuſcany; though, in the former country, the average number of inhabitants to a ſquare mile is about one; and in the latter, about an hundred. Mr. Townſend, in the preceding part of his work, ſeems to admit, that an increaſed population is not required; for he ſays, "Specu-"lation apart, it is a fact, that, in England, we have more than we can "feed, and many more than we can profitably employ, under the pre-"ſent ſyſtem of our laws."

The ſubject was again taken up by Mr. Gilbert, in 1787, on a very general and extenſive plan, upon the principle of that which paſſed the Houſe of Commons in 1765; but with this difference, that, inſtead of large diſtricts, conſiſting either of whole hundreds, or of a great number of pariſhes, he propoſed an union of pariſhes into ſmaller diſtricts, as more to the ſituation and convenience of country pariſhes, and leſs likely to be attended with the great expence of large buildings, which would be required in extenſive diſtricts; whereas, in a diſtrict conſiſting of a few pariſhes, many of the work-houſes already provided

vided might ſerve the purpoſe, or old deſerted manſions might be converted into receptacles for the Poor.

Mr. Gilbert propoſed to carry his plan into execution by means of,

1. A board of commiſſioners.
2. A diſtrict committee.
3. A diſtrict agent.
4. Subordinate overſeers.
5. A county committee.

The following are the outlines of his plan:

Juſtices, at Quarter Seſſions, are to appoint a day for chooſing commiſſioners, who are to take an oath preſcribed, and chooſe a chairman, and appoint a clerk and two agents, and receive information on oath from high conſtables, church-wardens, overſeers, &c.; and ſhall unite the pariſhes into diſtinct diſtricts, not exceeding 13 pariſhes in a diſtrict, nor leſs than three; but their powers ſhall not extend into any diſtrict, whoſe Poor are provided for under any ſpecial Act of Parliament.

Theſe commiſſioners ſhall appoint not more than 40, nor leſs than 20 committee-men, in each diſtrict; ſhall limit their qualifications by eſtate; and ſhall fix the ſalary to be paid to the diſtrict agent; and the committee-men ſhall be choſen by ſuch as are qualified in a manner required by the commiſſioners, who ſhall alſo make a report of what they have done, in this reſpect, to the Juſtices of the Peace of their reſpective counties; and ſhall deliver ſuch reports to the Clerk of the Peace, which ſhall be printed, and a copy be ſent to every acting Juſtice of the Peace, and to every high conſtable; and the magiſtrates, at their Quarter Seſſions, ſhall pay, out of the county money, the commiſſioners their reaſonable expences.

If two-thirds of the perſons qualified to be diſtrict committee-men are of opinion to adopt the proviſions of the Act for incorporating the diſtrict, that diſtrict ſhall then be declared incorporated, and ſhall proceed to ballot for a committee, and elect overſeers.

The overſeers are to return, on oath, the names of ſuch as are qualified to be balloted for as committee-men; the mode of balloting is de-

ſcribed, and ſubjected to certain regulations; the committee-men, when elected, are to take an oath to execute the truſt repoſed in them impartially. When the major part of the diſtricts have adopted the proviſions of the Act, it ſhall be declared eſtabliſhed throughout the whole county or riding.

The diſtrict committee-men are empowered to appoint a diſtrict agent; they are to forfeit for non-attendance; and each diſtrict is to be a corporation.

All the Clergy are qualified to be choſen committee-men for the diſtrict in which they do duty for the time being, although not poſſeſſed of the qualification by eſtate.

New committee-men to be elected every year. Pariſhes are to chooſe three overſeers, in the manner preſcribed by the Bill, from whom the committee are to fix on one, who is to be allowed a ſalary; and, from the time of the appointment of new overſeers, the duty of the old ones is to ceaſe.

The duty of the new overſeers is, to enquire into the condition of the work-houſes, and of the Poor within their reſpective pariſhes; and to make a report thereof to the diſtrict agent, and alſo of all alterations that may happen in any particular, and to obey the orders and commands of the diſtrict agent, or the diſtrict committee.

The diſtrict agent is to lay ſuch reports before the diſtrict committee, and to inform himſelf of all particulars with reſpect to the condition of the Poor, as to their maintenance and employment, &c. which he ſhall alſo report to the diſtrict committee at every meeting.

The property of all work-houſes ſhall be veſted in the diſtrict committee, with all the furniture, ſtock, and other inſtruments of trade, which have been bought and ſupported by the Poor's Rates and aſſeſſments; which work-houſes, &c. they may ſell and diſpoſe of, and the money ariſing from the ſale to be applied in aid of the Poor's Rates.

And the diſtrict committee are empowered to erect houſes of induſtry, where they cannot purchaſe or hire convenient buildings for that purpoſe; and alſo to purchaſe or hire land, and to contract for waſte or common grounds, with the conſent of the lord of the manor.

The diſtrict committee to become additional truſtees of any ſums of money left in truſt, to be laid out in the purchaſe of lands for any in-

fants,

ſants, lunatics, idiots, &c. in caſe the ſame ſhall exceed the ſum of £20. until ſuch ſums of money are laid out in the purchaſe of lands; and the money, in the mean time, ſhall be laid out in the public funds, in the name of two or more perſons, one to be named by the perſons intereſted, and the other by the diſtrict committee, or any of them; and the intereſt, in the mean time, to be applied to the uſe of the perſons intereſted. As ſoon as the houſe of induſtry ſhall be fitted up, and furniſhed for the reception of the Poor, in the manner directed by the Act; no perſon is to receive any pay, penſion, or relief, except in caſes of violent ſickneſs or ſudden accidents.

Where, by the laws now in force, magiſtrates are empowered to proceed on the complaint of the overſeers of the Poor, with reſpect to any baſtard child; they are then to proceed on the complaint of the diſtrict committee.

The diſtrict committee is empowered to apply what ſums of money they may occaſionally think proper, towards paying the weekly contributions of ſuch of the Poor as are engaged in clubs and friendly ſocieties for eſtabliſhing funds by weekly contributions to their relief and ſupport, when diſabled by ſickneſs or accidents; and alſo for the purpoſe of paying teachers and providing books for the inſtruction of children at Sunday ſchools: the diſtrict committee is alſo required to provide a ſchool for the education of poor children.

Every diſtrict agent ſhall, with the aſſiſtance of the clerk of the diſtrict, keep in a book, an exact account of all expences attending building, furniſhing, and providing ſtores and utenſils for the houſe of induſtry, and of the maintenance of the people reſiding therein, and of all other expences reſpecting the Poor; and ſhall lay a ſtate of ſuch expences every month before the committee; and ſhall, in order to fix a proper meaſure of diſtribution from the pariſhes within the diſtrict, procure an account of the medium expences of the Poor of every pariſh, within the years 1783, 1784, and 1785, for which returns have been made to Parliament, and lay the ſame before the committee, who are to inſpect and examine ſuch returns, and make them as perfect as poſſible; and to that purpoſe they ſhall be empowered to ſummon before them ſuch perſons as have been pariſh officers for thoſe years, and all other perſons who can give them information on the ſubject, on oath, under pain of commitment for non-attendance, and of indictment for perjury if they ſpeak falſely.

After the provisions of the Act are adopted within any district, the sums to be annually raised for the relief and maintenance of the Poor shall not in any parish exceed the annual sum so raised therein upon the medium of the said three years. The district agent shall also, at the end of every quarter of a year, a week at least before the meeting of the next monthly committee, make an accurate account of the expenditure within the said quarter, and lay it before the said committee, that they may be enabled to make an order for the levying the Poor's Rates; and the district agent shall also settle the quota of each parish, and lay the same before the committee for their allowance, which shall be notified to the overseers of the parish, who are to assess and collect the same, and pay it to the district agent.

And to raise money for buildings, &c. the committee may borrow a sum not exceeding four years' Poor's Rates, and assign over the buildings, &c. and all, or any part, of the Poor's Rates, as security for the principal borrowed, and interest.

No fees or perquisites shall be received for any business done by virtue of this Act, by any agent, overseer, clerk, or others. The appeal to the Poor's Rates to be to the Quarter Sessions.

If any district agent or overseer, on requisition from the district committee to come to account, shall refuse so to do, he shall be committed to the common gaol for a space not exceeding six calendar months, or until he complies. All penalties inflicted by the Act shall be recoverable before one Justice of the Peace.

The success of Mr. Gilbert's plan was in a great measure dependent on the regular attendance of country gentlemen to form the county committee, in which the whole controuling power was intended to be vested. Mr. Bate Dudley, who in 1788 published some judicious observations to shew the impracticability of Mr. Gilbert's proposals, remarks on this part of the Bill, which imposes a "penalty of £10. for non-attendance, "unless in cases of sickness or some unavoidable accident," that it's provisions would probably be frustrated, "from the extreme reluctance "with which country gentlemen attach themselves to public business. "To make their appearance at a Summer Assizes, or an occasional "Quarter Sessions, is, (he says,) generally the utmost extent of their "county exertions." As a proof of this, he instances the neglected commissions of turnpikes, sewers, &c. "Under the dread, therefore, of

"being

" being dragged into a dry detail of unintelligible accounts, and com-
" plex items of parochial ſtatements, the chief canvaſs of gentlemen on
" this occaſion would be, to *avoid* the honour of being elected to ſo
" troubleſome an office, which muſt ſubject them to a heavy penalty for
" non-attendance upon it's tedious offices."

Mr. Bate Dudley himſelf propoſes a modification and ſtrict enforcement of the Poor Laws already enacted, and adviſes, amongſt other regulations, the appointment of a Comptroller for each hundred or diviſion of a county, with an adequate ſalary, with power to ſummon veſtry meetings of the reſpective pariſhes, in order to audite their quarterly accounts; to receive parochial preſentments, and other complaints againſt pariſh officers, upon oath, for miſconduct in the diſcharge of their duty; and to make returns thereof, with all other requiſite matter, to the Petty Seſſions, to be from thence returned to the General Quarter Seſſions, there to be duly enquired into, and the offending parties proſecuted at the expence of the county. He ſays, he ſees no objection to the *High* Conſtable of the diviſion being employed in this manner, with an additional ſtipend, and thus raiſed, from an uſeleſs, to an active, civil officer between the Juſtice and Overſeer.

He thus inveſtigates the origin of the evils complained of:

" To the *diſcretionary power*, which overſeers have too long been ſuffered to exerciſe, contrary to every principle of juſtice and policy, (he ſays,) " the alarming increaſe of Paupers, as well as of Poor's Rates, " may fairly be aſcribed. And all the grievances on this ſubject, now " crying aloud for redreſs, will be found to ariſe from ſome one or other " of the following cauſes, viz.

" From overſeers permitting idle and diſorderly perſons to remain, " after they find they have illegally obtruded themſelves into their " ſeveral pariſhes.

" From ſettled inhabitants being ſuffered to grow ſlothful, and live " without the viſible means of gaining their bread.

" From the neglect of overſeers, in not ſeeing the children of Paupers " early brought up to proper habits of induſtry.

" From the partial iſſuing of pariſh certificates.

" From wanton and capricious removals.

" From groundleſs appeals to the General Quarter Seſſions.

"From the wanton expenditure of parish money in searching after "Paupers, &c. &c.

"From unfair Rates of partial assessments, and annexing charges "thereto, not connected with the accounts of the Poor.

"In all the particulars above stated," (he adds,) "the overseer will be "found almost invariably to exercise his own discretion, from the pre-"sent difficulty of punishing him for any mal-conduct."

Respecting appeals, he proposes several regulations: he says, appeals from orders of removal, form a very heavy part of the parochial burthens; and that, upon a moderate calculation, two thirds of the appeals heard at the Quarter Sessions, are either totally groundless, or prove wanton litigations between neighbouring parishes. Indeed, no one, who has attended Quarter Sessions, can doubt a moment but that the Law of Settlements proves an endless source of contention. I am fully persuaded, that the medium expence of law proceedings relative to the Poor, much exceeded £53,757. 11s. the sum stated in the Returns to Parliament in the year 1786[1].

[1] Of the unsatisfactory state of these Returns, Mr. Howlett, (in his Examination of Mr. Pitt's Speech, lately published, p. 42.) gives the following strong instance: "The parish of "Dunmow, at the time the returns were made, contained about 1600 inhabitants; the parish "of Toppesfield, something more than 600. They have each of them a work-house, and "the treatment of the Poor in both, in every respect, is as nearly the same as possible. The "former containing about two-thirds of inhabitants more than the latter, their returns "of expenditure, for the end in question, if made on the same principle, might be expected "to have been nearly in the same proportion. But how was the fact? For Dunmow, £60.; "for Toppesfield, 1s. 10d. Had the return for Toppesfield been made on the same principle "as that for Dunmow, it would have been upwards of £22.; had the return for Dunmow "been made on the same principle as that for Toppesfield, it would have been only about "5s. What then is the conclusion? Is it that Dunmow was laudably attentive to the em-"ployment of it's Poor, and that Toppesfield was shamefully negligent? By no means. The "only just conclusion is, that their joint information, for the purpose desired, is good for "nothing; and that what is thus certainly true with regard to those two particular parishes, "is applicable to the rest of the kingdom, as far as returns under this article were made." The cause of these two parishes making returns so strangely different, arose from their having formed different ideas of the information required. "The return of 1s. 10d. for Toppesfield "was the weekly sum per head paid to the master or governor of the work-house for feeding "the Paupers in it; the £60. for Dunmow, as far as I have been able to learn or conjecture, "was the estimated annual cost of the raw materials for the employment of the work-house "Poor."

About this period, Mr. Beaufoy, member for Yarmouth, preſented a petition to the Houſe of Commons, from Mr. Wilkinſon, proprietor of a very extenſive iron-foundery in the pariſh of Bradley in the county of Stafford, "praying that his manufacturers might be deemed extra-"parochial, in order to avoid their removal to their reſpective ſettle-"ments, or being liable to the Rates of the pariſh where they reſide; "and ſtating, at the ſame time, that he will raiſe the taxes neceſſary "for the relief of his own Poor within themſelves, and that he will be "bound, in his whole fortune, as a ſecurity for the ſame."

On this application, Mr. Bate Dudley obſerves: "that it ſeems im-"poſſible for Parliament to comply with the prayer of ſo extraordinary "a petition; the Legiſlature would, at no rate, venture to declare them "extra-parochial, till an adequate proviſion was made for the relief of "their Poor, &c. And how can the ſecurity for this neceſſary fund be "aſcertained in ſo increaſing a colony of manufacturers? Where is "the fortune that would be deemed equal to ſuch a ſecurity? Inde-"pendent of all this, the whole doctrine of Settlements muſt be thus "overturned, and a new code of Poor Laws framed for this particular "occaſion, before Mr. Wilkinſon could poſſibly be gratified in ſo ſin-"gular a requiſition [1]."

A ſhort time after the failure of Mr. Gilbert's plan, Sir William Young brought forward a Bill, of which the following are the principal features.

No perſon ſhall be removed, till actually chargeable; provided, that, upon due ſummons, he attends the magiſtrates, and makes oath of his laſt legal ſettlement; which depoſition ſhall be atteſted and admitted as evidence of his laſt legal ſettlement in all courts of juſtice.

Ten years reſidence in a pariſh ſhall give a Pauper and his children a ſettlement, provided he has not been chargeable to any pariſh during that period.

No perſon, after the paſſing of the Act, ſhall gain a ſettlement, by paying taxes, by ſervice, or by apprenticeſhip, unleſs the conſent of two pariſh-officers be indorſed on his indentures.

[1] Curſory Remarks on Mr. Gilbert's laſt Bill, &c. p. 20.

Baſtards ſhall follow the ſettlements of their mothers.

Pariſhes ſhall be reimburſed the expences of removing perſons when they become actually chargeable.

The law permitting pariſhes to farm out their Poor to be repealed; except that poor children, above the age of ſeven years, may be farmed out, to be maintained by a contract till the age of ſeventeen years.

No publican ſhall be a church-warden, or pariſh-officer.

Overſeers ſhall give an account, every ſix months, to two Juſtices, of the ſtock and tools provided by them for ſetting the Poor to work; and of materials manufactured[1]: and Juſtices ſhall be empowered to direct them to purchaſe other materials and implements out of the Poor Rates; which order they muſt obey under a penalty not exceeding ten pounds.

The overſeers ſhall regiſter in a book the names, age, ſex, if married, if having children, of all poor perſons, and their children receiving relief, the occaſion of receiving it, and the authority by which it was directed to be given; and ſhall produce this book, twice a year, to two Juſtices, under the like penalty[2].

[1] In the following form:

Returns of the ware, ſtuff, materials and implements for ſetting the Poor on work in the pariſh of A. October 1ſt, 17

Materials received or purchaſed.	Materials manufactured.	Sold or diſpoſed of.	Tools and implements.
£. s. d.		£. s. d.	
Received wool, 3 tod Purchaſed ditto, 4 tod } 3 12 0	4 tod combed	2 tod combed 2 1 0	Received nine ſpinning wheels.
Purchaſed coarſe Iriſh, 60 yards - - 3 15 0	30 yards, 9 ſheets made		Broke one ditto.
Worſted yarn, &c.		For uſe of aged Poor	Purchaſedone ditto, &c. &c.
Flax, &c.			
Hemp, &c. &c.			

[2] The following is the form of Regiſter propoſed by Sir William Young:

Return of Regiſter of Poor receiving Collection or Relief in the Pariſh of A. October 1ſt, 17

Perſons.	Condition.	Children.	Age.	Occaſion of Relief.	What Relief.	By whom ordered.
			Years.		s. d.	
A. B.	Widower.		50	3 young children.	per week 3 0	L. M. Eſq. J.P.
		Mary B.	5			
		Jane B.	4			
		Thos. B.	3			
M. N.	Spinſter.		20	Ague.	per week 2 6	Veſtry.
J. O.	Single man.		70	Old age.	—— 2 0	L. M. Eſq. J.P.
P. R, &c.	Single man.		80	Blind.	In poor-houſe.	Veſtry.

Two Juſtices may order overſeers to bind out poor children to perſons reſiding in the place of their legal ſettlement.

In order to relieve agricultural labourers, who are often, during the winter, out of employment, the veſtry in every pariſh is empowered, by notice affixed to the church door, to ſettle a rate of wages to be paid to labourers out of employ, from the 30th of November to the 28th of February; and to diſtribute and ſend them round in rotation to the pariſhioners, proportionally as they pay to the Rates; to be paid by the perſon employing them two thirds of the wages ſo ſettled, and one third by the pariſh-officers out of the Rates; and if any pariſhioner refuſes to pay his proportion, the Juſtices may levy treble the amount by diſtreſs and ſale of his goods and chattels [1].

Power is given to the Juſtices to appoint a ſuperintending overſeer [2] in pariſhes and townſhips, (with a competent ſalary,) to direct and controul the overſeers, and to remove or fine him for miſbehaviour; and to inflict penalties, not exceeding ten pounds, on pariſh-officers who obſtruct him in the execution of his office.

Many of Sir William Young's preliminary obſervations evince an intimate knowledge of the ſubject which he diſcuſſes. It is no ſlight proof of the excellence of ſeveral of the meaſures which he recommends, that they have ſince been adopted by the Legiſlature, and are likely to produce the moſt ſalutary conſequences [3].

[1] This clauſe ſeems borrowed from a practice, which is very general in Buckinghamſhire, and many of the midland counties: during the winter, labourers, who are out of employ, go round from houſe to houſe, and are employed, or paid, by each pariſhioner, in proportion to his aſſeſſment to Poor's Rates. Labourers, who ſubſiſt in this manner, are called *Roundſmen*. See pp. 29 and 384 of the Second Volume of this Work.

[2] Of the utility of a Standing Overſeer, the Reader will find ſome inſtances in the Second Volume of this Work.

[3] "Not removing poor perſons, till actually chargeable; ſettling baſtard children, (in certain caſes,) with their mothers; eſtabliſhing friendly ſocieties."

Sir William Young aſſerts, that proſecutions, ariſing from removals, are frequent, p. 32. Mr. Howlett, (Exam. of Mr. Pitt's Speech, 16. is of a very different opinion, and thinks that the Laws of Settlement have had no effect at all. I have made ſome enquiries on this ſubject, the reſult of which the Reader will find in various parts of the Second Volume of this Work. The objections to incloſures, more eſpecially of commons and waſte lands, which Sir W. Y. ſtrongly inſiſts upon, are, I think, ill founded. He thinks that they tend to increaſe the Poor's Rate.

The

The Rev. Mr. Haweis, in a pamphlet publiſhed this year, offers ſome judicious obſervations reſpecting the utility of Friendly Societies. The principal feature of his ſcheme is to oblige every man or woman, who labours for hire, and earns 3s. or more a week, to contribute, out of their earnings, weekly, from a twenty-fourth to a twenty-ſixth part; and that every occupier of lands and tenements, inſtead of their preſent aſſeſſment, ſhould pay one twentieth part of the rent of their lands and tenements towards the relief of the Poor, to be applied to the ſame fund. The collections to be made every Sunday evening, by a veſtry held for the purpoſe. Mr. Haweis objects to the incorporation of counties for this purpoſe, or even of hundreds or diſtricts. Employers to be reſponſible for the ſubſcription of their labourers. Harveſt-men, who have their board, and menial ſervants, to pay an eighteenth part of their wages.

There are ſome other inferior regulations, which it ſeems unneceſſary to tranſcribe. The principal objections to Mr. Haweis's plan, and indeed to many other ſimilar ſchemes, are, that their Friendly Societies are to reſt upon the baſis of a compulſory ſubſcription, which is, in effect, a tax. It is a moſt inequitable one, to compel, as Mr. Haweis propoſes, every labourer to contribute a thirty-ſixth, or twenty-fourth, of their earnings, whatever they may be, to receive only 4s. a week in time of ſickneſs or old age. He ſays, "In this caſe, every labourer and "artificer will contribute in proportion to his gain and his real ability; "and though, on being diſabled, he may not receive a larger proportion of "relief than his fellows, yet, if a worthy member of ſociety, and poſ-"ſeſſed of the leaſt tincture of true charity, he can have no reaſon to "complain of the inequality of his contribution. Let him conſider, ſup-"poſing he earns twelve ſhillings a week, how much better he can afford "to contribute four-pence, than he who only earns ſix, to contribute "two-pence. The one will have ſtill eleven ſhillings and eight-pence "to provide for himſelf and family; the other only five ſhillings and "ten-pence. Where then is the hardſhip of the ſuperior contributor?" The hardſhip is, that a tax of this nature offers a benefit to the lazy, at a leſs price than to the induſtrious. Diverting the whole of the Poor's Rate at once, as the Author propoſes, from it's uſual courſe of application, would be productive of great confuſion and diſtreſs.

Several able publications on the ſubject of the Poor Laws have made their appearance ſince the year 1787; and various patriotic expedients have been ſuggeſted by philanthropic writers, for meliorating the condition of the induſtrious claſſes. It would, however, ſwell this Work beyond due bounds, were I to particularize the different plans which have been offered to the conſideration of the Public: and to abſtract an Author's propoſal, or to give a partial view of his arguments, would, in moſt inſtances, be doing him a manifeſt injuſtice. I muſt, therefore, content myſelf with referring my Readers to the many able works, of which he will find the titles in the Appendix to this Volume [1]; and with aſſuring them, that they will find much intereſting information on this ſubject in Mr. Ruggles's Hiſtory of the Poor; in Mr. Davis's Reports of the Circumſtances of Labourers in Huſbandry; and in Count Rumford's Experimental Eſſays, on topics of no leſs importance to the opulent, than to the indigent claſſes of the community [2].

Within the laſt ten years, a few, but very important, regulations, on ſubjects in which the Poor are intimately concerned, have received the ſanction of the Legiſlature. Pawn-brokers, both in the metropolis and in the country, a claſs of people, to whom the diſtreſſed are often unavoidably obliged to have recourſe,—were regulated by ſeveral judicious Acts of Parliament; which, whilſt they limited the rates for money lent on pledges, and, by various humane proviſions, prevented the unfortunate from being obliged to part with their property without a fair conſideration, at the ſame time impoſed ſevere penalties on thoſe, who availed themſelves of the means which ſuch ſhops are calculated to afford, to commit depredations on the property of others [3]. This is, however, an evil, which, it is to be feared, too often occurs. The Author of the excellent Treatiſe on the Police of the Metropolis, lately publiſhed, remarks, that a claſs of ſharpers obtain licences to become

[1] No. xviii.

[2] Mr. Voght's Account of ſeveral inſtitutions in Hamburgh from the year 1788, though a work profeſſedly relating to a foreign eſtabliſhment, contains much information highly deſerving of attention by the adminiſtrators of our ſchools of induſtry.

[3] See 27 Geo. 3. c. 37. 28 Geo. 3. c. 50. 29 Geo. 3. c. 57. 33 Geo. 3. c. 53. 36 Geo. 3. c. 87.

pawn-

pawn-brokers. He obſerves, "that any perſon, even the moſt notorious rogue or vagabond, who can raiſe ten pounds to pay for a licence, may, at preſent, ſet up the trade of a pawn-broker; and it is even ſaid that ſome have got licences, who have actually been on board the hulks. This claſs of ſwindling pawn-brokers," he ſays, "are uniformly receivers of ſtolen goods, and, under the cover of their licence, do much miſchief to the Public; which might be prevented, in a great meaſure, by placing the power of granting licences in the hands of the magiſtrates of the diviſion upon the footing of public-houſes, and rendering it neceſſary for all perſons to obtain a certificate of character before they can obtain ſuch licence, and alſo to enter into a recognizance for good behaviour [1]."

In 1790, Juſtices of the Peace were empowered to viſit the work-houſes within their juriſdiction, and to examine, and certify the ſtate of the houſes, of the Poor therein, and of their food, cloathing, and bedding, to the next Quarter Seſſions; and to ſummon the maſters of work-houſes to appear at the Seſſions, to anſwer complaints made againſt them; and Juſtices, at the Quarter Seſſions, were authorized to make ſuch orders and regulations, for the removing of any cauſe or complaint, as they ſhould think proper.

The ſame Act alſo empowers Juſtices of the Peace, if, upon any ſuch viſitation, they find the Poor in the work-houſe afflicted with any contagious or infectious diſeaſe, to make ſuch order as they think proper for immediately procuring medical or other aſſiſtance, or providing them with proper food, or for ſeparating and removing ſuch Poor as are

[1] A Treatiſe on the Police of the Metropolis, 2d ed. 156.

	Perſons.	Amount of Licences.
The number of pawn-brokers within the bills of mortality, paying a licence of £10. a year, is ſtated at - -	213	£2130
And of pawn-brokers in the country paying £5. a year -	431	2155
Total	644	£4285

It is added, that the property of the pooreſt and moſt diſtreſſed part of the community, to the amount of more than half a million ſterling, is conſtantly in the hands of pawnbrokers in the metropolis alone. This ſeems a very moderate ſtatement. I was preſent, three or four years ago, at the trial of a pawn-broker at Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne, for receiving ſtolen goods; when it appeared, that above 30,000 pawns went through his hands in a year.

afflicted with the infectious diſeaſe, until the next Quarter Seſſions, when the Juſtices aſſembled there are to make ſuch further order, and to direct the charges of relieving ſuch Poor to be defrayed out of the pariſh Rate in ſuch manner, as they may think proper [1].

This Act, however, does not extend to work-houſes in incorporated diſtricts, which are regulated by a ſpecial Act of Parliament [1].

The 32 Geo. 3. c. 45. makes ſome additions to the Vagrant Laws, which have been already noticed [2]. The following clauſe reſpects a branch of police, which is ſtill capable of many improvements;—the ordering of convicts diſcharged from priſon, and perſons acquitted at the Aſſizes or Seſſions. It enacts, "that any of his Majeſty's Juſtices "at the Aſſizes, and the Juſtices at the General or Quarter Seſſions, or "any Juſtice of the Peace, ſhall be empowered to order, whenever he "or they ſhall think proper, any convict, upon his diſcharge from pri- "ſon, to be conveyed by paſs, under hand and ſeal, (in the manner di- "rected by the 17 Geo. II. c. 5.) and to convey by paſs any perſon who "ſhall be acquitted at the Aſſizes, or General or Quarter Seſſions, or "diſcharged by proclamation or otherwiſe, who ſhall, of himſelf, or her- "ſelf, or by any other perſon in his or her behalf, apply to the Court "whereat he or ſhe has been acquitted or diſcharged, or to any Juſtice "of the Peace, to be conveyed as aforeſaid; and the Judge, Juſtice, or "Juſtices aforeſaid, ſhall certify, in ſuch paſs, that the perſon ſo conveyed "was diſcharged from priſon; or a perſon acquitted, or otherwiſe diſ- "charged, at the Aſſizes or Seſſions, as the caſe may be; and ſuch "convict, or perſon acquitted or diſcharged, ſhall pay no fee whatever "for ſuch paſs [3]."

I ſhould imagine that a diſcharged convict would ſeldom think of applying for a paſs to be conveyed to his pariſh, where he would probably be beſt known, and conſequently avoided as a perſon not fit to be entruſted or employed. We do not ever hear of perſons of this deſcription applying to the overſeers for work; pariſh money, however, could not be expended more advantageouſly to every party concerned, than in ſupplying the miſerable outcaſts of ſociety, who are turned adrift upon the world from the priſons or the hulks, without friends, or the

[1] 30 Geo. 3. c. 49. [2] See p. 306. [3] 32 Geo. 3. c. 45. § 4.

means of ſubſiſtence, with a temporary employment ſufficient to maintain them. I ſhould imagine that pariſh-officers would be equally juſtified in providing theſe unhappy mortals with the means of returning to the paths of honeſty, as in aſſiſting a day-labourer (which is often done in the midland counties in the caſe of roundſmen,) with occaſional work during the ſeverity of an inclement winter. The able magiſtrate, whoſe Treatiſe on the Police of the Metropolis I have before cited, takes notice of this prominent defect in the police of the metropolis and the country. No perſon, he remarks, will employ diſcharged convicts, "even if they were diſpoſed to return to the paths of honeſty, "unleſs they make uſe of fraud and deception, by concealing that they "have been the inhabitants of a priſon or of the hulks. At large upon "the world, without food or raiment, and with the conſtant calls of "nature upon them for both; without a home, or any aſylum to "ſhelter them from the inclemency of the weather; what is to become "of them? The police of the country has provided no place of in-"duſtry, in which thoſe who were diſpoſed to reform might find ſub-"ſiſtence in return for labour, which, in their preſent ſituation, becomes "uſeleſs to them, becauſe no perſon will purchaſe it by employing "them; and hence it is to be feared that, through the medium of theſe "miſerable outcaſts of ſociety, crimes are increaſed, and become a re-"gular trade, becauſe many of them can make no other election."

The prevention of this, he thinks, "will ever remain an uncon-"querable difficulty until ſome general houſe of induſtry can be eſta-"bliſhed in the metropolis, where perſons diſcharged for petty offences, "as well as ſtrangers, and other perſons out of work, may have an "opportunity of finding, at leaſt, a temporary employment ſufficient to "maintain them[1]."

The 32 Geo. 3. c. 57. provides ſeveral very humane and judicious regulations reſpecting the maintenance and diſcharge of pariſh apprentices. By the 33 Geo. 3. c. 35, ſome neceſſary additions were made to Mr. Gilbert's Act paſſed in 1782. I feel it unneceſſary to detail, in this

[1] Treatiſe on the Police of the Metropolis, 2d ed. 99. 4462 perſons were diſcharged from the eight gaols in the metropolis in the year ending in October 1795. Treatiſe, &c. 250.

place, their various proviſions; and muſt refer the Reader to the Appendix to this Volume[1], in which he will find theſe Acts at length, together with the very important Acts paſſed in the year 1793 and 1795, for the relief and encouragement of Friendly Societies[2]; the Acts for the relief of the families of militia-men, which alone have made a very conſiderable addition to parochial (or rather county) expenditure[3]; the Act paſſed in 1795, to prevent the removal of poor perſons until they become actually chargeable[4]; the Act to enable the guardians of incorporated pariſhes to increaſe the aſſeſſments within their diſtricts[5]; and the Act empowering Juſtices in pariſhes, where work-houſes have been erected (under the 9 Geo. I. c. 7.) in which the Poor are maintained by a contractor, to direct the overſeers, in certain circumſtances, to relieve poor perſons at their own houſes[6].

I HAVE thus briefly endeavoured to delineate the origin and progreſs of the Poor Laws; to point out the various modifications of them, which have, from time to time, been recommended to the attention of the Legiſlature; and to notice ſuch circumſtances, recorded by our hiſtorians, as more peculiarly refer to the condition and circumſtances of the labouring claſſes of the community. Of the relative comforts reſulting to the peaſant, the artificer and the manufacturer, from the exertion of their induſtry in ancient and modern times, the Reader will, I truſt, be enabled to form ſome eſtimate from the information which I have laid before him; more eſpecially if he takes into conſideration (what ſhould always in enquiries of this nature be duly appreciated,) the degree of civil liberty enjoyed by the ſubject at the different periods of our hiſtory.

[1] See Appendix, No. viii. p. ccix. and p. ccxiv. [2] See Appendix, No. viii. p. ccxx. and p. ccxxx. [3] See 33 Geo. 3. c. 8. and 34 Geo. 3. c. 47. [4] 35 Geo. 3. c. 101. See Appendix, p. ccxxx. [5] 36 Geo. 3. c. 10. See Appendix, p. ccxxx.

[6] 36 Geo. 3. c. 23. See Appendix, p. ccxxx. Of the 3d ſection of this Act, Mr. Capel Lofft remarks, that "it is difficult to account for the different authority by which a renewal "of relief is to be made, compared with the original order, the former by one, the renewed "by two Juſtices. This may greatly obſtruct the efficacy of an otherwiſe excellent and moſt "beneficial Act; as, by the paucity of acting magiſtrates in many diſtricts, and occaſional "abſences, there may, for a length of time, be only one Juſtice acting in a diſtrict. The "power was in other reſpects ſo guarded againſt abuſe, that it does not ſeem to have been in "any need of this check." Ann. of Agric. xxvi. 314.

 Admitting,

Admitting, as I readily do, that the Form of a Government, whether limited or deſpotic, is not an unerring criterion of the domeſtic proſperity of nations, becauſe the defects of political inſtitutions may be more than compenſated by local advantages, I think it may be fairly contended, that, in a country which has gradually advanced from poverty to wealth, and from ſervitude to freedom, the individual comforts enjoyed by our forefathers may be inferred from the proportion of rights and liberties which they could call their own. If, to uſe the words of the Learned Commentator on the Laws of England, "the commons," (as was the caſe till the cloſe of the Lancaſtrian Civil Wars, "were generally "in a ſtate of great ignorance;" if "their perſonal wealth, before the "extenſion of trade, was comparatively ſmall; and the nature of their "landed property was ſuch as kept them in continual dependence upon "their feodal lord, being uſually ſome powerful baron, ſome opulent "abbey, or ſometimes the king himſelf[1]," I ſhould be inclined, (and I think with reaſon,) to infer, that, in thoſe times, the ſphere of ſocial enjoyments was greatly circumſcribed, and the reward of labour comparatively inſignificant. In the ſame manner, from reviewing the æra of freedom which has practically exiſted ſince the Revolution, I ſhould venture to aſſert, *â priori*, that the exerciſe of civil and religious liberty muſt, from the very nature of things, have been attended with a proportionate acquiſition of ſocial comforts; and that, not only the aggregate body of the nation muſt have advanced to wealth and independence, but that the portion of the community, which conſiſts of thoſe who are emphatically called the *labouring* claſſes, muſt have conſiderably bettered it's condition in the courſe of the preſent century.

Although, however, the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of the kingdom may have been conſiderably improved and extended, (notwithſtanding the ſix expenſive Wars which we have engaged in ſince the Revolution,) it may, perhaps, be contended by ſome, that the ſituation of the induſtrious day-labourer has not been meliorated; that the reward of labour has not riſen in proportion, either with the expence of the neceſſaries of life, or the capital of the nation; and that the very heavy accumulating charge of maintaining the Poor, is a melancholy, but unerring, indication of their increaſing numbers, and of growing

[1] Blackſt. Comm. iv. 433.

poverty

poverty and diſtreſs among our peaſantry and working manufacturers. Whether the indigent claſſes at this day are more numerous than they were at the Revolution, I cannot take upon me, peremptorily, to decide; but, viewing the comparative facility with which the exigencies of the State have in modern times been provided for, and connecting the eaſe of the labourer with the increaſed demand for labour, I feel no difficulty in perſuading myſelf that the beneficial effects of national opulence have been diffuſed through every order of the State. Grateful indeed, I am, for the bleſſings which were conferred on this country by the Revolution; and fully ſenſible that we owe to the force of character and energetic reſolution, which diſtinguiſhed our forefathers at that intereſting period, the commencement of a new æra, "in which the bounds of pre-"rogative and liberty have been better defined, the principles of govern-"ment more thoroughly examined and underſtood, and the rights of the "ſubject more explicitly guarded by legal proviſions, than in any other "period of the Engliſh hiſtory[1]:" but I much doubt, whether the abilities of the "maſter workman," (as Mr. Burke calls King William[2],) or of thoſe who ſtrenuouſly co-operated with him in reſcuing the nation from deſpotiſm, raiſed that claſs, whoſe manual labour is their only ſupport, to an immediate unexampled pitch of eaſe and comfort. They, indeed, laid the foundations of future greatneſs; but could not confer, directly, on the humble occupations of the artiſan or huſbandman, thoſe domeſtic gratifications, and ſocial enjoyments, which can be expected only from ſlow and imperceptible improvement. That they, however, gave that tone and energy to the nation which are neceſſary to fit them for induſtrious exertion, is abundant praiſe. Admitting, what ſeems to be the fact, that this important epoch in our annals did not produce any alteration in the Conſtitution; yet, if (as it has been juſtly obſerved,) "it changed the maxims of adminiſtration, which have every where "ſo great an influence on the condition of the governed[3];" if it inſpired the great maſs of the nation with that ſpirit of thinking and acting which have been conducive towards rendering them more happy and independent; the evils ariſing from the Funding Syſtem, which has,

[1] Blackſt. Comm. i. 212. [2] Mr. Burke's Two Letters, addreſſed to a Member of the preſent Parliament, 1796. 7th ed. 88. [3] Chalmers's Eſtimate, 2d ed. 66.

(I think,

(I think, unjuſtly) been aſcribed to the policy of our great deliverer and his adherents[1], have been more than fully compenſated. It is not my intention to enter into a comparative eſtimate of the reſources of the nation at the cloſe of the laſt, and at different times in the preſent, century: but I cannot avoid obſerving, that, at no period ſince the death of King William, has this country ever exhibited thoſe alarming ſymptoms which have ever been thought to indicate an enfeebled and declining induſtry, as it did in thoſe years immediately ſubſequent to the Revolution. The great debility of England at that period is juſtly attributed to "the practice of hoarding in times of diſtruſt, which pre-"vented circulation;" to "the diſorders of the coin, that only augmented "the former evil, while the government iſſued tallies of wood for the "ſupplying of taxes;" to "the inability of the people to pay taxes, "while they could find no circulating value, either for their labour, or "property; to the turbulence of the Lower orders, and the treachery of "the Great[2]." All theſe evils are now happily, in a great meaſure, if not entirely, removed.

It is not, I may add, an unfair mode of judging of the earnings, and conſequently of the thriving condition of the workman, to aſcertain the quantity of work annually performed by him. The change which has taken place, in this reſpect, in England, ſince the Peace of Ryſwick, in 1697, is aſtoniſhing. Not to perplex my Reader with long details from Cuſtom-houſe Books, or Parliamentary Reports, I will briefly obſerve, from the lateſt writer on the ſubject, that, "as to our commerce, the "imports and exports of the nation, now ſix-and-forty millions, did not "then amount to ten. The inland trade, which is commonly paſſed "by, in this ſort of eſtimates, but which, in part growing out of the "foreign, and connected with it, is more advantageous, and more ſub-"ſtantially nutritive to the State, is not only grown in a proportion of "near five to one, as to the foreign, but has been augmented, at leaſt, "in a ten-fold proportion[3]." More work, then, it may be inferred, is done now than was performed at the Revolution; and if we admit Dr. Price's ſuppoſition, that our population has declined ſince that period,

[1] See Swift's Hiſt. of the Four Laſt Years of Queen Anne. [2] Chalmers's Eſtimate, 2d. ed. 59. [3] Mr. Burke's "Two Letters, &c." 7th ed. 79, &c. 1796.

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it will follow, that, with fewer hands, we are more induſtrious, and, (if the comforts of labourers depend on the demand for labour,) more comfortable. And the ſame argument will hold, in a proportionable degree, if we ſuppoſe, what is probably the caſe, that the population of Great Britain, though greater than it was a century ago, has not kept pace with increaſing commerce, and improving manufactures.

It is unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the effects of good government, and the accumulations of induſtry, are confined to enriching the monied capitaliſt, and landed proprietor; to ſwelling the emoluments of office, and increaſing the ſplendour of a devouring metropolis.

The humbleſt peaſant, in the remoteſt province of the kingdom, is not unintereſted in that improving ſtate of ſociety, which creates new wants and dependencies: the cultivation of the uſeful arts, (even of thoſe which are not immediately connected with his occupation,) are ultimately beneficial to him. The invigorating rays of commerce and manufactures, however dazzling and reſplendent in the capital, extend their genial influence to the hamlet:

> "The ſelf-ſame ſun that ſhines upon" the "Court,
> "Hides not his viſage from" the "Cottage, but
> "Looks on alike [1]."

Great and burthenſome as the Poor's Rate may appear, from the Returns which were made to Parliament in the year 1786, and from the more recent communications which the Reader will find detailed in the Second Volume, it will be evident, from the following ſtatement of it's amount at different periods, that the riſe in the Poor's Rates has not kept pace with other branches of national expenditure, or even with our increaſed ability to pay them, which may in ſome meaſure be aſcertained from the value of cargoes exported at different periods ſince the Reſtoration [2].

[1] Shakeſpeare: Winter's Tale, A. 4. S. 3.

[2] The fourth column of this Table is extracted from the Chronological Account of Commerce, in Mr. Chalmers's Eſtimate, 2d ed. 207. The value of cargoes exported is aſcertained by the Cuſtom-houſe Ledger. This valuation, however, falls conſiderably below the truth; and can only be uſed as a ſtandard to determine the comparative proſperity of different periods.

Years

Years.	Poor's Rate [1].	Years.	Revenue.	Years.	National Debt.	Years.	Value of Cargoes exported.
1673.	£840,000 [2]	Average Rev. in Ch. IId's reign.	£1,800,000 [14]			1663. 1669.	Engl. 2,043,043
1677.	608,333 [3]						
1677.	700,000 [4]					1688.	Do. 4,086,087
1685.	665,362 [5]	1689.	2,001,855 [13]				
1698.	819,000 [6]			1689.	£664,263 [19]	1697.	Do. 3,525,907
1700.	1,000,000 [7]	1701.	3,895,285 [24]	1701.	16,394,702 [20]	1700.	Do. 6,045,432
Q. A's reign	1,000,000 [8]	1710.	5,691,803 [15]	1714.	54,145,363 [21]	1709.	Do. 5,913,357
1751.	3,000,000 [9]	1759.	8,523,540 [16]	1748.	78,293,313 [22]	1749--51.	Do. 12,599,112
1776.	1,720,316 [10]	1776.	10,265,405 [17]	1775.	135,943,051 [23]	1776.	G. B. 14,755,699
1783-5.	2,167,749 [11]	1786.	15,096,112 [18]	1784.	257,213,043 [24]	1786.	G. B. 16,2 0,725

Of the comparative comforts enjoyed by the labourer in the laſt and preſent century, as far as they can be eſtimated from the amount of his earnings, I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in a ſubſequent part of this Work.

The detailed hiſtorical view which I have given of the various Laws, which have been enacted from time to time, concerning the Poor, has, I am ſenſible, already extended this Volume to too great a length. I feel, however, that I cannot properly conclude this enquiry, without entering into a ſhort inveſtigation of the principles on which the national proviſion for the indigent claſſes is founded; without noticing the extenſive plan which has lately been brought forward by the Miniſter, for meliorating the condition of our labourers; and, without pointing out ſuch circumſtances, relative to their domeſtic ſituation, and ſocial enjoyments, as appear to me to be worthy of parliamentary conſideration.

Every man is, I conceive, bound to contribute his mite to the aggregate of general knowledge: more eſpecially, when any matter is in contemplation, which is intended to ſoften the lot of the moſt neceſſitous of our fellow-creatures. A plan for the relief of the Poor is, indeed,

> "A great deſign! if executed well,
> "With patient care, and wiſdom-temper'd zeal." [25]

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[1] I beg leave to apprize the Reader, that the ſums under this column are to be conſidered as of no greater authority than the paſſages in the various authors from which they are extracted, and to which I refer.

[2] See p. 189. [3] See p. 196. [4] See p. 198. [5] See p. 230. [6] See p. 249.
[7] See p. 264. [8] See p. 264. [9] See p. 314. [10] See p. 363. [11] See p. 371.
[12] Sinclair's Hiſt. of the Revenue, 2d ed. i. 197. [13] Id. i. 202. [14] Id. ii. 2.
[15] Id. ii. 20. [16] Id. ii. 29. [17] Id. ii. 30. [18] Id. ii. 30. [19] Id. i. 2d part, 46.
[20] Id. i. 63. [21] Id. i. 71. [22] Id. i. 85. [23] Id. i. 90. [24] Id. i. 93.
[25] Thompſon.

The Legiſlators, who ſhall attempt the arduous taſk of reducing the the contradictions of our Poor Laws, to one uniform ſyſtem of national benevolence; who ſhall aim at adminiſtering relief to the indigent, in the way moſt congenial to the feelings of humanity; but, more eſpecially, at ſuperſeding the neceſſity of parochial aſſiſtance, by rendering the accumulations of humble induſtry more ſecure and more productive; who ſhall endeavour to train the children of the labouring claſſes, by public inſtruction, to order and induſtry; and, in ſhort, to introduce a reform, which ſhall itſelf contain the ſeeds of further improvement, and thus, efficiently, to promote the great ends of charity; will deſerve well of their country. For, however unattainable the perfection, which they aim at, may be, the thorough reviſion of a complicated and corrupted code may, and probably will, have the good effect of ſtimulating active minds to inveſtigate ſubjects of the higheſt importance, and of thus producing the moſt beneficial conſequences to mankind. When the condition of the peaſant and working manufacturer becomes a more general topic of enquiry, well aſcertained facts will, whilſt they level in the duſt the plauſible ſchemes of theoretical philanthropy, lead to innumerable diſcoveries, which, though unenforced by legal regulation, may prove acceptable, and uſeful to the great maſs of the community.

From the colliſion of practical reſearch, many valuable truths, and many profound axioms of State policy, will be ſtruck out. The country will learn too, from the adoption of meaſures which are directed to advance the comforts of domeſtic life, and ſocial happineſs, among the moſt numerous order in the State, that all the wiſdom of the Legiſlature is not derived from, nor directed to, the Cuſtom-houſe, Exciſe-office, or Exchequer. Even if no new regulations ſhould reſult from the plan which Mr. Pitt has already opened to Parliament, the nation will be benefited by the acquiſition of that uſeful knowledge which forms the baſis of political ſcience. The diſſemination of truth will at once facilitate the operations, and promote the great ends, of Government. "I perſuade myſelf," (to uſe the words of an elegant writer[1],)

[1] Dr. Middleton: See the Preface to his Works.

"that the life and faculties of man, at the beſt but ſhort and limited,
"cannot be employed more rationally or laudably, than in the ſearch of
"knowledge; and eſpecially of that ſort, which relates to our duty,
"and conduces to our happineſs. I look upon the diſcovery of any
"thing which is true, as a valuable acquiſition to ſociety; which can-
"not poſſibly hurt, or obſtruct, the good effect of any other truth what-
"ſoever: for they all partake of one common eſſence, and neceſſarily
"coincide with each other; and, like the drops of rain, which fall ſe-
"parately into the river, mix themſelves at once with the ſtream, and
"ſtrengthen the general current."

BOOK II.

OF NATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF THE POOR: OF THE ENGLISH POOR SYSTEM: PROPOSED AMENDMENTS: OF THE DIET, DRESS, FUEL, AND HABITATION, OF THE LABOURING CLASSES IN GREAT BRITAIN: AND OF FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

CHAPTER I.

Of National Eſtabliſhments for the Maintenance of the Poor: of the Engliſh Poor Laws: and of Mr. Pitt's propoſed Bill for the better Relief of the Poor.

THAT it is the duty of every man, according to his abilities and opportunities, to relieve his fellow-creatures in diſtreſs; and that, in ſo doing, he will not more attend to the dictates of Humanity, or the precepts of Chriſtianity, than to thoſe tacit, but powerful, obligations, which, by the reciprocal ties of intercourſe, of wants, and of aſſiſtance, connect us together as members of the ſame civil ſociety; will, no doubt, be readily and generally admitted. It is the never-failing theme of the Moraliſt, and the Divine, that a benevolent attention to the wants of the Poor, is a neceſſary part of a virtuous character. The Politician is no leſs perſuaded, that the intereſt of the State is eſſentially concerned in the ample and efficient performance of this duty: that, in reſcuing the *Infant Poor* from beggary and want, the ſources of uſeful population are augmented: that, in a ready care and cure of the *Sick Poor*, (by the reſtoration of whoſe health, induſtry recovers her beſt means,) the productive

capital of the nation is increaſed; and that a bare ſubſiſtence for the *Aged Poor*, is no more than the fair right of thoſe, who have ſpent their beſt days, and exhauſted their ſtrength, in the ſervice of the Public.

It is, however, obvious, that perſons of theſe deſcriptions are not the only indigent claſſes in the community. They, indeed, compriſe all who cannot work; but, together with theſe, many induſtrious, and more idle, are uſually found among the great body of the Poor: and as the infirm are avowedly proper objects of charity, it is generally contended, that the induſtrious are no leſs entitled to employment, and the idle not leſs loudly call for compulſion to force them to labour. Of the means, however, of attaining this very deſirable end, ſpeculative writers on government have formed very different opinions. In moſt countries, the prevailing idea, and practice, are, that, in the ordinary circumſtances of ſociety, there is no occaſion for the interpoſition of the Legiſlature, to ſecure a maintenance, even for thoſe, whoſe infirmities diſqualify them from working; but that both the amount and the mode of adminiſtering relief, to thoſe who ſtand in need of relief, may, ſafely, be left to the diſcriminating liberality of individuals. In none, however, which have attained to any tolerable degree of opulence or civilization, is this principle adopted in it's fulleſt latitude. The neceſſity of a permanent eſtabliſhment for ſupporting the Poor, is, I conceive, admitted to a certain degree, in every country, in which there are public ſchools for the education of their children; diſpenſatories, from which medicines are gratuitouſly ſupplied; hoſpitals, for the reception and cure of the ſick; or alms-houſes, for lodging and maintaining the aged and neceſſitous.

In England, however, the claims of the indigent (whether infirm, induſtrious, or idle,) to a national proviſion, whatever the law may ſay upon the ſubject, are recognized, by the practice conſequent upon that law, in their fulleſt extent; and, whilſt the ſtreams of individual charity flow, as copiouſly as in other countries, through the channels of private benevolence, and through many great public, but local, inſtitutions, the poor man, whether his wants are of a permanent or temporary nature, is aſſured, that, if he ſhould not be ſupplied from theſe ſources, he can ſtill have recourſe to the never-failing reſervoir of parochial contribution.

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The arguments which may be advanced in favour of a national eſtabliſhment for the maintenance of the Poor, I conceive, reſt chiefly on the following poſitions;

That at no period of our hiſtory have the labouring claſſes been able to ſubſiſt, without a continual and unremitting exertion of labour; that they are expoſed to calamities, ſuch as no human foreſight can avert, which may reduce them to penury and want; and that, whatever improvements may take place in civil ſociety, there is no probability that "the Poor will ever ceaſe out of the land."

That they, whoſe capital is their labour, when deprived of the means of exerting it, muſt rely, during ſuch incapacity, on the aſſiſtance of others; and muſt either be ſupported by voluntary contributions, or by a compulſory maintenance aſſigned them by the Legiſlature.

That this obligation on the Rich, to provide a competent ſubſiſtence for the Poor, is created by the very nature of civil ſociety; for that, (to uſe the words of a right reverend Author[1],) "however flattering to "the love of liberty the idea of an original compact may be, and how-"ever uſeful to aſcertain the rights and duties of magiſtrate and ſubject, "yet, in reality, every man is adopted, by compulſion, into the ſociety "of which his parents were citizens, entitled only to that portion of "the public wealth which accrues to him by inheritance, and pre-"cluded from all right of occupancy over any other; that, conſe-"quently, if his parents were ſo poor as to tranſmit no patrimony to him, "he is born the inhabitant of a land, every ſpot of which is appropria-"ted to ſome other perſon;" that "he cannot ſeize any animal or ve-"getable, for his food, without invading *property*, and incurring the pe-"nalty of the law;" that, conſequently, in order to acquire any of thoſe articles, which are eſſential to his exiſtence, and which are ultimately derived from land, he muſt, in return, devote the ſtock he poſſeſſes, his perſonal induſtry, to the ſervice of the Rich, or, in other words, to the ſervice of thoſe who have capital to employ him; and that they, in return, are bound, in juſtice, to allow him a ſhare of his earnings, proportioned to the benefit which they derive from his labour, and fully adequate to ſupply him with the neceſſaries of life.

[1] Dr. Woodward, the late Biſhop of Cloyne.—See his "Addreſs to the Public, on the "Expediency of a regular Plan for the Maintenance and Government of the Poor in Ireland."

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The eminent Divine above quoted, on this point, aſks the following very pertinent queſtion: If the poor man's rich neighbours are not bound, in juſtice, to provide for him a competent maintenance, he demands, "by what right did they take upon them to enact certain laws, "(for the Rich compoſe the legiſlative body in every civilized country,) "which compelled that man to become a member of their ſociety; "which precluded him from any ſhare in the land where he was born, "any uſe of it's ſpontaneous fruits, or any dominion over the beaſts of "the field, on pain of ſtripes, impriſonment, or death? How can they "juſtify their excluſive property in the *common heritage* of mankind, "unleſs they conſent, in return, to provide for the ſubſiſtence of the "Poor, who were excluded from thoſe common rights by the laws of "the Rich, to which they were never parties?"

If the Rich, therefore, are bound in juſtice to relieve their poorer neighbours, when they become incapable of bartering their labour for ſubſiſtence, (and that it is the intereſt of the Rich to aſſiſt them, in ſuch circumſtances, has been already ſhewn,) the only remaining queſtion ſeems to be, whether this deſirable end will be beſt effected by giving the Poor a legal right to a maintenance, or by leaving them to unconſtrained charity? To adopt the latter meaſure, it has been often contended, is to load the conſiderate, the induſtrious, and the benevolent, not only with the ſupport of the improvident, the idle, and the worthleſs, but with the whole of that burthen, which ought to be equally borne by the unfeeling and the covetous, in proportion to their ability. It muſt, indeed, be confeſſed, that there requires but little experience in charitable collections to enable a man to pronounce, that a ſubſcription, which depends on voluntary contribution, although, perhaps, patronized, at firſt, even by the ſordid, from motives of vanity and oſtentation, and by the avaricious, with views of intereſt, would very ſoon be doomed to rely wholly on the liberal and humane for ſupport.

It is alſo farther contended, that the arguments in favour of a national eſtabliſhment for the ſupport of the Poor, are not at all weakened by the poſſibility, that the certainty of relief, which ſuch a ſyſtem holds out to innocent perſons, ſuffering under unmerited and unavoidable diſtreſs, will inevitably operate towards ſeducing leſs deſerving objects into improvidence, idleneſs, and extravagance: qualities, which, however

they may be regarded by the mere Moraliſt, are claſſed by the Politician among the worſt vices. But to this ſuggeſtion Dr. Woodward unanſwerably replies, by putting the caſe of an idle prodigal man, who, in the extremity of age or ſickneſs, cries out for food or medicine, and aſks, "if any one can avow, that we ſhould ſuppreſs every tender feeling, ſtop our hand, when, by the inſtinct of compaſſion, it is ſtretching forth relief to him, and, with a ſtoical indifference, ſuffer him to periſh, from a deep and doubtful ſpeculation, whether ſuch relief may not encourage idleneſs, and become, in the end, a political evil[1]?"

It may be further urged, that, where the Poor are not ſupported from a national fund, a country muſt be expoſed to all the evils attendant on vagrancy, and mendicity; that a law prohibiting a Pauper, who had no other reſource, from begging, would be neither wiſe, humane, nor practicable; and that, in all countries, where there is no regular eſtabliſhment, to which the Poor, in caſes of need, may reſort, begging is either expreſsly permitted by the laws, or connived at by the magiſtrates; and, that ſuch connivance will ever be the conſequence of laws equally impolitic and unjuſt, for the ſame reaſon that juries are induced to acquit offenders, when the puniſhment affixed by the law to their crimes is extremely ſevere: that begging, thus ſanctioned, will be followed by two deſcriptions of perſons;—the really deſerving object of relief, who begs from neceſſity; and the idle impoſtor, who makes begging a trade: that the importunate and undeſerving will too often extort, from the wearied hand of charity, what had been denied to unfeigned, though perhaps ſuſpected, diſtreſs: and that, even among real objects of charity, (who have an equal claim to aſſiſtance, but not to an equal ſhare of aſſiſtance,) accidental circumſtances will ſometimes ſupply one perſon in want, with perhaps more than adequate ſupport; whilſt another, whoſe conduct has been more meritorious, and whoſe wants, if properly underſtood, would be found to be really more preſſing, ſhall be paſſed by, unheeded, and unrelieved.

[1] The Jewiſh Law very humanely reaſoned in the ſame manner: "Si pauper accedat "quem non cognoſcunt, dicatque *eſurio*, non inquirant de eo an *fraudulentus ſit*; ſed ſtatim "dabunt ei quo paſcatur."—"Si pauper â te petat eleemoſynam, et nihil ſit in manu tuâ "quod des ei, placabis eum bonis verbis; prohibitum enim eſt objurgare pauperem, vel "vocem attollere contra ipſum, quoniam cor illius fractum eſt." Maimonides, de Jure Pauperis. Prideaux's Tranſlation, 71. 101. See Barrington on the Anc. Stat. 4th ed. 540.

Theſe

Theſe are the principal arguments, which have been, or which, I think, may be, advanced in favour of a national proviſion for the Poor: and as they have been faithfully ſtated and urged, it ſeems to be but fair to contraſt them with ſome on the oppoſite ſide of the queſtion; which, to many, may perhaps appear to be equally concluſive and ſatisfactory.

With reſpect to the neceſſity of that unremitting labour, which almoſt every political writer, (whether friendly or adverſe to the Poor Syſtem,) inſiſts on, for the promotion of individual happineſs and national proſperity, it may be queſtioned, whether it is not holding out a very diſcouraging proſpect to the efforts of men in ſocial life, to tell him, that, whatever improvements may take place in civilization, it muſt ever be the lot of a conſiderable portion of the community to conſume their days, with the exception of the ſhort intervals requiſite for meal-times and reſt, in continued and unceaſing bodily labour. Can that ſtate of ſociety, in which a human being is made to perform the office only of a machine, or, in other words, where he can exerciſe no intellectual faculties, nor diſplay a ſingle virtue, beſides that of patient ſubmiſſion, be conſidered as having nearly approached that degree of perfection of which human inſtitutions are ſuſceptible? What can be more deplorable than the condition of thoſe, whom the thirſt of gain has ſeduced, not only into toilſome, but alſo into unwholſome trades? The ſucceſsful imitator of Lord Bolingbroke's ſtyle, in his 'Vindication 'of Natural Society,' ſuppoſes, "that there are, in Great Britain, up-"wards of an hundred thouſand people employed in lead, tin, iron, cop-"per, and coal mines: theſe unhappy wretches ſcarce ever ſee the light "of the ſun; they are buried in the bowels of the earth; there they work, "at a ſevere and diſmal taſk, without the leaſt proſpect of being deli-"vered from it; they ſubſiſt upon the coarſeſt and worſt ſort of fare; "they have their health miſerably impaired, and their lives cut ſhort, by "being perpetually confined in the cloſe vapour of theſe malignant mi-"nerals. An hundred thouſand more at leaſt are tortured, without remiſ-"ſion, by the ſuffocating ſmoke, intenſe fires, and conſtant drudgery, "neceſſary in refining and managing the products of thoſe mines[1]."

[1] Although many of the proceſſes on metals are found to be extremely detrimental to the health of the workmen, it is pleaſing to reflect, that, in ſeveral of our manufactories, (particularly in the lead-works,) ſuch improvements have, of late years, taken place, as have preſerved the health of the people employed, without leſſening the profits of the proprietor.

Although this repreſentation of many of the calamities of ſocial life is adduced as a ſpecimen of Lord Bolingbroke's ſtyle of reaſoning, yet it ſeems to be far from exaggerated. Indeed, Mr. Burke himſelf, in his "Reflections on the Revolution in France," expreſſes himſelf, (and in my opinion, very humanely, and juſtly,) in the ſame manner[1]. In reprobating the confiſcation of church property in France, he ſays, that regular eccleſiaſtics "are as uſefully employed, as if they worked from "dawn to dark, in the innumerable ſervile, degrading, unſeemly, unmanly, and often moſt unwholſome and peſtiferous occupations, to "which, by the ſocial oeconomy, ſo many wretches are inevitably doomed. "If it were not," (he adds,) "generally pernicious to diſturb the natural courſe of things, and to impede, in any degree, the great wheel of "circulation, which is turned by the ſtrangely directed labour of theſe unhappy people, I ſhould be infinitely more inclined forcibly to reſcue "them from their miſerable induſtry, than violently to diſturb the tranquil repoſe of monaſtic quietude. Humanity, and, perhaps, policy, "might better juſtify me in the one, than in the other. It is a ſubject, on "which I have often reflected, and never reflected without feeling from "it. I am ſure, that no conſideration, except the neceſſity of ſubmitting "to the yoke of luxury, and the deſpotiſm of fancy, who, in their own "imperious way[2], will diſtribute the ſurplus produce of the ſoil, can "juſtify

[1] Reflections, &c. 238.

[2] The working of mines ſeems to have been productive of more immediate hardſhips on the perſons ſo employed, than almoſt any other occupation whatſoever: it was, therefore, in ancient times, the peculiar allotment of ſlaves: the Reader will perhaps will be ſurpriſed to be informed, that this ſtate of ſervitude actually exiſted in this kingdom, not longer than twelve years ago. It appears from the language of the Legiſlature, that a miner, in the Northern parts of Great Britain, was as much transferable property as a *villein regardant*.

"Whereas, by the Statute Law of Scotland, as explained by the Judges of the Courts of Law "there, many colliers and coal-bearers, and ſalters, are in a ſtate of ſlavery or bondage, bound "to the colleries and ſalt-works, where they work for life, transferable with the colleries and "ſalt-works, when their original maſters have no further uſe for them: and whereas perſons "are diſcouraged and prevented from learning the art or buſineſs of colliers or coal-bearers, "and ſalters, by their becoming bound to the colliers and ſalt-works for life, where they "ſhall work for the ſpace of one year, by means of which, there are not a ſufficient number "of colliers, coal-bearers, and ſalters, in Scotland, for working the quantities of coal and

" juſtify the toleration of ſuch trades and employments in a well re-
" gulated State."

Far be it, however, from me to inſinuate, that, in general, the extenſion of any of the arts is injurious to ſociety. The buſy labours of the loom and the anvil, in many reſpects, no doubt, advance it's comforts and it's happineſs: the diſcovery of any power in nature, the application of any production of the earth to the uſes of man, are, unqueſtionably, acquiſitions of uſeful knowledge. It is, however, a juſt ſubject of regret, that the purſuit of theſe deſirable, and ſometimes attainable, objects, ſhould ſo often be carried on by contrivances of human ingenuity, ſuch as, in their firſt operations at leaſt, are avowedly ſubverſive of the health and the morals of the perſons, whom they employ. In all ſuch caſes, there ſhould be ſtrong evidence of the probability, that the ſum of good which will ultimately be derived from the adoption of new meaſures, (either in the enlarged ſcale of general politics, or in the more limited ſphere of manufacture and commerce,) will greatly overbalance the immediate ill effects, which are known to be unavoidable, before we eagerly graſp at new projects, by which certain evil muſt be inflicted, for the hope only of contingent advantages. No one can have peruſed Adam Smith's " Inquiry into the Nature and Cauſes of the " Wealth of Nations," without being ſenſible that the diviſion of labour is the fruitful ſource of improvement; and that, whilſt it increaſes the

" ſalt neceſſarily wanted; and many new-diſcovered coals remain unwrought, nor are there " a ſufficient number of ſalters for the ſalt-works, to the great loſs of the owners, and diſad-" vantage to the public: and whereas the emancipating or ſetting free the colliers, coal-" bearers, and ſalters, in Scotland, who are now in a ſtate of ſervitude, gradually, and upon " reaſonable conditions, and preventing others from coming into ſuch a ſtate of ſervitude, " would be the means of increaſing the number of colliers, coal-bearers, and ſalters, to " the great benefit of the public, without doing any injury to the preſent maſters, and would " remove the reproach of allowing ſuch a ſtate of ſervitude to exiſt in a free country." Preamble to 15 Geo. 3. c. 28.——Before the paſſing of this Act, Mr. Pennant remarked, that, in Scotland, thouſands of our fellow-ſubjects were the property of their landlords, appurtenances to their eſtates, and to be transferable with them to any purchaſer. He adds: " multitudes of colliers and ſalters are in this ſituation, who are bound to the ſpot for their " lives: and even ſtrangers, who come to ſettle there, are bound by the ſame cruel cuſtom, " unleſs they previouſly ſtipulate to the contrary. Should the poor people remove to another " place, on a temporary ceſſation of the works, they are liable to be recalled at will, and con-" ſtrained to return on ſevere penalties." Tour in Scotland, ed. 1776. Part 2d, 203.

aggregate wealth of the country, it no leſs promotes the comforts of the individual, whenever it adds to his productive powers, without debilitating his frame, weakening his underſtanding, or debaſing his morals. That this, however, is too frequently the effect of the diviſion of labour, this great political writer ſeems to have been fully convinced. His remarks on this ſubject, (with a ſlight degree of qualification,) may be admitted as incontrovertible. He ſays: "In the progreſs of the diviſion of labour, the employment of the far greater part of thoſe who live by labour, that is, of the great body of the people, comes to be confined to a few very ſimple operations; frequently to one or two. But the underſtandings of the greater part of men are neceſſarily formed by their ordinary employments. The man whoſe whole life is ſpent in performing a few ſimple operations, of which the effects, too, are perhaps always the ſame, or very nearly the ſame, has no occaſion to exert his underſtanding, or to exerciſe his invention, in finding out expedients for removing difficulties which never occur. He naturally loſes, therefore, the habit of ſuch exertion, and generally becomes as ſtupid and ignorant as it is poſſible for a human creature to become. The torpor of his mind renders him not only incapable of reliſhing, or bearing a part in, any rational converſation, but of conceiving any generous, noble, or tender ſentiment; and, conſequently, of forming any juſt judgment concerning many even of the ordinary duties of private life. Of the great and extenſive intereſts of his country, he is altogether incapable of judging; and unleſs very particular pains have been taken to render him otherwiſe, he is equally incapable of defending his country in war. The uniformity of his ſtationary life naturally corrupts the courage of his mind, and makes him regard with abhorrence the irregular, uncertain, and adventurous life of a ſoldier. It corrupts even the activity of his body, and renders him incapable of exerting his ſtrength with vigour and perſeverance, in any other employment than that to which he has been bred. His dexterity at his own particular trade ſeems, in this manner, to be acquired at the expence of his intellectual, ſocial, and martial virtues. But, in every improved and civilized ſociety, this is the ſtate into which the labouring Poor, that is, the great body of the people, muſt neceſſarily fall, unleſs Government take ſome pains to prevent it[1]."

[1] Wealth of Nations, 5th ed. iii. 182.

This picture is, perhaps, ſomewhat too highly coloured: I believe the martial ſpirit of thoſe regiments, which are compoſed entirely of manufacturers, is not leſs conſpicuous, than that of a corps formed of agricultural labourers. A tailor's trade is extremely ſedentary, and would, (it might be ſuppoſed,) diſqualify a man for military exertion; and yet, (as Mr. Pennant remarks,) General Elliot's regiment of Light Horſe, which was formed out of the choice ſpirits of the trade, performed prodigies of valour, worthy of their predeceſſor in arms, the great Johannes Acutus[1]. It is probable, however, that an experienced General, although he might value heroes of this deſcription for a coup-de-main, would prefer the weather-beaten peaſant in the more fatiguing operations of warfare.

Intenſe application to any kind of bodily labour is generally admitted to be peculiarly injurious to children: their bodies, whilſt they are in a growing ſtate, require much more air and exerciſe than are required by thoſe who are more advanced in life. Habits of induſtry and perſeverance are undoubtedly of ſo much importance, that they cannot be too early or too ſtrongly inculcated. Theſe, however, may be, (and, I am perſuaded, are,) in general, acquired at home, by the children of the labouring claſſes, full as effectually, and at leſs coſt and leſs riſque, than in working ſchools, or in manufactories. The objections which have been repeatedly urged againſt parochial work-houſes, and houſes of induſtry; that, by removing the young from their parents, they deſtroy all domeſtic connections; that, under the laſh of a taſk-maſter, the freedom of the Britiſh ſpirit is broken; and that, reared in crowds, the riſing generation loſe the ſpring of health in contagion and reſtraint[2]; ſeem to be no leſs applicable to thoſe places, in which great numbers of boys and girls are thronged together, at the ſpinning wheels, the loom, or any other mechanical employment. It may, perhaps, be worthy the attention of the Public, to conſider, whether any manufacture[3], which, in order

[1] Sir John Hawkwood:—Pennant's London, 1ſt ed. 403.

[2] See Howlett's "Inſufficiency of the Cauſes, &c." and Sir William Young's "Conſiderations on the Subject of Poor-houſes."

[3] Mr. Giſborne remarks, that "of manufactures which injure the health of the workmen, "not by any noxious quality in the article operated upon, but by external circumſtances "uſually

order to be carried on ſucceſsfully, requires, that cottages and work-houſes ſhould be ranſacked for poor children; that they ſhould be employed,

" uſually attending the operation, an example may be produced in that of cotton. 'The 'ready communication of contagion to numbers crowded together, the acceſſion of virulence 'from putrid effluvia, and the injury done to young perſons through confinement and too 'long continued labour,' are evils which we have lately heard aſcribed to cotton-mills, by " perſons of the firſt medical authority aſſembled to inveſtigate the ſubject. To theſe muſt " be added an evil which ſtill brands with diſgrace the practice of ſome cotton-mills, the " cuſtom of obliging a part of the children employed there to work all night; a practice " which muſt greatly contribute towards rendering them feeble, diſeaſed, and unfit for other " labour, when they are diſmiſſed at a more advanced period of youth from the manufactory."

" Enquiry into the Duties of Men," &c. ed. 1795. ii. 376.

In the cotton-mills (it would ſeem from Dr. Aikin's Deſcription of the Country round Mancheſter, 1795, 4to. p. 219.) " children of very tender age are employed; many of them " *collected from the work-houſes* in London and Weſtminſter, and tranſported in crowds, as " apprentices to maſters reſident many hundred miles diſtant, where they ſerve, unknown, " unprotected, and forgotten by thoſe to whoſe care nature or the laws had conſigned them. " Theſe children are uſually too long confined to work, in cloſe rooms, often during the " whole night; the air they breathe, from the oil, &c. employed in the machinery, and other " circumſtances, is unjurious; little regard is paid to their cleanlineſs; and frequent changes " from a warm and denſe, to a cold and thin* atmoſphere, are prediſpoſing cauſes to ſickneſs " and diſability, and particularly to the epidemic fever which ſo generally is to be met with " in theſe factories. It is alſo much to be queſtioned, if ſociety does not receive detriment " from the *manner* in which children are thus employed during their early years. They are " not generally ſtrong to labour, or capable of purſuing any other branch of buſineſs, when " the term of their apprenticeſhip expires. The females are wholly uninſtructed in ſewing, " knitting, and other domeſtic affairs, requiſite to make them notable and frugal wives and " mothers. This is a very great misfortune to them and the public; as is ſadly proved by a " compariſon of the families of labourers in huſbandry, and thoſe of manufacturers in gene- " ral. In the former, we meet with neatneſs, cleanlineſs, and comfort; in the latter, with " filth, rags, and poverty, although their wages may be nearly double to thoſe of the huſband- " man. It muſt be added, that the want of early religious inſtruction and example, and the " numerous and indiſcriminate aſſociation in theſe buildings, are very unfavourable to their " future conduct in life."

It is but fair to remark from the ſame Author, that " remedies for theſe grievances have " been adopted in many factories, with true benevolence, and much ſucceſs."

It is juſtly remarked by Mr. Giſborne, that the ſituation of pariſh children, tranſported, as is often the caſe, from work-houſes in the metropolis, to factories in diſtant counties, demands the protecting interference of the Legiſlature. Government can never be better employed than in meaſures which tend to promote the comforts, the health, and the morals of the people. As magiſtrates have no power of entering the work-ſhops of manufacturers, for the pur-

* *Warm and denſe—cold and thin.* Is this philoſophical?

poſes

ployed, by turns, during the greater part of the night, and robbed of that reſt which, though indiſpenſable to all, is moſt required by the young; and that numbers of both ſexes, of different ages and diſpoſitions, ſhould be collected together in ſuch a manner, that the contagion of example cannot but lead to profligacy and debauchery; will add to the ſum of individual, or national, felicity. I have not the means of laying before the Public particular inſtances of the bad effects (both with regard to health and morals,) of manufactures, which employ a large body either of grown people or of children. The advantages and diſadvantages reſulting from this branch of induſtry, have never, perhaps, been fully inveſtigated. In the preceding part of the volume, the intimate connection which appears to ſubſiſt between manufactures and a national Poor[1] have been ſlightly touched on: but to purſue the ſubject through all it's intricacies and windings would require a diſtinct Eſſay, and much exceed the limits of my plan. It is more conſentaneous to the views of this work, to conſider thoſe two important queſtions; firſt, how far the Public has any right or authority to interfere in, and controul the education of the people; and, next, admitting the right, how far it is either their duty or their intereſt ſo to interfere. On both theſe points men of great name have differed exceedingly.

In 1765, the celebrated Dr. Brown publiſhed his "Thoughts on "Civil Liberty, Licentiouſneſs, and Faction:" in which he noticed, with great earneſtneſs and force, the danger that threatened the State from the circumſtance of every private man being left at liberty to

poſes of enquiring into the treatment of the children employed there; and as the latter are generally kept in a ſort of confinement, which, in a great meaſure, deprives them of the power of lodging complaints; Mr. Giſborne tells us, that he knows, from indiſputable authority, that cruel puniſhments have been inflicted on ſuch as have found means of complaining, in order to deter them and their companions from ſimilar attempts. He ſuggeſts, that the London pariſh-officers ſhould be obliged to keep accurate regiſters of apprentices ſent out; (this they are obliged to do by 7 Geo. 3. c. 39. § 20.) that quarterly returns of the ſtate of theſe apprentices ſhould be tranſmitted from the ſeveral factories, and be authenticated by the ſignatures of the neighbouring magiſtrates; and that the latter ſhould be authoriſed and required to viſit the factories, and carefully to inſpect the ſituation and treatment of the children. "Enquiry into the Duties of Men, &c." ii. 379.—Perhaps it might not be amiſs to introduce ſome ſuch regulations as theſe here ſuggeſted into ſuch bill as it may be thought proper to bring forward for the amendment of the Poor Laws.

[1] See p. 61.

educate

educate his children, not only without a reverence for the laws and religion of his country, but in an abſolute contempt of them. The only remedy for this great defect, he conceived to be a general and preſcribed form of education, to which all the members of the community ſhould legally ſubmit: and the right of the State to impoſe ſuch authoritative code of education, he argued, was founded in reaſon, and ſanctioned by the example of ſome of the freeſt States of antiquity.

Now, the aim and object of every inſtitution, in which the Public is concerned, is to render mankind good, in order that they may be happy. Neither of theſe ends is it poſſible to attain, in any tolerable degree, otherwiſe than in ſociety; for this, then, the ſocial ſtate is formed, and governments inſtituted: and for this, ſeminaries of learning, in like manner, are inſtituted, to direct the naſcent paſſions, and mould the infant reaſon into ſuch habits of thinking and acting, as may beſt promote, not only the weal of each individual, but the general welfare. In a certain ſenſe, Government, (that is, Society in it's ſtate of perfection,) is founded on opinion: inaſmuch as no ſkill nor force can render any government efficient and durable, when the opinions of thoſe who are to be governed are generally adverſe to it. And opinions on principles are not innate. Men are not, all at once, but gradually, to be trained to political, as well as to moral, rectitude; the former being indeed only the completion and perfection of the latter; becauſe no policy is wiſe or good, which is not founded on pure morality. Every Legiſlature, ſays Monteſquieu, ſhould make all it's other inſtitutions correſpond with it's government: that is to ſay, every individual in a nation, being one of the great family of the nation, ſhould be brought up in a way ſuitable to the views of the great houſhold; juſt as individual parents bring up and diſpoſe of their children; not merely with views confined to the children alone, but with ſome reference to the general intereſts of the family. But this cannot be done unleſs Government gives the impulſe. "As well may we fancy, that, of itſelf, "the ſea will ſwell, and that without winds the billows will inſult the "adverſe ſhore, as that the groſs maſs of the people will be moved and "elevated, and continue, by a ſteady and permanent direction, to bear "upon one point, without the influence of ſuperior authority or ſuperior "mind."

"mind[1]." To impreſs the people with that energy of character which conſtitutes a great nation, cannot be effected by thoſe (I may almoſt ſay, negative,) exertions of Government, which ſecure to individuals the free application of their induſtry, and protect them in the enjoyment of their property. It is the duty, I conceive, of thoſe, who, from their ſuperior wealth, virtue, or abilities, become the leading members of the community, to promote the advancement of moral endowments, no leſs than to adminiſter to the phyſical neceſſities of their fellow-creatures. In offering inſtruction to the riſing generation, both in the principles of our religion, and in the uſeful worldly ſciences, in ſuch a way as does not violate parental feelings and authority, (of which all popular Governments are tender;) a Government ſupplies the Public with the beſt elements of political knowledge, and the firmeſt foundations of moral virtue. Far from being adverſe to free diſcuſſion and popular enquiries, education, when foſtered, encouraged, and extended by the ruling powers of the country, becomes it's beſt preſervative. It holds the mirror up to public men and public conduct; and, in proportion to the light which it receives, exhibits them to the world with leſs miſrepreſentation.

Public opinion, even whilſt it is merely ſpeculative, is by no means a thing of indifference to the Public; becauſe it naturally and unavoidably has great influence on the public practice. If, therefore, every Society, or every Government (for, in this caſe at leaſt the terms are ſynonimous,) has, as is certainly the caſe, a right to deviſe and purſue means to enſure the continuance of their own exiſtence and welfare, they muſt alſo, for the reaſons juſt ſtated, unavoidably have the right, by leading, though not by driving, to regulate the public opinion. And what elſe is the regulation of the public opinion, but education? Social man is for ever under pupilage; and even national laws are but ſo many rules of education. And, happily for the world, the public mind, capable as it is of being miſled, may alſo, by due attention, both on the part of Government, and of individuals of ability, be led to what is right.

They are without excuſe, when they do not exerciſe the right and

[1] Mr. Burke's Two Letters, &c. 1796, p. 89.

ability which they poſſeſs to influence public opinion. They are as much concerned to inculcate right notions, and to reſtrain erroneous ones, as they are to promote right conduct. In one way or other, both leading men and public bodies become the fountain of all public principles. And governments, no leſs than individuals, have every encouragement to induce them to be careful to cultivate right principles in early life, when alone they can be cultivated to any good purpoſe. "Albeit good laws have always been reputed the nerves or ligaments "of humane ſociety, yet are they no way comparable in their effects to "the rules of good nurture. For, it is in civil, as it is in natural, plan-"tations, where young tender trees (though ſubject to the injuries of "air, and in danger even of their own flexibility) would yet little want "any under-proppings and ſhoarings, if at firſt they were well faſtened "in the root[1]."

True and important as theſe poſitions may be, it muſt be confeſſed, that ſome ancient States, (the perfection of whoſe inſtitutions have received a praiſe they do not deſerve,) took a very ſingular method of enforcing them. Some regarded children not merely as belonging to thoſe who, under Providence, were the inſtruments of bringing them into the world; but as the property of the public: and the magiſtrate, rather than the parent, took charge of their education. Along with a community of wives, Lycurgus alſo ordained a kind of community of children. Fathers had not the care of their own children. As ſoon as a child was born, it was delivered to the Officers of the State; "who "initiated them early in the manners, the maxims, the exerciſes, the "toils; in a word, in all the mental and bodily acquirements and habits "which correſponded with the genius of the State. Family connexions "had no place. The firſt and leading object of their affection was the "general welfare. This tuition was carefully continued, till they "were enrolled in the liſts of men. To ſecure the manners thus ac-"quired, they were prohibited from travelling into other countries, leſt "they ſhould catch infection from ill example: and on the ſame ground

[1] See Sir Henry Wotton's Survey of Eduçation: Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, 78.

" all viſits from ſtrangers were forbidden. Thus were they ſtrongly " and unalterably poſſeſſed with the love of their country[1].

All theſe principles and reaſonings have been roundly and vehemently objected to, and moſt of them refuted, by modern writers. Their objections, I apprehend, are faithfully and fully collected and ſtated by that political, as well as polemical, veteran, Dr. Prieſtley, in his Eſſay on the Firſt Principles of Government.

There are ſundry objections urged by the Doctor againſt the interference of Government, *in any manner or degree*, in the direction or controul of the education of the people: many of his arguments appear to me to be very objectionable; but as it is no part of the plan of this work either to write an anſwer to Dr. Prieſtley, or a treatiſe on national education, I decline a particular diſcuſſion of them.

Let it ſuffice to obſerve, that though, inſtructed in my philoſophy, as I bleſs God I am, by the laws of the land, and the religion of my country, I wiſh not to ſee either parental authority, or parental duty, abridged in a ſingle atom of what it now poſſeſſes; I am no leſs anxious to ſee the Legiſlature alſo continue to watch over the education of the people, with parental ſolicitude and tenderneſs. To me, I own, it ſeems not likely to anſwer any very good purpoſe to argue too curiouſly about abſtract rights and duties of this nature. No government either has, or pretends to have, any ſuch abſolute right to controul a parent in the inſtruction of his child, as ſome captious writers are pleaſed to fancy: all that they aim at, or can have any motives inducing them to aim at, is to take ſome care and pains to prevent any parent's bringing up his children, if any ſhould be found weak and wicked enough to do ſo, in principles and practices injurious to the general weal; and alſo to ſee,

[1] Dr. Brown's Thoughts of Civil Liberty, § vii. p. 46. Such too is the love of their country to be found among ſavage nations at preſent. The Eſquimaux Indians, who were brought into England a few years ago, were miſerable among the comforts of civilization; and returned with eagerneſs to their own barbarous tribes. The Spartan policy of education, to ſay the leaſt of it, was adverſe to every ſocial propenſity, and inimical to every ſocial improvement. I have no idea of the *general welfare* of a State, but as compoſed of the *welfare of individuals*; nor can I conceive it poſſible that this ſhould be promoted by a government, which is not, (to uſe Mr. Burke's words,) "cloſely connected in it's moſt efficient part with *individual feeling* and individual intereſt."

where a parent is either unwilling or unable to take proper care of his child, that the child be not loſt for want of care; or, what is perhaps ſtill more to be dreaded, be ſuffered to become the curſe, inſtead of the bleſſing, both of his Parents, and the State.

And thus much this Government, as well as moſt others, long has done, much to the comfort and benefit of the Nation; and therefore, it is to be hoped, thus much it will long continue to do. The many ſeminaries of learning, ſo munificently endowed, and which, if not founded, have been patronized, by the Public, and regulated by ſtatutes and laws, enacted, or ſanctioned, by the Legiſlature, though they may not, perhaps, abſolutely compel parents to ſubmit to public regulations in this point, are ſuch as, in many inſtances, afford them ſtrong inducements to provide their children with wholſome education.

Wholly to neglect all culture, and all inſtruction, of even the pooreſt claſſes of the community, will, in all governments, produce a relaxation of principle, and a corruption of manners: and theſe muſt eventually terminate in the deſtruction of order, and the diſſolution of government.

With reſpect to education in general, I believe it is now admitted, on all hands, that intellectual acquiſitions are beneficial to every claſs of the community, and that the children of our labourers are not the leſs likely to become uſeful members of the State, in that ſphere of life for which they are probably deſtined, from having been inſtructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic; accompliſhments, which, the paradoxical Mandeville ſays, "are very pernicious to thoſe whoſe livelihood has "no dependence on theſe arts," and "who are forced to get their daily "bread by their daily labour[1]." It is not to be ſuppoſed, (nor does experience warrant ſuch concluſion,) that a man who has received ſuch an education as enables him to read his Bible, to write a plain letter on buſineſs, and to keep an account of his receipts and expences, will be led, from a vain conviction of his ſuperior qualifications, to neglect that manual labour which is the main prop of his family. Nor, if the illiterate are not the moſt prudent houſe-keepers, does it ſeem, as many

[1] Eſſay on Charity Schools, 1ed, 1725, 179.

would contend, that the keeping them ſo is the beſt way of ſecuring the tranquillity of the State. Idleneſs, diſcontent, and a diſlike to ſubordination and order, I am perſuaded, more frequently ariſe, and are more eaſily diffuſed among the ignorant and uneducated, than among thoſe who have paſſed ſome part of their early years in the acquiſition of intellectual endowments.

It will be readily acknowledged, that the great misfortune of the Poor, as well as of the Rich, is not ſo much the being ignorant of what is proper for them to do, as the being indiſpoſed to do even what they know, and allow to be proper: and that, as to the point now under conſideration, the Poor frequently fail, from mere inability to pay for it, to provide for their children any competent degree of inſtruction, and not ſeldom through their own careleſſneſs and miſmanagement. I am happy, however, to have had it in my power to record ſome honourable exceptions to this general poſition. In the Second Volume of this Work, the Reader will find ſeveral inſtances of labourers affording no mean portion of their earnings towards procuring inſtruction for their children: and, it will be found alſo, that thoſe who might be thought leaſt able to ſpare any thing for this purpoſe, do in general ſpare the moſt. Humanity, as well as Policy, points out the propriety of the Public's ſeconding the meritorious exertions of ſuch meritorious perſons; and in what better way can they do this, than by eſtabliſhing, as Adam Smith propoſes, in every pariſh or diſtrict, a little ſchool, where children may be taught at leaſt reading, writing, and accounts, for a reward ſo moderate that even a common labourer may afford to pay it? He propoſes to have it rendered thus moderate, by the Public's paying the maſter partly, but not wholly; and he puts it on this footing, becauſe if ſuch maſter were wholly, or even principally, paid by the Public, there is reaſon to fear he would ſoon learn to neglect his buſineſs.

Education in England is become, in all its departments, ſo extremely expenſive, that, but for the endowments and foundations of many pious and patriotic perſons "in the old times before us," the great body of the people, even thoſe in the middle ſpheres of life, muſt often be but indifferently educated; and were it not for ſuch ſeaſonable aids, as have juſt been mentioned, from a benevolent and no leſs patriotic

Public, the Poor could not be taught at all. And yet, in the eſtimation of this great political writer, ſome competent ſhare of inſtruction, in theſe eſſential points, is deemed ſo neceſſary to their uſefulneſs, that, before any man ſhould obtain his freedom in a corporation, or be allowed to ſet up any trade either in a village or town corporate, he would have him ſubjected to an examination, to be refuſed or admitted according as he is found deficient or qualified.

To be able to read, write, and caſt accounts, are acquiſitions worth paying ſomething for. If they contribute at all, as no doubt they do in a very great degree, to encourage an artiſan, or a labourer, either to exert more ingenuity, or to practiſe more integrity, the Public, heavily as they are already laden with ſuch burthens, ſhould not begrudge it. The quality of the work done, by ſuch improved artiſts, is better, and the quantity greater. They are encouraged by ſeeing ingenuity thus cheriſhed and honoured, and by experiencing that honeſty is indeed the beſt policy. To call ſuch a bounty a *tax*, is to give an ill name to a good thing, merely to bring it into diſ-eſteem: it ſhould not even be called a *bounty*, in the ſenſe in which exemptions and encouragements to particular branches of trade are called bounties. It is doing no more than every liberal-minded man delights to do; i. e. rewarding worth and abilities: and differs from the voluntary benevolence of a ſolitary individual, chiefly by it's being more efficient, from being combined with the like benevolent exertions of other benevolent men. That ſuch endeavours to cultivate and bring forward obſcure, but real, merit, which, but for ſuch encouragement, might elſe, like ſome neglected wild flower, have waſted it's ſweetneſs on the deſart air; that ſuch inſtitutions are congenial to the public mind, and equally grateful to the giver and the receiver; ſeems to be proved by the great number of free ſchools, and charity ſchools, as well as by endowments for ſimilar purpoſes of much larger ſcope and compaſs; which, in general, owe their exiſtence, not to legiſlative interference, but to private benefactions. And I hope the inſtances are few, in which poſterity have been ſo degenerate as to condemn or complain of ſuch liberality in their anceſtors. It is to degrade intellectual endowments, and to put learning on a footing with an article of manufacture, or of commerce, to ſay,

as

as has been ſaid, that that learning which required a bounty to encourage it, would ſoon fall into diſrepute, and become a loſing trade. The only bounty that the caſe either admits of, or requires, is, that the means of acquiring learning be rendered acceſſible to all men: and there is not a man in the kingdom, poſſeſſed of learning, who does not, if his education was at all public, in ſome degree, owe it to ſuch bounty.

If, however, the ſuſpicious ſpirit of Modern Liberty views with a jealous eye the moſt diſtant idea of a Government's interfering to make the education of the Poor a public concern, one cannot but wonder it has ſo long and ſo patiently endured the interference of the Legiſlature, not only in this country, but in moſt parts of Europe, in another department of popular inſtruction; I mean, the learning a trade under a maſter. The Reader will recollect, that, by the Statute of Apprenticeſhip [1], it was enacted, that no perſon ſhould, for the future, exerciſe any trade, then followed in England, without having previouſly ſerved an apprenticeſhip of ſeven years; and that ſerving ſeven years as apprentice, to any trade, ſhould give a perſon an excluſive right to exerciſe that trade in any part of England [2]. "This law, with regard to the excluſive part of it," (the Learned Commentator on the Laws of England informs us,) "has, by turns, been looked upon as a hard law, or as a beneficial one, according to the prevailing humour of the times which has occaſioned a great variety of reſolutions in the Courts of Law concerning it; and attempts have been frequently made for it's repeal, though hitherto without ſucceſs. At common law every man might uſe what trade he pleaſed; but this Statute reſtrains that liberty to ſuch as have ſerved as apprentices: the adverſaries to which proviſion ſay, that all reſtrictions, (which tend to introduce monopolies,) are pernicious to trade; the advocates for it allege, that unſkilfulneſs in trades is equally detrimental to the Public, as monopolies. This reaſon, indeed, only extends to ſuch trades, in the exerciſe whereof ſkill is required [3]; but another of their arguments goes much

[1] 5 Eliz. c. 4. See p. 126. and Appendix, No. viii. p. cliii. [2] 5 Eliz. c. 4. § 31.

[3] Lord Coke ſays, this Statute was not enacted only that workmen ſhould be ſkilful, but alſo that youth ſhould not be nouriſhed in idleneſs, but brought up and educated in lawful ſciences

"much farther, viz. that apprenticeſhips are uſeful to the common-
"wealth, by employing of youth, and learning them to be early induſ-
"trious; but that no one would be induced to undergo a ſeven years'
"ſervitude, if others, though equally ſkilful, were allowed the ſame
"advantages without having undergone the ſame diſcipline." This argument, however, only ſhews, that whilſt the Law of Apprenticeſhip exiſts, it would be unjuſt to narrow the ſphere in which thoſe, who have paſſed through the appointed courſe of ſervice, are allowed to exerciſe their induſtry: and ſeems tacitly to admit, that a ſeven years'

ſciences and trades. He likewiſe juſtly remarks, that, if he who takes upon him to work is unſkilful, his ignorance is a ſufficient puniſhment to him. 11 Rep. 53, 54.

Of the legal refinements produced by the 5 Eliz. c. 4. the following report is a ſufficient ſpecimen:

"The King *verſus* Plume.

"He was indicted upon the Statute of the 5th of the Queen, for that he had ſet up, uſed, "and exerciſed ARTEM, MYSTERIAM, SIVE MANUAL' OCCUPATIONEM, POMARII, *Anglicè*, of a "fruiterer, being a trade, myſtery, or manual occupation uſed in this kingdom, the 12th day "of January, anno Eliz. 5.; in which trade the ſaid Plume was not brought up by the ſpace "of ſeven years, &c. And to this the defendant demurred.

"For that it hath been held, that the Statute extends not to every trade, but to ſuch an "one that requires art and ſkill, and therefore not to a hemp-dreſſer, as in the 1 Cro.; ſo in "2 Bolſtrode, 188.: nor to a pippin-monger, as in 1 Roll's Rep. 10. And ſo a *gardiner* "hath been reſolved not to be within the Act, in the 14th of this king: the indictment "was for the trade of a *barber*, but no judgment given; (but others ſaid, that in that caſe "judgment was for the king.)

"On the other ſide, it was ſaid, that the queſtion here is not of thoſe which ſell apples in "ſtalls; but the trade of a fruiterer is well known, and they are incorporated in London, "and there requires much ſkill in ſorting of fruit, and in judging the durableneſs thereof.

"But the Court inclined for the defendant: but being informed by the Counſel for the "king, that there were many preſidents, it was adjourned" Vent. i. 327.

Upon a ſecond argument, "Scraggs Chief Juſtice, and Dolben, inclined to the opinion, "that it was a myſtery within the Statute, there being great art in chuſing the times to ga-"ther and preſerve their fruit. And that the cauſe deſerved the more conſideration, for that "the fruiterers were an ancient corporation in London, (viz.) from the time of Ed. IV.: alſo "a barber, upholſterer, and, lately, a coach-maker. Ruled to be within the Act."

Jones and Pemberton ſeemed to be of another opinion; "for it would be very inconve-"nient to make every one that ſells fruit by the penny within the Act, and *majus et minus* "would make no odds; ſurely ſince the 5th Eliz. there would have been ſome proſecu-"tion by the Company of Fruiterers in this caſe, if it would have lain. Brewers and bakers "require ſkill, and yet not within the Act. But the Court took time to deliver their poſitive "opinions. *Et adjornatur.*" Vent. i. 346.

ſervitude

ſervitude is a hardſhip which is ſubmitted to with reluctance. The other arguments in favour of the general utility of apprenticeſhips appear to be not warranted by fact. Can it be aſſerted, that youth are more employed, or more induſtrious, in thoſe places, to which the operation of the Statute of Apprenticeſhip is confined, than in thoſe parts of the country where they are at liberty to ſet up a trade as ſoon as they conceive themſelves ſufficiently ſkilful to carry it on? Is a young manufacturer, at Birmingham or Mancheſter, leſs ſkilful in his buſineſs, or leſs induſtrious, than a journeyman cutler at Sheffield, or a journeyman hatter in London? It is true, indeed, that thoſe who ſet up early for themſelves, will, ſometimes, at firſt, perform their work very ſlovenly; but the authority which is exerciſed over them by their cuſtomers, at the ſame time that it will prevent the trade from being overſtocked, will ſoon oblige them to perform their work ably and ſubſtantially. Is not this the caſe in thoſe trades, to which induſtry has a free and early acceſs, and in which demand and competition regulate the number and the profits of the workmen? The body of a coach, which is put together by a coach-maker, who commences workman when he pleaſes, is never complained of, as leſs artfully conſtructed, or leſs likely to anſwer the purpoſe for which it is intended, than the wheels of the ſame carriage, which are made *(ſecundum artem,)* by a maſter wheel-wright, who has learned the myſteries of his craft by a long apprenticeſhip. It is juſtly remarked, that "the inſtitution of long apprenticeſhips has no "tendency to form young people to induſtry [1]. A journeyman, who "works

[1] In the caſe of Raynard and Chaſe, (1 Burr. 2.) Lord Mansfield, in delivering the judgment of the Court, made the following remarks on the 5 Eliz. c. 4. "Firſt, this is a penal "law. Secondly, it is a reſtraint of natural right: and thirdly, it is contrary to the general "right given by the common law of this kingdom: I will add, fourthly, the policy upon "which the Act was made is from experience become doubtful. Bad and unſkilful work-"men are rarely proſecuted. This Act was made early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. "Afterwards, when the great number of manufacturers, who took refuge in England from "the Duke of Alva's proſecution, had brought trade and commerce with them, and enlarged "our notions, the reſtraint introduced by this Law was thought ſo unfavourable, that in "33 Eliz. in the Exchequer, (4 Leon. 9. pl. 39.) it was conſtrued away; for it was holden "clearly by the Judges in that caſe, (which conſtruction, however, I take not to be Law now,) "that if one hath been an apprentice for ſeven years, at any one trade mentioned within the "ſaid

" works by the piece, is likely to be induſtrious, becauſe he derives a " benefit from every exertion of his induſtry. An apprentice is likely " to be idle, and almoſt always is ſo, becauſe he has no immediate in- " tereſt to be otherwiſe. In the inferior employments, the ſweets of " labour conſiſt altogether in the recompence of labour. They, who " are ſooneſt in a condition to enjoy the ſweets of it, are likely ſooneſt " to conceive a reliſh for, and to acquire the early habit of, induſtry. A " young man naturally conceives an averſion to labour, when, for a long " time, he receives no benefit from it [1]. The patrimony of a poor man " lies in the ſtrength and dexterity of his hands; and to hinder him from " employing this ſtrength and dexterity in what manner he thinks pro- " per, without injury to his neighbour, is a plain violation of this moſt " ſacred property. It is a manifeſt encroachment, both upon the juſt " liberty of the workman, and of thoſe who might be diſpoſed to employ " him. As it hinders the one from working at what he thinks proper, " ſo it hinders the others from employing whom they think proper. To " judge whether he is fit to be employed, may, ſurely, be truſted to the " diſcretion of the employers, whoſe intereſt it ſo much concerns [2]."

The Statute of Elizabeth, which appears to have required, in very unequivocal words, a ſeven years' apprenticeſhip, in trades then followed in England [3], *whereſoever* they ſhould be carried on [4], has, however, by

" ſaid Statute, he may exerciſe any trade named in it, though he hath not been apprentice " to it. All theſe obſervations only ſhew that this Act, as to what enforces the penalty of it, " ought to be taken ſtrictly. And, accordingly, the conſtructions made by former Judges " have been favourable to the qualifications of the perſons attacked for exerciſing the trade, " even where they have not actually ſerved apprenticeſhips: they have, by a liberal interpre- " tation, extended the qualifications for exerciſing the trade much beyond the letter of the " Act; and have confined the penalty and prohibition to caſes preciſely within the expreſs " letter."

[1] Wealth of Nations, 5th ed. i. 189. [2] Ibid. i. 188.

[3] The ſtrict limitation of the Statute to ſuch trades as were eſtabliſhed in England before the 5th of Elizabeth, however generally beneficial to the community, has given riſe to ſeveral diſtinctions, which, conſidered as rules of police, are juſtly remarked to be extremely unwiſe. " It has been adjudged, for example, that a coach-maker can neither himſelf make, nor em- " ploy journeymen to make, his coach-wheels; but muſt buy them of a maſter wheel-wright; " this latter trade having been exerciſed in England before the 5th of Elizabeth. But a wheel- " wright, though he has never ſerved an apprenticeſhip to a coach-maker, may either himſelf " make, or employ journeymen to make, coaches; the trade of a coach-maker not being " within the Statute, becauſe not exerciſed in England at the time when it was made. The " manufactures of Manchester, Birmingham, and Wolverhampton, are, many of them, " upon this account, not within the Statute, not having been exerciſed in England before the " 5th of Elizabeth." Wealth of Nations, 5th ed. i. 187.

[4] See 5 Eliz. c. 4. § 30, 31.

the ſubtle refinements of courts of juſtice, (which, with views extremely laudable, have, in this inſtance, favoured the free exertion of induſtry,) been interpreted to extend only to cities and market-towns; and it is held, that a perſon may exerciſe as many trades as he pleaſes in a country village, although he has not ſerved a ſeven years' apprenticeſhip [1] to each.

[1] The words of the 51ſt ſection of the Act are, that no perſon ſhall exerciſe any craft, &c. "*except he ſhall have been brought up therein ſeven years at the leaſt as an apprentice*, &c." and there can be no doubt but the Legiſlature intended that the tradeſman ſhould have ſerved an actual apprenticeſhip; but the Judges have determined that he ſerved *as an apprentice*, who for ſeven years has been working *as a maſter*. See 2. Wilſ. Rep. 168. This caſe exhibits the impolicy of the Law of Apprenticeſhip, in ſo clear a light, that I ſhall not apologize for inſerting it at length.

French, *qui tam*, *v.* Adams.

"This was an action of debt upon the Stat. 5 Eliz. c. 4. § 31. againſt the defendant, for "exerciſing the trade of a carpenter, contrary to the Statute, he not having ſerved an appren-"ticeſhip to that trade; iſſue was joined upon *nil debet*, and tried before the Lord Chief "Juſtice Pratt at Weſtminſter. It appeared in evidence at the trial, that the defendant had "worked or ſerved as a ſervant for ſeven years in the trade of a glazier, and for ſome time "afterwards exerciſed that trade as a maſter; and afterwards he exerciſed the trade of a "carpenter for the ſpace of nine years, and it was proved that he well underſtood that trade.

"It was objected by Serjeant Nares for the plaintiff at the trial, that, the defendant being "originally firſt bred up to the trade of a glazier, he could not now follow two trades, "carpenter and glazier; and, whether he could or not? was the queſtion reſerved for the "conſideration of the Court.

"CURIA. All the Judges in England at a meeting lately reſolved, That if any man, as a "maſter, had exerciſed and followed any trade as a maſter, without interruption or impedi-"ment, for the term of ſeven years, he was not liable to be ſued or proſecuted upon the Sta-"tute of the 5th of Eliz. Alſo, if a man hath followed two or more trades for the term of "ſeven years, or more, he ſhall not be liable to be ſued or proſecuted upon this Statute. "There is no law againſt one man's following ſeveral trades at this day: there was an ancient "Statute made the 37 Ed. 3. c. 6. that artificers or handicraftſmen ſhould uſe but one myſ-"tery, and that none ſhould uſe any myſtery but that which he had before that time choſen "and uſed; but this reſtraint of trade and traffic was immediately found prejudicial to the "commonwealth, and therefore, at the next Parliament, it was enacted, that all people ſhould "be as free as they were at any time before the ſaid ordinance. 11 Rep. 54. a. And "Coke ſays, it is to be obſerved, that the Acts of Parliament, that are made againſt the "freedom of trade, merchandizing, handicrafts, and miſteries, never live long. 4 Inſt. 31. "Without the leaſt doubt in the Court, a man may follow twenty trades, if he has worked "at, or followed, each trade ſeven years. Mr. Harriſon, of Red Lion Square, ſerved an ap-"prenticeſhip to a carpenter; but, for 26 years, he has been a watch-maker; and, though he "never ſerved as an apprentice to the trade of a watch-maker, is the beſt maker of time-

"pieces

each. Indeed, there ſeems to be the ſame reaſon for permitting a man, in a country village, to follow various trades, (thoſe, for inſtance, of houſe-carpenter, joiner, mill-wright, and wheel-wright,) as for permitting him to open a miſcellaneous chandler's ſhop for the ſale of cheeſe, butter, tea, ſugar, ſoap, candles, cloth, linen, and hardware.

I have the leſs reluctantly made theſe obſervations on the Statute of Apprenticeſhip, becauſe I am perſuaded, that, whenever a fair opportunity offers, the Legiſlature will do away the hardſhips and reſtraints which this Law impoſes on induſtry. Of it's bad effects many inſtances might be adduced, even from the language of Parliament: two citations, however, from the Statute-book may be ſufficient: By the Act paſſed in 1777[1], for the regulation of the hat manufactory, it was expreſsly declared, that the Acts of Elizabeth[2] and James[3], which prohibited a perſon from making hats, unleſs he had previouſly ſerved a ſeven years' apprenticeſhip, and limited the number of apprentices to be taken by a maſter hat-maker to two, had created a ſcarcity of journeymen; and enacted, that ſuch part of the 5th of Elizabeth, as extended to reſtrain any perſon from ſetting up the occupation of hat-maker, unleſs he had been brought up as an apprentice therein, ſhould be repealed[4]: And by the 18th of the preſent King, (c. 47.) "the hardſhips brought on "pariſh-apprentices by the length of their apprenticeſhip," were fully admitted; and it was enacted, that their ſervice ſhould continue for no longer term than till they ſhould have attained the age of twenty-one years.

Were Corporation Laws generally enforced with great rigour, they would be equally injurious to induſtry with the Statutes of Apprentice-

"pieces in the world, and the Parliament has given him £5000. towards finding out the lon-
"gitude by his watches or time-meaſurers; and ſhall this man be hindered from making
"watches, and exerciſing the trade of a carpenter alſo, if he pleaſes? *Per totam curiam*,
"There muſt be judgment for the defendant, and the *poſtea* muſt be delivered to him."

[1] 17 Geo. 3. c. 55. [2] 8 Eliz. c. 11. [3] 1 Jac. c. 1.

[4] 17 Geo. 3. c. 55. § 5. Some other parts of the Statute of Elizabeth, although unrepealed, may be conſidered as obſolete; particularly the clauſe which limits perſons, being houſholders, and *twenty-four years old* at the leaſt, &c. to take as apprentices, the children of any other *artificer not occupying huſbandry, nor being a labourer*; the directions concerning the *parent's eſtate*, &c. See 5 Eliz. c. 4. § 26, 27, 28, 29.; and Burn's Juſtice, title Apprentice, § 1.

ſhip. In few places, however, except in London, (whoſe peculiarly great, natural, and commercial advantages counterbalance their ill effects,) and in the univerſities, (where no one, who is not matriculated, as it is called, is allowed to carry on a trade within the precincts of academical police, probably with a view rather to promote good morals than commerce,) are perſons reſtricted from ſetting up their trades, merely becauſe their ſo doing might be prejudicial to Corporations. Perſons, likely to become chargeable, are perhaps as often removed from corporate towns, as from country pariſhes: but their removal is aſcribable to the Settlement code, and not to Corporation ſpirit. I am perſuaded that a ſhoemaker, who had not ſerved an apprenticeſhip, might exerciſe his induſtry at Briſtol or Liverpool, with as little hazard of being moleſted by the corporation of either place, as of being diſturbed by the borough-reve of Mancheſter, or the head-conſtable at Birmingham. Adam Smith, indeed, aſſerts, "that, in many large incorporated towns, "no tolerable workmen are to be found, even in ſome of the moſt ne-"ceſſary trades. If you would have your work tolerably executed," he ſays, "it muſt be done in the ſuburbs, where the workmen, having "no excluſive privilege, have nothing but their character to depend "on, and you muſt then *ſmuggle it into the town* as well as you can [1]." It is much to be regretted, that this great political writer did not produce any evidence of the truth of theſe aſſeverations. I confeſs I very much doubt whether there is a ſingle corporation in England, the exerciſe of whoſe rights does, at preſent, operate in this manner. The truth ſeems to be, that corporations are themſelves ſenſible that commerce no longer needs their protection; and that the exerciſe of their privilege, in driving an induſtrious ſtranger from the ſphere of their juriſdiction, would chiefly affect their own intereſts. In this inſtance, as in many others, the inſenſible progreſs of ſociety has reduced chartered rights, (which were formerly, no doubt, beneficially exerted, both for the advancement of commerce, and the protection of freedom,) to a ſtate of inactivity; and both private and national intereſts have ſuperſeded the neceſſity of having recourſe to antiquated cuſtoms. Were the conduct of corporations, in the exerciſe of their franchiſes, at all oppreſ-

[1] Wealth of Nations, 5th ed. i. 201.

ſive

ſive to the induſtry of individuals, facts would be brought forward, and we ſhould probably hear more of them, both in political publications, and in courts of juſtice: corporations, however, now ſeldom enter into litigation, except upon occaſions when their *elective* franchiſes are concerned.

Thoſe who are of opinion that the Legiſlature are unneceſſarily ſolicitous to provide, by means of apprenticeſhips, a due courſe of inſtruction for artiſans and manufacturers, may, perhaps, be likewiſe inclined to think, that Laws, which point out particular lines of induſtry to thoſe who have attained that age at which they are uſually deemed to be competent to the management of their own concerns, are ſtill more futile and injudicious. Such Laws, however, have, more or leſs, exiſted in all ages, and in all countries; and few writers have entered into the extenſive field of political ſpeculation, without recommending new inſtitutions, and ſuggeſting various plauſible expedients, for rendering the people induſtrious, orderly, and economical. It ſeems, moreover, very problematical, whether a Government ever attempted directly to regulate the courſe of induſtry, without producing conſiderable miſchief. The excellence of legiſlation may, perhaps, be but eſtimated according as it leaves the individual exertion more or leſs unſhackled. It is this exertion, (and not the ſuperintending power of the State, which is ſo often, unthinkingly, extolled, as the immediate creator of ſocial good, and as often unjuſtifiably condemned, as the immediate cauſe of ſocial evil,) which, by it's patient plodding labours, erects the edifice of national grandeur: it, however, works but by ſlow and imperceptible degrees; and, like the genial dew from heaven, which, drop by drop, invigorates and matures all vegetable nature, exhibits, at length, that happy order of ſociety, which is felt to be

> "—— not the haſty product of a day,
> "But the well-ripen'd fruit of wiſe delay."

Nor does it follow from this, that a Government is excluded from *active* duties. To prevent the ſtrong from oppreſſing the weak; to protect the acquiſitions of induſtry, and to check the progreſs of vice and immorality, by pointing out and encouraging the inſtruction of the riſing generation in the ſocial and religious duties; to maintain the

relations, which commerce has created with foreign countries, are duties which require that delegated authority ſhould be exerted by public force, and the vindicatory diſpenſations of pains and penalties.

Beyond this, all interference of the State in the conduct and purſuits of the Society ſeems of very doubtful advantage. The wants implanted in us by nature, and extended by civilization, are the preſiding principles which direct all human efforts to uſeful purpoſes. Man, in a ſtate of barbariſm [1], feels little more than his original craving for food, and, perhaps, for raiment. His labour, therefore, whilſt he remains in this condition, is proportioned to the difficulties which he encounters in ſatisfying his hunger, and in protecting his body from the inclemencies of the weather. But as ſoon as he acquires a taſte for thoſe conveniencies, which are not immediately neceſſary to the preſervation of the human frame, he is under the dominion of an imperious maſter, who will compel him to labour indefatigably for the attainment of new gratifications. It is not my buſineſs to enquire, whether the appetite for ſomething beyond a mere ſubſiſtence is, or is not, inherent in mankind; but it ſeems clear, that, in proportion to the extent of theſe deſires, we are more or leſs induſtrious. It is, however, very properly obſerved, by the ingenious author of "An Eſſay on the beſt means of providing employment for the People [2]," (publiſhed in Ireland about three years ago,) that, in order that any advantage may be derived from the deſire of enjoying the artificial neceſſaries of life, and the imitative propenſities of man, by making them the means of rendering him induſtrious, three circumſtances are materially requiſite. The example to be imitated muſt be pretty generally diffuſed among a people [3]. The object

[1] I do not ſay *in a ſtate of nature:* for, I believe, no one knows what that is. That many nations are, however, in that ſtate of barbariſm in which agriculture is unknown, every one will readily admit.

[2] By Samuel Crumpe, M. D.

[3] Thus, Dr. Crumpe remarks, that, "to perſuade all the inhabitants of a wretchedly-built "village to form more comfortable and commodious habitations, it is not ſufficient that one, "or a few of them, ſhould in that reſpect better their ſituation. Each of the remaining ma-"jority ſees that his neighbours contentedly inhabit their old huts. Why ſhould he not bear "the ſame inconveniencies? They countenance his indolence; he feels no diſcredit from "his ſituation; and the example, being partial, is nearly uſeleſs. To derive any advantage "from

object it "proposes, must be considerably above those already enjoyed; "and, to acquire it, although labour and industry should be necessary, "they should never be vain and ineffectual." I will venture to add, that, though labour is indispensible, it is, by no means, consonant to the physical, or moral, nature of man, that he should, like an ass in a mill, apply solely to bodily exertion, from week's end to week's end. Nor has the State any reason to complain, if he, who can earn enough

"from the ambition and imitative propensity of man, it is equally necessary that the im-"provement and object of imitation proposed shall not greatly exceed those he already en-"joys. Where the difference in this respect is very considerable, so strong is the aversion of "the human race to any violent and sudden alteration in the modes of life, that any attempt "at introducing such, seems rather to produce an opposite effect, and to confirm a people in "their original barbarity and misery. The free savages of America do not appear to have "made the smallest progress in civilization since the settlement of the Europeans among "them. Their improvement, in this respect, would have been much more considerable, had "they been left to themselves. Civilization and general association were commencing, as it "were, in two points, among them, in the kingdoms of Peru and Mexico. They would "probably have diverged from these centres in every direction; and as their improvements "and alterations must necessarily have been slight and gradual, they would have been more "easily and universally adopted, and in the end tended more to have meliorated their condition "than the arts, manners, and civilization of Europe, which, being considerably superior to any "they were acquainted with, have been generally viewed with neglect or aversion. From "similar principles, we may expect the same effects in New Holland. The plantation of "our colonies in that country, instead of civilizing its savage natives, may but confirm them "more strongly in their original barbarity."

I do not altogether agree with Dr. Crumpe in his reasons for the comparatively backward state of civilization in Peru and Mexico. The tardy progress of the South Americans in the social arts is, I conceive, not owing to their aversion to improvement, but to their aversion to their conquerors and oppressors. Besides this, they have nothing which they dare call their own, and consequently no motives to be industrious. Till Cortez and Pizarro dropped the mask, and treated them with every barbarity, the Mexicans and Peruvians shewed themselves disposed to adopt any thing that was recommended by the usage of persons to whom they looked up with veneration. At present, they might answer Mr. Crumpe in the words of Archimedes, "Give us a footing on the earth, and we will render it subservient to our purposes." The South Americans are, in general, (where they are near the Spanish settlements, and in the way of profiting by example,) forbidden the use of all tools and arms, but such as the Spaniards think proper to put into their hands; and even these they dare not use, but in the service of their masters. The high value which savages in every part of the world put upon a knife, nail, saw, ax, or any other article of convenience or use, or even of ornament, is a strong proof they are not only capable of instruction in the most useful arts of social life, but also of adopting it's elegancies and refinements. This has been exemplified in the civilization of the inhabitants of Paraguay.

in four days to maintain him for ſeven, chooſes to ſpend the remaining three in idleneſs and relaxation. The abuſe of liberty is no ſolid reaſon that it ſhould be annihilated. It may indeed be lamented, that a manufacturer, who receives high wages, ſhould, inſtead of ſpending his leiſure hours in ſocial and rational intercourſe with his family and friends, ſo often devotes a large portion of his earnings to intoxication and debauchery, to the manifeſt injury of his health and his morals: but it may be queſtioned, whether the undeviating and unremitting application to a few mechanical proceſſes, which an improved ſtate of manufacture uſually requires, is not the cauſe of the propenſity, ſo commonly remarked in this claſs of people, to carry the indulgencies of neceſſary relaxation to a faulty exceſs? and, (if I might be allowed to hazard a conjecture on a very important point, which cannot be properly elucidated without a full inveſtigation of facts, that I am not in poſſeſſion of,) whether the minute diviſion of labour is not, in ſome degree, ſubverſive of domeſtic intercourſe and comfort? If we compare an agricultural life with the condition of manufacturers, the ſuperiority, in this reſpect, will, I am perſuaded, be found to be on the ſide of the former. In domeſtic comfort, in the endearments of family union, in certainty of work, and conſequent independence, the labourer, who is engaged in the varied operations of huſbandry, has no reaſon to regret that fortune has not placed him at the loom, or the anvil. Viewed in a political light, the preeminence of the original deſtination of mankind over manufactures is ſtill more apparent. It facilitates marriage, the happieſt lot of human life: it is moſt favourable to health, to morals, and to religion [1].

It

[1] That an agricultural life is alſo the moſt favourable to the expanſion of the intellectual faculties of mankind, is the opinion of Adam Smith. He ſays: "Not only the art of the "farmer, the general direction of huſbandry, but many inferior branches of country labour, "require much more ſkill and experience than the greater part of mechanic trades. The "man who works upon braſs and iron, works upon materials whoſe temper is always the "ſame, or very nearly the ſame. But the man who ploughs the ground with a team of horſes "or oxen, works with inſtruments, of which the health, ſtrength, and temper, are very different "upon different occaſions. The condition of the materials which he works upon, too, is as "variable as that of the inſtruments with which he works; and both require to be managed "with much judgment and diſcretion. The common ploughman, though generally regarded as the pattern of ignorance and ſtupidity, is ſeldom defective in judgment and diſcretion.

"He

It is, however, by no means intended to aſſert, that manufactures are either unneceſſary, or prejudicial, to a country. I do not enter into the arduous diſcuſſion of the beſt mode of introducing or carrying them on; but there can be little reaſon to doubt, that the national proſperity of Great Britain is in a great meaſure owing to their unexampled extenſion and excellency [1]. The principal improvements which have taken

" He is leſs accuſtomed, indeed, to ſocial intercourſe, than the mechanic, who lives in a town. " His voice and language are more uncouth, and more difficult to be underſtood by thoſe " who are not uſed to them. His underſtanding, however, being accuſtomed to conſider a " greater variety of objects, is generally much ſuperior to that of the other, whoſe whole " attention, from morning till night, is commonly occupied in performing one or two very " ſimple operations. How much the lower claſs of people are really ſuperior to thoſe of the " town, is well known to every man whom either buſineſs or curioſity has led to converſe " much with both." (Wealth of Nations, 5th edit. 1. 197.)—Theſe remarks appear to me to be well founded: but I have heard perſons, of great obſervation, expreſs their doubts, whether, although tillers of the ground may be more moral men, and more orderly ſubjects, than manufacturers, they in general have better underſtandings; and it muſt be confeſſed, that there are ſome facts on their ſide, which ſeem to warrant the concluſion, that the cauſes, as well of the diverſities, as of the ſameneſs of character, of the different claſſes, are to be ſought for, not ſo much in the different natures of their reſpective employments, as in ſome adventitious circumſtances.

[1] " Objections of a moral nature are ſometimes urged againſt the introduction of ma- " chines, by which human labour is conſiderably ſhortened. Great numbers of men and " women, it is ſaid, are thus thrown out of employment: they are diſmiſſed almoſt without " any warning, or, at leaſt, without a warning ſufficient to afford ſuch of them, as are qualified " to undertake another occupation, an opportunity of providing one. But moſt of them, it is " added, even if they had much longer notice, would be unable to avail themſelves of that " reſource: from their ſex, their age, or their habits of life, they are incapable of commen- " cing a new line of buſineſs; and even if they are capable, other trades are full, and will not " receive them. Thus, multitudes of honeſt and induſtrious Poor are deprived of the poſſi- " bility of procuring a livelihood for themſelves and their families; they pine in miſery, in " ſickneſs, and in want; and, driven at length to repel famine and nakedneſs by violence " and plunder, from being the ſupports, become the peſts, of ſociety. That theſe objec- " tions, which compaſſion has ſuggeſted, on the ſight of incidental diſtreſs, are to be diſ- " regarded, is by no means to be affirmed. But they are puſhed to an unreaſonable length, " when they are urged as generally concluſive againſt the admiſſion of new machines, by " which labour is greatly diminiſhed. How has mankind been enabled to emerge from a " ſtate of barbariſm to civilization; to exchange dens and caves, for comfortable houſes; " coverings of raw ſkins, for clean and convenient cloaths; acorns and wild fruits, for ſalu- " brious food; unlettered ignorance, for books and knowledge; but by the progreſſive intro-

taken place in ſocial enjoyment, in this country, ſeem aſcribable to the introduction of machines for facilitating labour. With regard, however, to mechanical knowledge, it is probable that we are ſtill in our infancy: and, when it is conſidered, that, fifty years ago, many inventions for abridging the operations of induſtry, which are now in common uſe, were utterly unknown; it is not abſurd to conjecture that, fifty years hence, ſome new contrivances may be thought of, in compariſon with which, the ſteam-engine, and ſpinning-jennies, (however wonderful they appear to us, at preſent,) will be conſidered as ſlight and inſignificant diſcoveries [1].

" duction and the rapid improvements of machinery? And are we prepared to ſay, that hu-
" man life has attained to it's higheſt degree of refinement? Or that the means which have
" brought it to it's preſent ſtate, ought not to be permitted to carry it further? Or that,
" while every nation around us is advancing in improvement, Great Britain alone is to ſtand
" ſtill? Thoſe ſimple machines and implements, without which we now ſhould be at a loſs
" how to ſubſiſt, were new in their day: and, in many inſtances, the invention of them un-
" doubtedly diminiſhed, perhaps annihilated, the demand for that ſpecies of labour which
" was before in great requeſt. The boat-maker of early times, who firſt undermined the
" tree, and then formed it into ſhape, by ſcraping it with oyſter-ſhells, and hollowing it with
" fire, had probably to lament the loſs of employment, when a competitor arrived from a
" diſtance, armed with the recently-diſcovered hatchet, and able to complete more canoes in
" a month, than the other could in a year. The makers of hand-barrows and ſcuttles
" would perceive the demand for their craft materially leſſened, when a more commodious
" method of carriage took place on the introduction of carts. The fabricators of hand-mills
" found their work ſpeedily fall into diſuſe, on the erection of machines for grinding corn by
" means of wind and water. In what ſituation would the world now be, had theſe inven-
" tions been ſucceſſively proſcribed, out of favour to the old workmen?" Giſbourne's Duties, 3d ed. ii. 367.

[1] The ingenious Author of the Purſuits of Literature, 3d part, p. 28, ridicules Mr. Godwin's idea, that " the moſt extenſive operations may" hereafter, " be within the reach of " *one* man;" and " a plough be turned into a field, and perform it's office, without the " need of ſuperintendance." Juſtice, 8vo. ed. ii. 494. And, I confeſs, it appears to me very improbable, though it is, perhaps, far from impoſſible, that ſuch an event ſhould take place. Agricultural machinery has, of all others, received the leaſt improvement. It is, in many reſpects, the ſame that it was two thouſand years ago; and the plough, in many parts of England, differs but little from the deſcription we have of the Roman plough. Within late years, however, many ingenious contrivances have been ſucceſsfully applied, to expedite the labours of huſbandry: winnowing and threſhing-machines have been found to be of great utility, and are receiving continual improvements. Nor is there any reaſon why we ſhould deſpair of the arts reaching ſuch a degree of perfection, as to ſupply us with cloathing, without the manual aid of the comber, the ſpinner, or the weaver.

The

The Dutch, who erected a ſtatue to the man who taught them to cure herrings, acted upon juſt principles: he who opens a new channel of commerce, and diſcovers a new means of ſubſiſtence, merits no leſs eſtimation than the philoſophers, and defenders of their country. The inventor of a machine appears to me to rank equally among the benefactors of mankind: he ſupplies ſociety with additional hands, (for machinery is nothing more,) and, conſequently, provides additional means of raiſing ſubſiſtence. I have often thought, that a rude country, in which the operations of induſtry are carried on by mere manual labour, reſembles the many-headed monſter of the Heathen mythology. A ſociety, thus circumſtanced, although all may be obliged to work, yet, from the ſcantineſs of the produce of their labour, may be ſaid to be an *Hydra*, with more mouths than hands. In the modern improved ſtate of manufactures and commerce [1], produced chiefly by machinery, ſociety is a *Briareus:* it has more hands, than mouths. Under ſuch circumſtances, although the wants of the people are more numerous than they would be in a rude ſtate of ſociety, a leſs quantity of manual labour is requiſite to ſupply them: a part only labours, to provide, both neceſſaries, and the long catalogue of ſocial conveniencies, for the whole; whereas, among the barbarous tribes of hunters, of ſhepherds, and even of huſbandmen, (in that ſtate of huſbandry which precedes the

[1] I have, in various parts of this Work, ſlightly touched on the advantages which a country derives from manufactures. The benefits of commercial induſtry are well illuſtrated in the following picture, (by an author, whoſe powers of deſcription, and pathos, are unrivalled,) of the (once) flouriſhing condition of Holland.

" Il eſt inconcevable quel parti ils ont tiré d'une infinité de productions que nous laiſſons " perdre, et de leur pays ſablonneux, marécageux, et naturellement pauvre et ingrat. Je " n'en ai point vu où il y ait une ſi grande abondance de toutes choſes. Ils n'ont point de " vignes, et il y a plus de vins dans leurs caves que dans celles de Bordeaux; ils n'ont point " de forêts, et il y a plus de bois de conſtruction dans leurs chantiers qu'il n'y en a aux " ſources de la Meuſe et du Rhin, d'ou ils tirent leurs chênes; ils ont fort peu de terres la- " bourées, et il y a plus de bleds de la Pologne dans leurs greniers, que ce royaume n'en " reſerve pour la nourriture de ſes habitans. Il en eſt de même des choſes de luxe; car " quoiqu'ils ſoient fort ſimplement vêtus et logés, il y a peut-être plus de marbre à vendre " dans leurs magaſins, qu'il n'y en a de taillé dans les carrieres de l'Italie et de l'Archipel; " plus de diamans et de perles dans leurs caſſettes, que dans celles des bijoutiers du Portu- " gal; et plus de bois de roſe, d'Acajou, de Sandal, et de Cannes d'Inde, qu'il n'y en a " dans tout le reſte de l'Europe, quoique leur pays ne produit que des ſaules et des tilleuls."

Etudes de la Nature, par Bernardin de St. Pierre ed. Lond. 1796. ii. 91.

improvement of manufactures, and the extenſion of foreign commerce,) the varied occupations, which every man muſt follow, oblige him to make a daily uſe both of his ſtrength and ingenuity. He has not only his food to provide, (a taſk which alone is ſometimes not to be achieved, without a conteſt with his neighbours,) but he is almoſt daily called upon to exerciſe the functions both of warrior and legiſlator [1]. In ſuch communities, the aged, who have not a ſufficient uſe of their limbs to maintain themſelves, are generally conſidered as uſeleſs lumber: nor is it uncommon for their vigorous deſcendants to accelerate their removal from a ſituation in which they can ſo little ſhift for themſelves. Inſtances too might be mentioned, of barbarous tribes leaving their children to periſh: this, however, is not ſo common. As every perſon, therefore, of mature age, thinks for himſelf, and acts for himſelf, in order to ſubſiſt, it ſeems clear, that more manual, though leſs productive, labour, is performed in ſavage, than in civilized, ſociety; and that the ſum of bodily exertion is leſs, but the acquiſitions are greater, in the latter, than in the former; or, in other words, that the improvements of ſociety afford more frequent opportunities for idleneſs and relaxation [2]. Any ſyſtem of employment, therefore, that dooms a man to perpetual labour, (for that may fairly be called perpetual, which admits only of the intervals requiſite for ſleep and meal-times,) ſubjects him to the evils of the ſavage ſtate. When the deſire, however, of the artificial conveniencies and enjoyments of life are once introduced into a ſociety, then ſeems to be a greater danger of a man's overworking himſelf, than of his remaining idle, unleſs he has ſome other fund than his own induſtry to look to. It is juſtly remarked,

[1] Smith's Wealth of Nations, 5th ed. iii. 183.

[2] This is not intended as the panegyric of idleneſs: a perſon who does nothing cannot enjoy the gratifications of repoſe. To be taſted, it requires the exertion of a certain degree of previous labour, either mental or manual. Neither is relaxation neceſſarily an abſtinence from work. Mr. Locke tells us, that "*Recreation is not being idle, but eaſing the wearied part, "by change of buſineſs.*" Every man of buſineſs, I am perſuaded, muſt have experienced the truth of this definition. The cottager, who, after finiſhing his day's work for his employer, allots his evening to the cultivation of his garden; the merchant, who, after calculating *tare* and *tret* at his counting-houſe, ſpends a leiſure hour in the no leſs abſtruſe calculations which many amuſements require; and even the Stateſman, who ſteals from the Treaſury to his Sabine farm, and engages with as much warmth in the cultivation of a turnip-field, as in the aggrandiſement of an empire, will ſenſibly feel the true enjoyments of recreation.

that

that "maſters have rather occaſion to moderate, than to animate, the "application of their workmen [1]." Very different, however, has been the opinion of the Legiſlature in ancient times. The old laws for "the eſchewing of idleneſs," and "ſetting the Poor on work," were framed upon this miſtaken principle, that, with the incitements of civilization before them, the people muſt be compelled to follow their own intereſt. Whatever may have been the benevolent views of the Legiſlature in paſſing theſe Acts, it is aſtoniſhing that we find ſo few (if any) traces in the Statute-book, of an attention to another no leſs eſſential condition of human exiſtence, repoſe and recreation. If to labour is the call of nature, it is not leſs ſo to be relieved from labour "by ſome indulgence, ſometimes of eaſe only, but ſometimes of diſſi-"pation and diverſion [2]."

If theſe remarks are well founded, will it not follow, that the duty of the Legiſlature, while it leaves induſtry unconſtrained, is at the ſame time to permit the labouring claſſes to ſpend thoſe hours, (which both religion and policy have exempted from work, that is to ſay, Sabbaths and Feſtivals,) in ſuch amuſements as they think proper, provided they are not inconſiſtent with piety and morality? The gloomy enthuſiaſm and auſtere ſeverity of the Independents and Puritans of the laſt century, which prohibited the innocent recreations of the people, as heatheniſh and unchriſtian, are now very generally reprobated. The rigid gravity of thoſe very Puritans, it is well known, did not render them leſs vicious than their neighbours: they were equally ſubject to the infirmities of nature; but their vices bore a different complexion [3]. To uſe an expreſſion of Mr. Burke's, "by hating vices too much, they "came to love men too little." Cromwell's fanatical prieſthood (as Mr. Pennant obſerves,) could endure, for it's own ends, the vices of the Great; yet, at the ſame time, be outrageous againſt the innocent pleaſures of the Multitude [4]. An addition to a tax has often been

[1] Wealth of Nations, 5th ed. i. 125.

[2] Ibid.

[3] "Your friends, the Cavaliers," ſaid a Parliamentarian to a Royaliſt, "are very diſſolute "and debauched." "Yes," replied the Royaliſt, "they have the infirmities of men; but "your friends, the Roundheads, have the vices of devils." Hume, 1ſt ed. vi. 117.

[4] Pennant's Tour in Scotland, ed. 1776. ii. 33.

known to produce a defalcation in the revenue: and ſevere penances and mortifications are, in the ſame manner, it is probable, rather adverſe, than favourable, to ſocial order, morality, and religion. Our laws, againſt profaneneſs and immorality, have, no doubt, very properly prohibited many cruel, (if not otherwiſe improper,) diverſions on the Sabbath-day; but they have not pointed out any other means of relaxation during thoſe hours, which, (whatever might be the wiſh of the friends of religion,) are not likely ever to be ſpent, altogether, either in public worſhip, or in private meditation. Out of mere ſpite to the Book of Sports, after factiouſly and fooliſhly ſtigmatiſing the relaxations it allowed, as Popiſh, only becauſe they were alſo allowed, and ſtill are, in moſt Popiſh countries, though, on the ſame grounds, they might alſo have reprobated eating and drinking; an Act was paſſed in the beginning of Charles the Firſt's reign, for putting down all ſports and paſtimes whatever on the Lord's-day [1]. Whether, however, this Act has been conducive to a more religious obſervance of the Sabbath, may be much doubted. The only difference between the beginning of the laſt, and the concluſion of the preſent, century, in this reſpect, ſeems to be, that, in the former, the people attended bear-baitings, bull-baitings, and cock-matches: at preſent, they ſpend their Sunday evenings at ſkittle-grounds and ale-houſes. Piety and morality ſeem to have gained little; though, perhaps, the revenue may have gained conſiderably, by the change. It is worthy, too, of obſervation, that this day, of all others in the week, is, in London, the moſt productive of diſorder and riot. On a Sunday night, the ſtreets of the metropolis are infeſted with drunken men: on a Monday morning, the cages and watch-houſes, in the circumjacent villages, are fully tenanted. To reaſon from the practice of other countries, not leſs religious, orderly, and induſtrious, than ourſelves, I ſhould imagine, that many recreations, whoſe end and aim are "to raiſe the genius, and to mend the "heart," might, without offence to morality, or without derogating from the neceſſity of religious duty, after divine ſervice had been duly attended, be tolerated on a Sunday. This is, however, a ſubject of deep and weighty conſideration; befitting more perſuaſive pens, and more

[1] See 1 Car. c. 1.

expe-

experienced heads: and when I now and then point out ſuch and ſuch a matter, as not unworthy of the public attention, it is with that diffidence becoming a young writer, who is hardly more deſirous to be uſeful, than he is averſe to any thing like being dictatorial.

It is one, and not the leaſt, of the miſtaken principles on which a national proviſion for the relief of the indigent claſſes of the community is ſupported, that every individual of the community has not only a claim, but a right, founded on the very eſſence and conſtitution of human ſociety, to the active and direct interference of the Legiſlature, to ſupply him with employment while able to work, and with a maintenance when incapacitated from labour. It may, however, be doubted, whether any right, the gratification of which ſeems to be impracticable, can be ſaid to exiſt. The Author of the Reflections on the Revolution in France, juſtly remarks, that men in civil ſociety "have a right "to the fruits of their induſtry, and to the means of making their induſ- "try fruitful. They have a right to the acquiſitions of their parents, "to the nouriſhment and improvement of their offspring, to inſtruc- "tion in life, and to conſolation in death. Whatever each man can "ſeparately do, without treſpaſſing upon others, he has a right to do for "himſelf; and he has a right to a fair portion of all which ſociety, "with all its combinations, of ſkill and force, can do in his favour. "In this partnerſhip all men have equal rights; but not to equal things. "He that has but five ſhillings in the partnerſhip, has as good a right to "it, as he that has five hundred pounds has to his larger proportion [1]." Theſe rights, however, are perfectly congenial with the active principle, (the deſire of bettering our condition,) which more or leſs animates mankind in every ſtate of ſociety. Far from damping or repreſſing it, they offer it the ſtrongeſt encouragements. It needs no argument to prove, that the ground is more likely to be cultivated, than it would be, if conſidered as the property of the firſt occupant, provided the farmer is permitted to reap the corn, which he has ſown, and to carry it to market. So, (to uſe the words of the Commentator on the Laws of England,) "the tranſmiſſion of one's poſſeſſions to poſterity, has an evi- "dent tendency to make a man a good citizen, and a uſeful member of

[1] Reflections, 11th ed. 87.

" ſociety: it ſets the paſſions on the ſide of duty, and prompts a man to " deſerve well of the public, when he is ſure that the reward of his " ſervices will not die with himſelf, but be tranſmitted to thoſe with " whom he is connected by the deareſt and moſt tender affections[1]."

But a legal proviſion for the Poor, on the contrary, (it ſeems to me,) checks that emulative ſpirit of exertion, which the want of the neceſſaries, or the no leſs powerful demand for the ſuperfluities, of life, gives birth to: for it aſſures a man, that, whether he may have been indolent, improvident, prodigal, or vicious, he ſhall never ſuffer want: it weakens the ſtrongeſt tie of civil ſociety; the deſire of acquiring property; for it declares, that, whether a man is induſtrious or idle, his moſt preſſing difficulties, the neceſſity of food, lodging, and cloathing, ſhall be provided for. It muſt be confeſſed, that many able writers, who have inveſtigated this ſubject, are of a very different opinion. Mr. Howlett, more eſpecially, in his " Inveſtigation of Mr. Pitt's Speech," publiſhed a few months ago, denies that the Poor Laws have any tendency to deſtroy the motives to economy and diligence among the labouring claſſes. " Certainty of parochial aſſiſtance," (he ſays,) " whatever may " happen, and whether a man be virtuous or vicious, induſtrious or lazy, " it often has been ſaid, removes all concern, and all anxiety, about his " future ſubſiſtence; makes him careleſs of his conduct, indifferent whe- " ther he work or play; agreeably to the famous old ſong, with which " we are informed our Poor Laws were inſulted, ſoon after their firſt " inſtitution:

" Hang ſorrow! and caſt away care!
" The pariſh is bound to find us."

He adds, " however this may pleaſe the ſot in his cups, no man in " his ſober ſenſes ever adopts ſuch reaſoning. The promiſe of the Poor " Laws, at moſt, can only remove the horror of periſhing by famine, " and ſomewhat to alleviate the ſorrows of ſickneſs, and the pangs of " diſeaſe. To do this, is ſurely generous, humane, and benevolent. " But how does it incite to idleneſs and vice? If I do not work, the " pariſh will compel me. Is this more pleaſing than to do it of my

[1] Blackſt. Comm. ii. 11.

" own

" own accord? Is it more agreeable to work under the ſcourge of the
". taſk-maſters, than voluntarily to exert my utmoſt endeavours to provide
" for myſelf and family, and increaſe the joys and the pleaſures of my
" neareſt and deareſt connection? Shall I be vicious and profligate, be-
" cauſe I know, that, after a long courſe of contempt and infamy, of
" rags and wretchedneſs, of infirmity, ſickneſs, and diſeaſe, the pariſh
" will provide me a doctor to protract the wretched remains of life?
" Never did the profligate reaſon thus; never, generally ſpeaking, is
" he governed by ſuch diſtant views. Hurried on by the impulſe of
" paſſion and the cravings of appetite, he hears not the ſuggeſtions of
" reaſon, but is plunged in the gulph of perdition, before he knows where
" he is, or whither he is going; before the proviſion of the Poor Laws,
" or any thing of the kind, enter his head[1]." Theſe obſervations would be as correct and applicable, as they are pathetic and well expreſſed, were it the fact, that the Poor Laws did no more than (" after a long courſe of contempt and infamy," &c.) ſupply the profligate and abandoned with " a doctor to protract the wretched remains of life." The real caſe, however, is, that, in every part of England, (I had almoſt ſaid every pariſh,) inſtances may be found of perſons preferring a penſion from the pariſh, and a life of idleneſs, to hard work and good wages. I could even particularize inſtances of ſtout able-bodied men having been deſirous of obtaining, and of their having actually obtained, admiſſion into poor-houſes, and reſided there very contentedly; although, I believe, that the Poor in general are not yet ſo familiarized to this mode of relief as to prefer it to a more ſcanty pariſh allowance at home. They continue to reaſon as people did of old: " better is the life of a poor man in a mean cottage, than delicate fare in another man's houſe[2]." The terror, however, which poor-houſes and work-houſes create, operates more in preventing grown perſons from entering them themſelves, than from conſigning the younger part of their family thither. Of the conſiderable proportion of children, (more eſpecially of baſtards,) with which pariſhes are burthened, the Reader will find many inſtances in the Second Volume of this Work. It is, perhaps, not an unnatural courſe for a mother to abandon her child to the pariſh-officers, who, ſhe is aſſured, will provide

[1] Examination of Mr. Pitt's Speech, 6. [2] Eccleſiaſticus, ch. xxix. ver. 22.

for it, (for ſome years at leaſt,) better than ſhe poſſibly could[1]; more particularly, when that child is the fruit of an illicit connexion, and when, by leaving it at the work-houſe, ſhe can often ſcreen her character from detection. Conſidered in this point of view, the Poor Laws may be ſaid to offer an encouragement to debauchery.

That any permanent eſtabliſhment for the relief of the Poor has a tendency to increaſe the number of thoſe wanting relief, and that a premium never operates with greater effect than when it is given for the encouragement of idleneſs, might, I think, be moſt ſatisfactorily proved from the example of places where there are ample donations diſtributed annually in aid of the Poor's Rate. Lord Kames[2] gives two or three ſtriking inſtances of the deſtructive effects of eſtabliſhments of this nature. He ſays, "A London alderman, named Harper, who was co-
"temporary with James the Firſt, or his ſon Charles, bequeathed ten
"or twelve acres of meadow ground in the pariſh of St. Andrews,
"Holborn, London, for the benefit of the Poor in the town of Bedford.
"This ground has long been covered with houſes, which yield from
"£4000. to £5000. yearly[3]. That ſum is laid out upon charity-
"ſchools, upon defraying the expence of apprenticeſhips, and upon
"ſtock to young perſons when they marry; an encouragement that
"attracts to the town of Bedford great numbers of the lower claſſes.
"So far well: but mark the conſequence. That encouragement relaxes
"the induſtry of many, and adds greatly to the number of the Poor.
"Hence it is, that, in few places of England, does the Poor's Rate
"amount ſo high as in the town of Bedford. An extenſive common in the
"pariſh of Chaily, Suſſex, is the chief cauſe of an extravagant aſſeſſment
"for the Poor, no leſs than nine ſhillings in the pound of rack-rent.
"Give a poor man acceſs to a common for feeding two or three cows,

[1] Many of the pariſhes in Weſtminſter allow 3s. or 3s. 6d. a week for the children which they ſend to be nurſed in the country. Mary-le-bone pariſh, (I believe,) now allows 3s. 10d. a week for children under two years old; or £7. 19s. 4d. a year. What poor woman can expend ſuch a ſum in the maintenance of her child? It is probable, that every baſtard ſupported at the charge of the pariſh by this heavy tax on induſtry, the Poor's Rate, coſts double the ſum which a labourer, who has a family of four or five children, can afford to expend, or, in fact, does expend, on any of his children.

[2] Sketches, ed. 1788. iii. 77. [3] This charity eſtate, I am informed, has doubled its value within the laſt twenty years, and now produces 10 or 12,000£. a year.

"you

" you make him idle, by a dependence upon what he does not labour " for. The town of Largo in Fife has a ſmall hoſpital, erected, many " years ago, by a gentleman of the name of Wood, and confined by him " to the Poor of his name. That name being rare in the neighbour- " hood, acceſs to the hoſpital is eaſy. One man in particular is enter- " tained there, whoſe father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, en- " joy'd ſucceſſively the ſame benefit; every one of whom probably " would have been uſeful members of ſociety, but for that temptation " to idleneſs."

With reſpect to the principal argument adduced in favour of a Poor's Rate, that it impoſes a tax proportioned to the means of the individual who is to pay it, and obliges the ſordid and ſelfiſh, as well as the liberal and benevolent, to contribute towards the relief of the indigent claſſes of the community according to their abilities, it is clear, that this end, however laudable, is very imperfectly anſwered. It is true that the tax in England for the maintenance of the Poor ſeems to have been originally intended to affect perſonal property in the ſame proportion as land: and accordingly, in ſeveral caſes, the Courts of Juſtice have decided, that tithes, tolls, profits of a navigation, and many other ſpecies of property, ariſing within the pariſh where the Rate is made, are rateable, whenever their amount can be aſcertained. The general queſtion, however, whether *all* ſtock in trade be or be not rateable to the Poor, does not ſeem to be yet fully ſettled[1]; but I apprehend, that, in all caſes, in which it appeared that it had been *uſual* to rate viſible ſtock in trade to the Poor, the Courts would confirm ſuch practice: and perhaps they would

[1] It is probable, the Legiſlature, when they paſſed the 10 Ann. c. 6. for erecting a work-houſe and employing the Poor in the city of Norwich, were of opinion, that the general law of Elizabeth meant to make the ſtock of tradeſmen rateable to the Poor; and, to obviate any doubt reſpecting this matter, empowered the guardians not only to rate occupiers of lands, houſes, tenements, tithes, &c. (as in the 43 Eliz.) but alſo *all perſons having and uſing ſtocks and perſonal eſtates* within the precincts of the city. The King againſt Hardy, Eaſter, 17 Geo. 3. Cowp. 579. The practice reſpecting the rating of ſtock in trade and other perſonal property is very various. In London, ſtock in trade is rated: in Weſtminſter, I believe, neither ſtock in trade nor perſonal property are rated. In Mancheſter, ſome kinds of perſonal property were aſſeſſed, till very lately; but ſtock in trade is not rated. The aſſeſſment, there, in 1794, on houſes and land, produced £10,931. 0s. 9d.; and on perſonalty, £728. 17s. In a ſecond Rate, however, levied that year, perſonalty was not attempted to be collected. See the Second Volume of this Work, p. 343.

now have no heſitation in determining the general queſtion, that ſtock in trade, when it's value can be aſcertained, was rateable to the Poor. It ſeems, however, that perſonal property is not to be rated at random, and the party rated to be left to get off as he can: the officer making the Rate muſt be able to ſupport what he has done by evidence: and no perſonal property can be rated, but the clear liquidated ſurplus, after the payment of all outſtanding debts. In a late caſe, there was a difference in opinion among the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, whether money could be rated[r]. It was decided in the negative.

[r] See the caſe of the King againſt White and others, Trinity Term, 32 Geo. 3. 4 Term Rep. 771. In this caſe it appeared on the Rate appealed againſt, that it was a Rate of 1d. in the pound on all lands, and 3d. for every £100. of perſonalty. It was proved, that it was uſual in the pariſh, (in which the Rate was made,) to rate the inhabitants towards the relief of the Poor, for their perſonal property within the pariſh, in the following proportion, viz. on a calculation that every £100. of which any inhabitant was poſſeſſed, did or might produce intereſt to the amount of £3. per annum, ſuch intereſt of 3 per cent. per annum being conſidered as a teſt of the ability of ſuch perſon; and ſuch perſon was charged the ſum of 1d. for each pound of ſuch ſuppoſed intereſt. According to this proportion, a widow was aſſeſſed for her perſonal property within the pariſh, which conſiſted of £1000. of principal money. On this caſe Lord Kenyon delivered his opinion, that ſhe was rateable for this £1000. in ſpecie, becauſe it was ſtated to be property within the pariſh, and might be productive, if the owner choſe. Buller J. thought that the reaſon for which it was admitted that houſhold furniture was not rateable, (namely, that it did not produce any profit,) was applicable to this money, which was ſtated to be in hard caſh; and that it muſt be taken, upon this ſtate of the caſe, that it did not produce profit. He alſo thought, that money was not rateable under the Act of Elizabeth; and that the Legiſlature could never intend that any enquiry ſhould be made as to every guinea which a man might have in his pocket. Groſe J. was of the ſame opinion. Lord Kenyon then ſaid, that he thought there was great weight in the reaſons urged by his brethren againſt rating money; that he had himſelf expreſſed great doubts of his own opinion; and that he was therefore glad that that part of the Rate would be quaſhed by the opinion of the Court. From the Report, however, of a ſubſequent caſe (the King againſt Maſt, Hilary Term, 1795, 6 Term Rep. 156.) in which the chief point before the Court was, whether the occupier of an houſe, or of an eſtate, ſhould be rated for it's full value, with all it's improvements by the preſent poſſeſſor, or only according to the price which he paid for it, without taking into the account the value of his improvements; it appears, that his Lordſhip thought, that if a perſon choſe to keep his eſtate in money, and the fact of his poſſeſſing it was clearly proved, he was rateable for it. The other Judges delivered no opinion on this point; but, after the caſe before them was determined, it was ſuggeſted, that, as the Court had not expreſſed any opinion reſpecting the ſtock in trade of the inhabitants, the pariſh-officers in making, and the Juſtices at the Seſſions in determining upon, another Rate, would not conſider that ſpecies of property as rateable. Lord Kenyon, upon this, deſired that it might not be underſtood that there was any doubt about that part of the caſe; for that unqueſtionably ſtock in trade, when it's value could be aſcertained, was rateable to the Poor.

Ships, however, are rateable in the pariſh, which may be conſidered as their home under the Regiſter Act[1].

It is certainly equitable that perſonal property, as well as land, ſhould contribute towards the ſupport of the Poor: but if all ſtock in trade, (which falls within this deſcription,) ſhould ever be attempted to be rated, I am perſuaded, ſuch a practice would be productive of great inconvenience and oppreſſion. The only merit of the tax (and that of a very negative nature) is, that, like the land-tax, it is manifeſtly and unavoidably unequal. Indeed I do not conceive it poſſible to rate the viſible ſtock of a tradeſman or artificer. What is to be conſidered as viſible ſtock? "Some artificers have a conſiderable ſtock in trade; ſome have "only a little; others none at all. Shall the tools of a carpenter be "called his ſtock in trade, and, as ſuch, be rated? A tailor has no ſtock "in trade; a butcher has none; a ſhoemaker has a great deal. Shall "the tailor, whoſe profit is conſiderably greater than that of the ſhoe-"maker, be untaxed, and the ſhoemaker taxed[2]?"

When we inveſtigate the operation of the Poor's Rate as a tax on landed property, it would ſeem to be no leſs inequitable and unequal. It is juſtly remarked, that although, in landed pariſhes, it is laid on the proprietor, and the tenant in proportion to the rent, yet it often happens that a great land-holder is but a very poor man. "Sometimes his pro-"perty is mortgaged to the half, or nearly the whole, extent of it's value; "yet he muſt pay the Poor's Rate, to the whole amount of his poſſeſſion. "At the ſame time, the men of monied pro[redacted] who are, perhaps, "the richeſt in the nation, and beſt able to [redacted]a tax, pay little or "nothing in proportion to their wealth. Though they are the real "proprietors, and draw the rent of a great part of the land in the coun-"try, yet they receive their full yearly intereſts, without any deduction, "or hazard of loſs[3]."

Mr.

[1] 26 Geo. 3. c. 60. [2] See Lord Mansfield's Speech in the caſe of the King and Ringwood, Trinity Term, 15 Geo. 3. Cowp. 326.

[3] M'Farlan's Inquiries concerning the Poor, 195. Unjuſt, however, as it may ſeem to be, that the owners of perſonal property ſhould, in a great meaſure, be exempted from the burthen of a Poor's Rate, the following remarks of Adam Smith ſufficiently demonſtrate, that a Rate can never affect them in an equal proportion with land-holders.

"The intereſt of money," he ſays, "ſeems at firſt ſight a ſubject equally capable of being "taxed

Mr. M'Farlan adds, that, "in cities or boroughs, the tax is, perhaps, "more equal. It is generally laid on in proportion to the rent of "the houſe poſſeſſed. It is ſuppoſed that every man buys, or rents, a "houſe adequate to his income. If he goes beyond what belongs to "him, it may be ſaid he ought to pay for his vanity. This rule of tax- "ation is very ſpecious; but it is ſtill far from being equal. A gentle- "man of a certain ſtation in life is obliged to live in a houſe ſuitable to "that rank, which he is, in ſome meaſure, obliged to ſupport in the "world. He might be accuſed of meanneſs, if he inhabited one lower "rented; yet his houſe may often exceed the proportion of his free "income. Independent of his rank, a large family may oblige him to "take

"taxed directly as the rent of land. Like the rent of land, it is a neat produce, which re- "mains, after completely compenſating the whole riſk and trouble of employing the ſtock. "As a tax upon the rent of land cannot raiſe rents; becauſe the neat produce that remains "after replacing the ſtock of the farmer, together with his reaſonable profit, cannot be "greater after the tax than before it: ſo, for the ſame reaſon, a tax upon the intereſt of "money could not raiſe the rate of intereſt; the quantity of ſtock, or money, in the country, "being, like the quantity of land, ſuppoſed to remain the ſame after the tax as before it. The "ordinary rate of profit is every where regulated by the quantity of ſtock to be employed, in "proportion to the quantity of the employment, or of the buſineſs which muſt be done by it. "But the quantity of the employment, or of the buſineſs to be done by ſtock, could neither be "increaſed nor diminiſhed by any tax upon the intereſt of money. If the quantity of the "ſtock to be employed, therefore, was neither increaſed nor diminiſhed by it, the ordinary "rate of profit would neceſſarily remain the ſame. But the portion of this profit neceſſary "for compenſating the riſk and trouble of the employer, would likewiſe remain the ſame; "that riſk and trouble being in no reſpect altered. The reſidue, therefore, that portion "which belongs to the owner of the ſtock, and which pays the intereſt of the money, would "neceſſarily remain the ſame too. At firſt ſight, therefore, the intereſt of money ſeems to be "a ſubject as fit to be taxed directly, as the rent of land.

"There are, however, two different circumſtances which render the intereſt of money a "much leſs proper ſubject of direct taxation than the intereſt of land.

"Firſt. The quantity and value of the land, which any man poſſeſſes, can never be a ſecret, "and can always be aſcertained with great exactneſs. But the whole amount of the capital "ſtock, which he poſſeſſes, is almoſt always a ſecret, and can ſcarce ever be aſcertained with "tolerable exactneſs. It is liable, beſides, to almoſt continual variations. A year ſeldom "paſſes away, frequently not a month, ſometimes ſcarce a ſingle day, in which it does not "riſe or fall more or leſs. An inquiſition into every man's private circumſtances, and an in- "quiſition which, in order to accommodate the tax to them, watched over all the fluctuations "of his fortune, would be a ſource of ſuch continual and endleſs vexation as no people "could ſupport.

"Secondly.

"take a houſe above his fortune. It is hard when in this caſe a heavy "tax is ſuperadded to his other unavoidable expences. On the other "hand, a man of much greater opulence, who has no rank to ſupport, "can live in a much more private manner; and though his wealth be "greatly ſuperior, yet his tax is not a fifth, or a tenth, part of what the "former pays. The difference is ſtill greater between a gentleman of "a liberal and a hoſpitable diſpoſition, and a ſordid miſer who hires a bad "houſe, which indeed bears ſome proportion to his little mind, but none "to his wealth. The laſt ought to pay in proportion to his income, and "does not; the firſt is obliged to pay much beyond that proportion. In "ſuch caſes, which are frequent in every large town, the mode of "taxation, however ſpeciouſly juſt, is very unequal. An old avaricious "bachelor, poſſeſſed of thouſands, often pays leſs for the rent of his lodg-"ings, than a gentleman of middle ſtation, ſtruggling hard to maintain "a large family, pays for his Poor Rate alone[1]."

It is a common, but miſtaken, idea, that the Poor's Rate is not a Land-tax: and this idea has been ſupported by many weighty authorities. Lord Mansfield, in the caſe of Rowls and Gells, remarked, that the Poor's Rate was not a tax on the land, but a perſonal charge in reſpect of the

"Secondly. Land is a ſubject which cannot be removed, whereas ſtock eaſily may. The "proprietor of land is neceſſarily a citizen of the particular country in which his eſtate lies. "The proprietor of ſtock is properly a citizen of the world, and is not neceſſarily attached to "any particular country. He would be apt to abandon a country in which he was expoſed to "a vexatious inquiſition, in order to be aſſeſſed to a burdenſome tax; and would remove his "ſtock to ſome other country, where he could either carry on his buſineſs, or enjoy his for-"tune more at his eaſe. By removing his ſtock, he would put an end to all the induſtry which "it had maintained in the country which he left. Stock cultivates land; ſtock employs "labour. A tax which tended to drive away ſtock from any particular country, would ſo far "tend to dry up every ſource of revenue, both to the Sovereign, and to the Society. Not only "the profits of ſtock, but the rent of land, and the wages of labour, would neceſſarily be more "or leſs diminiſhed by its removal. The nations, accordingly, who have endeavoured to tax "the revenue ariſing from ſtock, inſtead of any ſevere inquiſition of this kind, have been "obliged to content themſelves with ſome very looſe, and, therefore, more or leſs arbitrary "eſtimation. The extreme inequality and uncertainty of a tax aſſeſſed in this manner, can "be compenſated only by its extreme moderation, in conſequence of which every man finds "himſelf rated ſo very much below his real revenue, that he gives himſelf little diſturbance "though his neighbour ſhould be rated ſomewhat lower." Smith's Wealth of Nations, 5th ed. iii. 294.

[1] M'Farlan's Inquiries concerning the Poor, 198.

land.

land[1]. This appears to be a diſtinction, without a difference. It is true that the tax is aſſeſſed upon the occupier; and that he, and not his landlord, (as in the caſe of the land-tax) is perſonally liable: but whatever leſſens the profit that the proprietor of an eſtate would otherwiſe receive may be fairly conſidered in the light of a tax on his land. If a proprietor occupies his land himſelf, the Poor's Rate in this caſe moſt clearly falls upon him: if he lets it to a tenant, there can be no doubt but the Poor's Rate will be conſidered as an out-going; and conſequently operate in reducing the rent. The tenant muſt receive ſuch a portion of the produce as will enable him to keep up the ſtock neceſſary for the cultivation of his farm, and afford him the ordinary rate of profit. An eſtate which will ſubject the occupier to a Poor's Rate of ten ſhillings in the pound, will not produce ſo good a rent as land, which, though ſimilarly ſituated in other circumſtances, would only ſubject the tenant to a Rate of two ſhillings in the pound. There can be little doubt, but that, in ſuch caſes, the former would reaſon in the ſame manner as he does in the caſe of tithe. When a certain portion of the produce is to be paid away for a tax, he will compute, as well as he can, what the value of this portion, one year with another, is likely to amount to, and will make a proportionate abatement in the rent which he is to pay to his landlord[2]. A tax of this kind, impoſed during the currency of a leaſe, may perhaps often diſtreſs, or ruin the farmer: but, upon the renewal of the leaſe, it muſt always fall on the landlord[3].

In the eſſential requiſite of a good tax, eaſe of payment, the Poor's Rate is manifeſtly deficient. Arthur Young remarks, that taxes on land, "ſo far as they are advanced by the tenant, and drawn back when "he reckons with his landlord, are eaſy to the latter: but they are, ex-"actly in the ſame proportion, burthenſome to the tenant, who has to "advance, out of his own pocket, another man's tax, which is palpably "unjuſt. At the time alſo of demanding the tax from the landlord, who "farms his own eſtate, his eaſe is never conſulted: he has to pay the tax, "not becauſe he has ſold his produce, for he muſt pay, though his land "ſhould not produce a ſingle farthing; not becauſe he buys, and thereby

[1] 16 Geo. 3. Cowp. 451. [2] Smith's Wealth of Nations, 5th ed. iii. 274. [3] Id. 308.

"ſhews

" ſhews that he can afford it, but merely becauſe he poſſeſſes; which by " no means proves an ability to pay at all[1].

A tax on conſumption, for maintaining the Poor, would be free from many of the objections to which a Poor's Rate is liable: ſuch a tax is levied at the time, and in the manner, when it is moſt likely to be convenient to the contributor to pay it: it is collected from him in ſmall ſums; and, in general, is proportioned to his ability to contribute. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that, as a tax on conſumption is advanced to the manufacturer, and is drawn back on the price of the commodity, it will, more eſpecially when it paſſes through many hands, reach the conſumer, burthened with a much heavier tax than what is paid into the Treaſury. After all, it ſeems clear, that, although a tax might poſſibly be impoſed, which ſhould affect individuals in exact proportion to their ability to pay, ſtill the burthen of ſupporting the Poor would not be equally ſhared. Let any one who is aſſeſſed to the Poor's Rate calculate what ſum he diſtributes in private charity; and, it is probable, few inſtances will be found, in which the amount of the latter does not much exceed that of the former. The ſordid, perhaps, finding themſelves compelled to contribute to a public tax, may be rendered more deaf to the cries of diſtreſs than they would otherwiſe be: but the liberal and humane will never confine their charities to the mere obſervance of the law which calls on them for their portion of Poor's Rate. To ſuch perſons, the modeſt and diffident Poor will willingly have recourſe; although they would prefer languiſhing, and perhaps periſhing, in obſcurity, to the humiliating alternative of being relieved by a weekly penſion from the pariſh-officer, or of being immured in what Sir William Young calls " a gaol without guilt," the work-houſe; in which, ſuffering innocence, though not excluded, is too often obliged to aſſociate with idleneſs, riot, and debauchery. The induſtrious tradeſman, who by unforeſeen and unavoidable misfortune is reduced to bankruptcy, is a perſon, who, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the term, may be numbered among the Poor: it is ſeldom, however, that perſons of this deſcription are to be found in a pariſh poor-houſe, or on the overſeer's liſt of weekly penſioners. The many unfortunate individuals, whom the fluctuating nature

[1] See Young's Travels in France, i. 524—531, in which the ruinous effects of land-taxes are very forcibly detailed.

of commerce, and manufactures, often precipitates, from a ſituation of eaſe and affluence, into the depth of extreme poverty, ſeldom think of the national proviſion which is held out to them. When they have no immediate connexions or friends to aſſiſt them, they, generally, prefer applying to thoſe whoſe opulence has not rendered them inſenſible to the miſeries of their fellow-creatures: and daily experience teaches us, that a well-atteſted caſe of diſtreſs ſeldom paſſes unrelieved. A Scotch philoſopher, indeed, accuſes the Engliſh nation of the groveling paſſion of ſelfiſhneſs; to the growth of which, he ſays, the tax for the Poor has greatly contributed[1]. This charge, however, ſeems to be ill-founded. The numerous appeals, even from impoſtors, which are made to the feelings of the humane and charitable, are a ſufficient proof that voluntary charity flows in too copious a ſtream. The liberal ſubſcriptions which have been raiſed of late years, within the metropolis alone, ſufficiently diſprove his aſſertion. In no other country could there have been found, either the means, or the inclination, to contribute ſuch ſums as we have ſeen collected within the laſt four years, for the maintenance of many thouſands of unhappy exiles, for rendering the ſituation of a ſoldier more comfortable during the inclemencies of a winter campaign, for ſupporting the widows and orphans of ſeamen who had periſhed in the ſervice of their country, for relieving ſufferers from fire, and for many other benevolent purpoſes. If there is a defect in Britiſh benevolence, it is, that it is too unbounded and indiſcriminate.

Mr. Fox, in the courſe of the laſt ſeſſions of Parliament, obſerved, that it was a melancholy conſideration, that the greater part of the working claſſes in this country were lying at the mercy, and almoſt living on the charity, of the Rich[2]. Admitting the fact to be true, it is a proof that the Rich are not more able, than willing, to aſſiſt the Indigent. The Reader will find ſeveral inſtances, in the Second Volume of this Work, of very liberal contributions for the Poor, during the two laſt Winters, in places where the Poor's Rate was very high. I have no ſufficient data to form any calculation to be depended on; but various circumſtances have convinced me, that, excluſive of regular ſtanding charities, (ſuch as

[1] Lord Kames: Sketches, &c. B. ii. Sk. 10.

[2] In the debate on the high price of grain, on the 3d Nov. 1795.

hoſpitals,

hoſpitals, ſchools, alms-houſes, diſtributions from charitable bequeſts, &c.) the money annually expended in voluntary, unconſtrained, acts of charity, much exceeds the amount of the Poor's Rate.

Mr. Colquhoun offers the following eſtimate of the ſums annually raiſed in the metropolis, by legal aſſeſſments; by voluntary contributions to various benevolent inſtitutions and eſtabliſhments for the comfort and convenience of the Poor; and by private charities[1]:

1. For

[1] The following are the Inſtitutions, in and near the Metropolis, for Objects of Charity and Humanity.

ASYLUMS for the INDIGENT and HELPLESS.

	When inſtituted.
107 alms-houſes, endowed at different periods, where 1352 old men and women are ſupported: the principal of theſe houſes are, the Trinity alms-houſes, for 28 decayed ſhipmaſters, Mile End; Bancroft's alms-houſes, Mile End, for 24 poor men; Fiſhmongers' alms-houſes, Newington Butts; Haberdaſhers' alms-houſes, in Hoxton; Jeffries' alms-houſes, Kingſland-road; and Sir John Morden's college, for decayed merchants, at Blackheath.	
1 London Work-houſe, Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, for decayed old men.	
1 Bridewell Hoſpital, an aſylum for apprentices to different trades, Bridge-ſtreet, Blackfriars.	
1 Charter-houſe Hoſpital, an aſylum for 80 indigent perſons, in Charter-houſe Square.	1611
1 Scottiſh Hoſpital, for decayed natives of Scotland, in Crane-court, Fleet-ſtreet.	
1 Welch Hoſpital, for decayed natives of Wales, in Gray's-Inn-lane.	
1 French Hoſpital, for decayed Frenchmen, in St. Luke's, Middleſex, founded	1719
1 Foundling Hoſpital, for deſerted infants, Lambs' Conduit-ſtreet, founded -	1739
1 Aſylum for poor, friendleſs, deſerted, girls, under 12 years of age, Vauxhall Road, idem - - - - - - -	1758
1 Magdalen Hoſpital, for the admiſſion of ſeduced females, St. George's Fields -	1769
1 Orphan Working-ſchool, being an aſylum for poor neceſſitous children of Diſſenters, City Road.	
1 Philanthropic Society, St. George's Fields, for children of criminal parents, and young delinquents.	
1 Free Maſons' School, for educating female orphans, St. George's Fields, inſtituted	1788
1 Chelſea Hoſpital, for worn-out and diſabled ſoldiers - - -	1670
1 Greenwich Hoſpital, for worn-out and diſabled ſeamen, inſtituted - -	1694
1 Marine Society, for educating poor deſtitute boys to the ſea, in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet	1756

1. For Poor's Rates.	London - - -	£ 70,000	
	Weſtminſter - -	64,000	
	Middleſex, adjoining London	86,000	
	Surry, adjoining London -	25,000	
	Total for the metropolis, about		245,000
2. Supporting Charity-ſchools, for educating the Poor -			10,000
3. Aſylums for the ſupport of objects of charity and humanity, &c. ariſing from annual contributions, eſtimated at - - - - - -			25,000
	Carried over -	£	280,000

ASYLUM for Sick, Lame, Diſeaſed, and for Poor Pregnant Women.

		When inſtituted.
1	St. Bartholomew's Hoſpital, in Weſt Smithfield, for the reception of afflicted and diſeaſed perſons - - - - -	1539
2	St. Thomas's Hoſpital, Southwark, for the reception of ſick and lame, eſpecially ſailors - - - - - - -	1553
3	Guy's Hoſpital, Southwark, for the reception of ſick and impotent perſons, founded in - - - - - - -	1721
4	London Hoſpital, Whitechapel Road, for all perſons meeting with accidents -	1760
5	St. George's Hoſpital, Hyde-Park Corner, for the ſick and lame - - -	1733
6	Weſtminſter Infirmary, James'-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, for ſick and diſeaſed perſons	1719
7	Middleſex Hoſpital, Charles-ſtreet, near Oxford-ſtreet, for ſick and lame, and pregnant women - - - - - -	1745
8	Lock Hoſpital, Hyde-Park Turnpike, for perſons afflicted with the venereal diſorder - - - - - - -	1746
9	Small-pox Hoſpital, St. Pancras, for inoculation of poor perſons - -	1746
10	London Lying-in Hoſpital, Alderſgate-ſtreet, for poor married women - -	1750
11	City of London Lying-in Hoſpital, Old-ſtreet, City Road, idem - -	1751
12	Lying-in Hoſpital, Brownlow-ſtreet, Long Acre, idem - - -	1749
13	Lying-in Hoſpital, Surry-Road, Weſtminſter Bridge, for poor pregnant women.	
14	Lying-in Hoſpital, Bayswater-Hall, Oxford Road, idem.	
15	Lying-in Hoſpital, Store-ſtreet, Tottenham-court Road, idem.	
16	Bethlehem Hoſpital, for lunatics, Moorfields - - - -	1553
17	St. Luke's Hoſpital, for lunatics, Old-Street Road - - -	1751

Brought over -	£ 280,000
4. Aſylums, hoſpitals, and diſpenſaries, for the ſick, lame, diſeaſed, and afflicted; eſtimated at - -	50,000
5. Inſtitutions for benevolent, charitable, and humane purpoſes, 704 ſocieties; eſtimated at[1] - - -	120,000
6. Private charities; eſtimated at - - -	150,000
7. Endowed eſtabliſhments; eſtimated at - - -	150,000
Total eſtimate per annum -	£ 750,000[2]

It

[1] Mr. C. appears to eſtimate the number of members in the Friendly Societies, in the metropolis, at 70,000; or 116, on an average, in each Society. This able magiſtrate, no doubt, has better information on this ſubject than I can poſſibly procure: but the number ſeems to me to be exaggerated. In thoſe Clubs, which have come to my knowledge, the number of members was from 60 to 100. 80 ſeems to be, nearly, the average. Theſe excellent inſtitutions do not exactly anſwer our common idea of charities; which is, that the ſupporters, and objects, of a charity, are different perſons. They, however, certainly anſwer every good purpoſe of a charitable eſtabliſhment; and, conſidered in this light, Tontines and Equitable Aſſurance Offices might be included in Mr. C.'s eſtimate. The ſum of £ 36,000. a year, I ſhould imagine, was much below the total annual diſburſements of 600 Friendly Societies, conſiſting, on an average, of 80 members each, or 48,000 in the whole. In thoſe I have enquired into, the annual payments, on an average, exceed £ 1. each member.

[2] Treatiſe on the Police of the Metropolis, 2d ed. 411. The Reader will be enabled, from the following eſtimate, (which was conſtructed, from the printed Returns of the Overſeers in 1786,) to form a fair idea of the proportion of Poor's Rate paid by the metropolis:

	£.	s.	d.
Alban's, St. Wood-ſtreet -	428	14	2
Allhallows, Barking - -	810	6	8
Allhallows, in Bread-ſtreet -	203	14	5
Allhallows the Great - -	329	9	11
Allhallows, Honey Lane -	114	2	11
Allhallows the Leſs - -	176	14	6
Allhallows, Lombard-ſtreet -	510	17	10
Allhallows, Staining - -	431	7	8
Allhallows, London Wall -	613	9	6
Alphage, St. - -	210	0	6
Andrew, St. Hubbard - -	371	12	4
Andrew, St. Underſhaft - -	837	2	5
Andrew, St. by the Wardrobe	291	8	2
Anne and Agnes, St. within Alderſgate - - -	281	19	2
Ann, St. Blackfryars - -	678	17	10
Anthony, St. - - -	256	16	9
Auguſtin, St. - -	58	13	8
Bartholomew, St. by the Royal Exchange - -	694	7	1
Bennet, St. Fink - -	256	5	8
Bennet, St. Gracechurch-ſtreet	295	5	5
Bennet, St. Paul's Wharf - -	261	5	4
Bennet, St. Sherehog - -	91	11	2
Botolph, St. by Billingſgate -	113	17	2
Chriſt-church - -	711	5	4

It appears from this very moderate eſtimate, that London does not pay above a tenth part of the Poor's Rate. The medium of the three years

	£.	s.	d.
Chriſtopher le Stock, St.	272	17	10
Clement, St. near Eaſt Cheap	135	17	3
Dionis, St. Back Church	514	9	6
Dunſtan's, St. in the Eaſt	1123	6	4
Edmund, St. the King	480	7	0
Ethelburga, St.	250	19	9
Faith, St. the Virgin, under St. Paul's	636	13	4
Gabriel, St. Fenchurch-ſtreet	498	16	11
George, St. Botolph Lane	100	14	8
Gregory, St.	818	9	0
Helen, St. near Biſhopſgate	492	2	6
James, St. in Duke's Place	292	17	2
James, St. Garlick Hithe	332	1	4
John, St. Baptiſt	136	7	8
John, St. Evangeliſt	129	13	10
John, St. Zachary	283	11	9
Katherine, St. Coleman	442	11	10
Katherine, St. Cree Church	887	10	8
Lawrence, Jewry, St. & Mary Magdalen, St. Milk-ſtreet	646	11	8
Lawrence, St. Pountney	368	14	7
Leonards, St. Eaſt Cheap	184	11	4
Leonards, St. Foſter Lane	241	0	5
Magnus, St. the Martyr	317	9	1
Margaret, St. Lothbury	614	3	4
Margaret, St. Moſes	88	10	1
Margaret, St. New Fiſh-ſtreet	225	11	10
Margaret, St. Pattens	161	5	8
Martin, St. Ironmonger Lane	207	19	6
Martin, St. Ludgate	355	5	7
Martin, St. Orgars	244	5	5
Martin, St. Outwich	250	6	4
Martin, St. Vintry	295	15	8
Mary, St. Abchurch	345	4	3
Mary, St. Aldermanbury	379	12	8
Mary, St. Aldermary	253	7	3
Mary, St. le Bow	407	1	6
Mary, St. Bothaw Dowgate	180	5	1
Mary, St. Colechurch	298	14	10
Mary, St. at Hill	631	10	4
Mary, St. Magdalen, Old Fiſh-ſtreet	173	7	8
Mary, St. Mounthaw	53	18	7
Mary, St. Somerſet	234	3	6
Mary, St. Staining	149	1	10
Mary, St. Wool Church Haw	312	4	9
Mary, St. Woolnoth	426	7	4
Matthew, St. Friday-ſtreet	161	10	6
Michael, St. Baſſiſhaw	534	7	4
Michael, St. Cornhill	578	4	7
Michael, St. Crooked Lane	251	3	9
Michael, St. Queen Hith	347	6	2
Michael, St. le Quern	288	2	0
Michael, St. Paternoſter Royal	205	12	6
Michael, St. Wood-ſtreet	172	14	3
Mildred, St. Bread-ſtreet	662	11	9
Mildred, St. the Virgin, in the Poultry	316	5	4
Nicholas, St. Acons	327	9	6
Nicholas, St. Cole Abbey	168	18	6
Nicholas, St. Olave	169	14	5
Olave, St. Hart-ſtreet	838	10	3
Olave, St. Old Jewry	237	1	11
Olave, St. Silver-ſtreet	226	14	2
Pancras, St.	148	11	6
Peter, St. Weſt Cheap	212	15	0
Peter, St. Cornhill	552	10	3
Peter, St. near Paul's Wharf	208	15	2
Peter, St. le Poor, in Broad-ſtreet	730	4	10
Stephen, St. Coleman-ſtreet	1340	13	7
Stephen, St. Walbrook	109	12	11
Swithin, St. London Stone	153	18	0

Thomas,

years 1783, 1784, 1785, paid by the 159 parishes, which may be fairly said to constitute the metropolis, was, £200,762. 8s. 7d.: and the medium

	£.	s.	d.
Thomas, St. the Apostle -	283	12	0
Trinity - - -	193	8	1
Vedast, St. Foster - -	421	5	3
White Fryars Precinct -	353	1	1
Andrew, St. Holborn - -	1578	0	3
Bartholomew, St. the Great	801	0	5
Bartholomew, St. the Less -	190	15	4
Botolph, St. by Aldersgate -	1725	3	6
Botolph, St. by Aldgate -	2433	7	4
Botolph, St. by Bishopsgate -	4185	11	1
Bridewell Precinct - -	281	11	5
Bride, St. - - -	2698	17	3
Dunstan, St. in the West -	1201	3	0
George, St. in Southwark -	2411	5	1
Giles, St. by Cripplegate -	2912	12	5
John, St. in Southwark - -	2651	2	7
Olave, St. in Southwark -	2394	16	1
Saviour, St. in Southwark -	4154	11	6
Sepulchre, St. Parish - -	2833	5	4
Thomas, St. in Southwark -	433	14	6
Trinity, in the Minories -	337	2	4
Anne, St. - - -	3053	1	3
Clement, St. Danes - -	5798	3	4
George, St. Hanover Square	12912	11	4
James, St. - - -	12027	5	10
Margaret, St. and St. John the Evangelist - -	6457	1	1
Martin, St. in the Fields -	9780	3	3
Mary, St. le Strand - -	851	10	10
Paul, St. Covent Garden -	1479	13	8
Ann, St. in Middlesex -	1149	6	3
Artillery Ground, Old -	No return.		
Catharine, St. - -	792	5	1
Christ-church - -	3175	18	7
Dunstan, St. Stepney - -	Included in Ratcliff.		
George, St. in Bloomsbury, and St. Giles in the Fields	5594	3	9
George the Martyr, St. and St. Andrew, Holborn -	5511	14	11
George, St. Ratcliff -	2005	13	8
James, St. Clerkenwell -	4301	5	7
John, St. Hackney - -	2478	16	8
John, St. Wapping - -	2389	3	0
John Baptist, St. Savoy -	241	8	3
Leonard, St. Shoreditch -	5296	9	7
Leonard, St. Bromley -	771	3	3
Luke, St. Middlesex - -	4389	17	1
Mary, St. le Bone - -	8856	5	3
Mary, St. Islington - -	2047	4	8
Mary, St. Lambeth - -	3718	16	1
Mary Magdalen, St. Bermondsey - - -	2549	3	11
Mary, St. Newington -	375	18	11
Mary, St. Rotherhithe - -	2021	0	5
Mary, St. Whitechapel -	4426	4	1
Mary, St. Stratford Bow -	903	0	9
Matthew, St. Bethnal Green	2741	6	3
Mile End, New Town - -	541	19	3
Mile End, Old Town - -	1137	17	9
Newington - -	2068	7	9
Norton Falgate - - -	747	9	6
Paddington - - -	303	6	3
Pancras, St. - - -	1836	16	0
Paul, St. Shadwell - -	2620	2	5
Poplar and Blackwall - -	896	0	1
Ratcliff - - -	1240	10	11
Rolls' Liberty - -	1009	19	8
Saffron Hill, Hatton Garden, and Ely Rents' Liberty -	1594	15	2
Sepulchre, St. Finsbury -	1345	9	3
Tower Precinct - -	No return.		

Medium

medium Poor's Rate paid by England and Wales, £2,167,749. 13s. 8d. So that, notwithſtanding the extreme miſery and wretchedneſs which are

Medium Poor's Rate in the	97	pariſhes within the walls	-	£ 35,099	18 7
Ditto	in 17	pariſhes without the walls	- -	32,223	19 5
Ditto	in 8	pariſhes in Weſtminſter	- -	52,359	10 7
Ditto	in 37	pariſhes in Surrey and Middleſex	-	81,079	0 0
		Total Poor's Rate in the Metropolis	-	£ 200,762	8 7

DISPENSARIES for Sick, Lame, and Diſeaſed.

1. Eaſtern Diſ[illegible], Whitechapel.
2. Middleſex Diſpenſary, Great Ailiff-ſtreet.
3. London Diſpenſary, Primroſe-ſtreet, Biſhopſgate-ſtreet.
4. New Finſbury Diſpenſary, Featherſtone Buildings, St. John's Square.
5. Finſbury Diſpenſary, Roſamond Row, Clerkenwell.
6. General Diſpenſary, Alderſgate-ſtreet.
7. Public Diſpenſary, Carey-ſtreet, Lincoln's Inn Fields.
8. Infant Poor Diſpenſary, Soho Square.
9. St. James's Diſpenſary, Berwick-ſtreet, Soho Square.
10. Weſtminſter Diſpenſary, Gerrard-ſtreet, Soho Square.
11. Mary-le-Bone Diſpenſary, Wells-ſtreet, Oxford-ſtreet.
12. Oſſulſton Diſpenſary, Bow-ſtreet, Bloomſbury.
13. Surrey Diſpenſary, Union-ſtreet, Borough.

INSTITUTIONS for Charitable and Humane Purpoſes.

1 Society for delivering married women in their own habitations, by which 30 midwives are employed; inſtituted in 1757.
1 Humane Society, for the recovery of drowned and ſuffocated perſons; Spital Square.
1 Society for the relief of clergymen's widows, Paper Buildings, Temple.
1 Society for the relief of widows and orphans of medical men.
1 Laudable Society, for the benefit of widows, Crane-court, Fleet-ſtreet.
1 Society for the ſupport of widows, Surrey-ſtreet, Strand.
1 Society for the ſupport of poor artiſts and their widows, Strand.
1 Society for the ſupport of widows of poor muſicians.
1 Society for annuities to widows, Old Fiſh-ſtreet, St. Paul's.
1 Society for the relief of ſick and maimed ſeamen in the merchants' ſervice.
1 Society for the relief of poor widows and children of clergymen; inſtituted 1792.
1 Free Maſons' Charity.
1 Society for the relief of perſons confined for ſmall debts, Craven-ſtreet, Strand; 1792.
91 Public Companies, in the city of London, who give, in charity, above £ 75,000. a year.
600 Friendly Societies in the metropolis and the vicinity, compoſed of mechanics and labouring people, who diſtribute, to ſick members, and for funerals, from their funds, raiſed by monthly payments, about £ 36,000. a year.

704

Beſides

are ſaid to prevail, more peculiarly, in this great city, the proportion of perſons receiving parochial relief, (if eſtimated from the aſſeſſments,) is much greater in the country than in the metropolis: and if we ſuppoſe the Poor to receive as much aſſiſtance from private charity in one place as in the other, it would ſeem, that (ſetting aſide the payments from Friendly Societies,) the annual diſburſements of the Rich, in the various objects of permanent and occaſional charity, exceed ſix millions ſterling. This, it muſt be confeſſed, is a very rough eſtimate: it is, however, probably, much below the truth. The charity of the benevolent, who "do good by ſtealth, and bluſh to find fame," muſt amount to a very conſiderable ſum annually; and, I have no doubt, is proportionably as great in the country as in the metropolis. Every calculation, however, which can be made, reſpecting the number of Poor, who ſubſiſt by private charity, and the amount of charitable contributions from this ſource, ſeems fully to warrant this concluſion;—that a legal proviſion for the Poor, although profeſſedly intended to relieve every object in want, very imperfectly anſwers the end of it's inſtitution; that, although it appears to be calculated to ſuperſede the neceſſity of our exerciſing the firſt of Chriſtian virtues, and may, conſequently, often relax the emotions of benevolence, private relief will ſtill frequently be both required and exerted; and that more is expended annually on thoſe objects, who are ſelected by the diſcretionary charity of individuals, than on the national Poor.

It ſeems even doubtful, whether a legal eſtabliſhment for the Poor, fenced as it is with ſevere penalties againſt beggars and vagabonds, will ever conſiderably leſſen the practice, though it may, in ſome degree, exclude the neceſſity, of vagrancy and mendicity. It does not appear

Beſides theſe eſtabliſhments, there are ſeveral inſtitutions, which are intended to promote the education and morals of the Poor. Of 5000 young perſons, at 62 public ſchools or ſeminaries, the greateſt number are maintained and educated gratuitouſly: there are 237 ſchools belonging to the different pariſhes; in which, about 9000 male and female children are inſtructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic. There are Societies for advancing Chriſtian Knowledge, by diſtributing books among the Poor; for propagating the Goſpel in Foreign Parts; for promoting charity ſchools in Ireland; and for relieving the orphans of clergymen, &c.; moſt of which expend ſeveral thouſands a year. See Treatiſe on the Police of the Metropolis, 2d ed. 406.

from the Statiſtical Account of Scotland, (a country in which there is no general eſtabliſhment for the relief of the Poor,) that mendicants there, are more numerous, more diſſolute, or more diſorderly, than in England. It is, indeed, remarked, by an able writer on this ſubject, that, owing to the want of a compulſory maintenance, the nuiſance of vagrancy had arrived at an alarming height in Ireland; and that the number of beggars in Dublin alone, about thirty years ago, amounted to 2000. The extreme number of beggars, however, which was to be met with in Ireland, (at the time that Dr. Woodward's pamphlet * in favour of a legal eſtabliſhment was publiſhed,) was probably owing to the languid ſtate of induſtry in that country, and the total want of a regular police in the capital. The certainty of a regular maintenance will not prevent beggars from being very numerous, even in an induſtrious and opulent country. The Author of the Sketches of the Hiſtory of Man, aſſerts, that England, in particular, abounds with beggars: but does not particularize their number. Some idea of it, however, may be formed from Mr. Colquhoun's eſtimate of the numbers in thoſe claſſes in London, which may be fairly comprehended under the term of beggars, viz.

Strangers out of work, who have wandered up to London in ſearch of employment, and without recommendation generally in conſequence of ſome miſdemeanor committed in the country, at all times above - - -	1000
Strolling minſtrels, ballad-ſingers, ſhow-men, trumpeters, and gypſies - - - - - -	1500
Grubbers, gin-drinking women, and deſtitute boys and girls, wandering and prowling about the ſtreets and bye-places after chips, nails, old metals, &c. - - -	2000
Common beggars, and vagrants, aſking alms, ſuppoſing one to every two ſtreets - - - -	3000
Total -	7500

* An Addreſs to the Public, on the expediency of a regular plan for the maintenance and government of the Poor, &c. By Richard Woodward, LL. D. &c. (late Biſhop of Cloyne.)

Upon

Upon the whole, therefore, there ſeem to be juſt grounds for concluding, that the ſum of good to be expected from the eſtabliſhment of a compulſory maintenance for the Poor, will be far outbalanced by the ſum of evil which it will inevitably create; that the certainty of a legal proviſion weakens the principles of natural affection, and deſtroys one of the ſtrongeſt ties of ſociety, by rendering the exerciſe of domeſtic and ſocial duties leſs neceſſary; that a Poor's Tax will unavoidably be burthenſome and unequal; and that the diſtribution of a large public fund, conſided, as it muſt be, to officers, who cannot but be inveſted with diſcretionary powers, will ever be the pregnant ſource of partiality and peculation.

The preceding obſervations chiefly regard a national proviſion, which is deſigned for the relief of thoſe, who, either from infancy, old age, or ſickneſs, are incapacitated from acquiring the neceſſaries of life. It is ſeldom, however, that public charity is confined to this object. It generally profeſſes to act upon the wide-extended view of ſupplying the able with employment, as well as of furniſhing the impotent with ſubſiſtence. The two leading principles of the 43d of Elizabeth were, that thoſe who were incapable of working ſhould be ſupported by their pariſh, and that thoſe who were capable of working ſhould be employed. With reſpect to the practicability or utility of the laſt-mentioned proviſion of the Statute, I ſhall content myſelf with referring the Reader to a ſubſequent part of this Work[1]; and with remarking, that it is impoſſible to provide a national fund for ſetting the Poor to work in any ſpecies of employment, without in ſome degree injuring thoſe who are engaged in ſimilar undertakings. If, for inſtance, a pariſh work-houſe undertakes the manufacture of mops, ropes, and ſacking; thoſe who before ſubſiſted by means of theſe trades are ſure to be the ſufferers. Whether the mops are made by the private manufacturer, or by the pariſh children, no more will be ſold than the Public have occaſion for. The managers of the work-houſe, however, without being able to increaſe the demand, can generally obtain a preference and

[1] See the accounts of Greſſinghall Houſe of Induſtry, in the Second Volume, p. 458; of Heckingham, p. 471; of Bulcamp, p. 679; of Melton, p. 685; of Newport, p. 242; of Shrewſbury, p. 636, &c. &c.

a certain ſale for their goods, by ſelling them rather below the market price. The concern, though a loſing one, is carried on by the contributions of the pariſhioners; and a poor induſtrious manufacturer will, perhaps, often have the mortification to reflect, that, in contributing his portion of Poor's Rate, he is helping the pariſh to undo him. To inveſt a public body with a part of that ſtock, which, for the ſake of profit, ſets the greater part of uſeful labour in motion, ſeems indeed repugnant to the ſound principles of political economy. The capital ſtock of every ſociety, if left to it's free courſe, will be divided among different employments, in the proportion that is moſt agreeable to the public intereſt, by the private views of individuals. When it is thus employed, it will accumulate: and it is it's accumulation only, which can afford regular and progreſſive employment to induſtry. Projects, which, without increaſing the demand for any article of conſumption, interfere with eſtabliſhed manufactures, and oblige the fair trader, (whoſe capital is limited,) to enter into competition with the pariſh, (whoſe capital can, upon any emergency, be recruited by an order of Juſtices,) are, it may well be ſuppoſed, as injurious to the general intereſts of the community, as the monopolizing ſpeculations of Governments in foreign commerce. They operate in the ſame manner, "by repelling from a par-"ticular trade that ſtock which would otherwiſe go to it, or by at-"tracting towards a particular trade that which would not otherwiſe "come to it [1]."

To theſe obſervations may be added, the following judicious remarks by Dr. McFarlan. He ſays: "In general it hath been found, that no "work carried on by any collective body of men has ever ſucceeded "ſo well as that carried on by individuals, who, knowing that they "muſt reap all the profit, or ſuffer all the loſs, are intereſted to beſtow "a faithful attention to every part of the buſineſs. All public works "are known to be done at the higheſt expence, unleſs when finiſhed by

[1] Smith's Wealth of Nations, 5th ed. i. 396. ii. 466. 470. I do not enter more largely into this ſubject, as Daniel de Foe, in his ingenious treatiſe, intituled, "Giving Alms no "Charity," from which I have given very copious citations, in a preceding Chapter, (ſee p. 258.) has very fully illuſtrated the impolicy of parochial or county manufactures.

"contract,

" contract, where the contractor acts as a private perſon, and employs " his own workmen. It ſeems not to be the buſineſs of the Legiſlature " to interfere in what concerns the regulation of any particular branch " of trade, of commerce, or of country improvement, where it is impoſ- " ſible that any body of men, however wiſe, can be competent judges " of what is moſt expedient, in ſo many different caſes, with which " they cannot be acquainted. It ſeems rather to be their department " to take off ſuch reſtraints, laid on by former improvident laws, as may " be complained of, and to grant ſuch general encouragement to induſ- " try, as may be conducive, on the whole, to the public good[1]." The exertion, both of induſtry, and of charity, may be ſafely left to the diſcretion of individuals. The natural inclination of ſocial man, to better his condition, will point out to him the moſt ſuitable employments: the benevolence, which is the reſult of natural wants, and of the habits and relations of ſocial life, will beſt inſtruct him to relieve his fellow-creatures with juſtice and diſcrimination. Charity, a no leſs tender feeling of the human heart than Love,

——— at ſight of human ties,
Spreads it's thin wings, and in a moment flies.

What Mr. Burke obſerves of the Church, may, with ſtrict propriety, be applied to the Rich in general. Their revenue " is not always em- " ployed, and to every ſhilling, in charity; nor perhaps ought it; but " ſomething is generally ſo employed. It is better to cheriſh virtue and " humanity, by leaving much to free-will, even with ſome loſs to the " object, than to attempt to make men mere machines and inſtruments " of a political benevolence. The world, on the whole, will gain by a " liberty, without which virtue cannot exiſt[2]."

It muſt be obvious, that moſt of the preceding obſervations chiefly regard only the general queſtion; i. e. whether a national proviſion for the Poor is an adviſeable meaſure to be adopted in a country, in which no ſuch eſtabliſhment exiſts? It is a very different queſtion, what

[1] Inquiries on the Poor, 425.
[2] Reflections, &c. 11th ed. 154.

ſteps

ſteps are to be purſued with reſpect to a tried eſtabliſhment, which, (whatever it's merits or demerits may be,) has, by long and uninterrupted practice, aſſimilated itſelf to our habits and modes of life. I moſt cordially agree with the great Orator, whom I have juſt quoted, that, "to a man who acts under the influence of no paſſion, who has "nothing in view in his projects but the public good, a great difference "will immediately ſtrike him, between what policy would dictate, on "the original introduction of ſuch inſtitutions, and on a queſtion of their "total abolition, where they have caſt their roots wide and deep, and "where, by long habit, things more valuable than themſelves are ſo "adapted to them, and in a manner interwoven with them, that the "one cannot be deſtroyed without notably impairing the other." In ſuch a caſe, if imperfections ſhould be found to exiſt, "there is ſomething elſe" to be thought of, "than the mere alternative of abſolute "deſtruction or unreformed exiſtence[1]." Faulty and defective as our Poor Syſtem may be in it's original conſtruction, and in it's modern ramifications, he muſt be a bold and raſh political projector, who ſhould propoſe to level it to the ground[2]. It is hardly poſſible to conceive that a wide-extended ſyſtem ſhould have exiſted for nearly two centuries, without acquiring, in ſome parts at leaſt, an uſeful direction. No temperate political ſpeculatiſt of the preſent day, therefore, has ventured to recommend the wholly lopping off this vaſt member of our ſyſtem of juriſprudence. Among the various opinions, as to the mode of relieving the wants of the diſtreſſed claſſes of the community, and of correcting the abuſes which have inſenſibly crept into the adminiſtration of the Poor Laws, it ſeems to be very generally agreed, that a modification only of thoſe laws, and not a total repeal of them, can be attempted. Something appears neceſſary to be done, for the benefit of the Poor themſelves; not by extending the operation of a ſyſtem, which is adverſe, in many points of view, to the exertion of honeſt induſtry,

[1] Reflections, &c. 11th ed. 232.

[2] The Marquis de Mirabeau truly ſays: "L'invention de ſupprimer et de détruire eſt le "contraire abſolu de l'art de gouverner; c'eſt la magnanimité du ſuicide. Un chirurgien "ignare ſçait couper la jambe; Eſculape l'eut traitée et guérie. Quatre traitemens comme "celui du premier, il ne reſte plus que le tronc."—L'Ami des Hommes, ed. 1758. i. 43.

but

but by checking the too ready encouragement which it offers to idleneſs, improvidence, and immorality. At the ſame time, however, that the baleful influence which the certainty of parochial relief has ſpread through the land may be done away, it is but equitable that the labourer ſhould be put in full poſſeſſion of his right to exerciſe his induſtry in the ſituation and in the manner moſt agreeable to himſelf, whenever, and in whatever caſes, it ſhall appear to the Legiſlature that he has been abridged of his moſt invaluable privileges. An ingenious writer, indeed, ſuggeſts, that that poverty which is not the reſult of phyſical incapacity, but which is occaſioned by accident, ill health, or a temporary want of employment, has been created by a ſurrender of the ſurplus property of the employed, beyond what is neceſſary to provide for their immediate wants, to their employers. He ſays, a " proportion " of the daily earnings of the employed, though, perhaps, not formally, " was virtually ſurrendered to their employers, if not before, yet cer- " tainly at that period when power was firſt given to the Juſtices to lay " a general aſſeſſment. The preciſe terms of the compact, to which " at that epoch both parties conſented, are not preſerved ; nor can they, " at this diſtance of time, be diſcovered : the conceſſion, however, muſt " be preſumed to have been made, on condition that the latter ſhould " ſolemnly engage to maintain and ſupport the former in all caſes of " accidental or natural incapacity, want of employment, or general " ſcarcity. To this property, ſo ſurrendered, it is the *duty* of the em- " ployed immediately to reſort, when under any ſuch circumſtances of " inability or diſtreſs. The hiſtoric page of ancient times may not " countenance this preſumption, though it will, by the common ſenſe of " the preſent age, be readily admitted. If a Law paſs, obliging A. to " ſupport B. when incapable of labour, whom before he only paid for " labouring, little doubt can reaſonably be entertained, that the power " which A. holds will ſoon obtain from B. a reduction in wages, or " further ſervices, (the ſame thing,) as an indemnification for the future " expence which the Law eventually may have impoſed upon him A." He adds : " The contract, as it at preſent exiſts, between the two ſo- " cieties, appears virtually to ſtand thus : A. agrees to work ten hours " each day for B. at 20d. per day ; B. conſents to employ A. on condi-

" tion that A. will be content to receive 18d. per day for his ſubſiſtence,
" and to allow the other 2d. to remain in B.'s hands, as an indemniſi-
" cation to him B. for his taking upon himſelf the ſupport of A. and
" his family, in the event of A. being rendered incapable of labour,
" either by accident when young, or by infirmity when old. Now it is
" plain, if no accident or interruption to labour happen to A. whilſt
" young, and that himſelf and family either die before they become
" incapable by age or infirmity; or that, living to be infirm, yet having
" been lucky enough, by great induſtry, and great care, to ſave a ſuffi-
" ciency that prevents his application to B. for relief, that B. muſt be a
" great gainer by A.'s ſervices; inaſmuch as A. in this caſe will have
" made no demand upon B. for any part of the money in B.'s hands,
" ariſing from the 2d. per day, originally ſtipulated to be ſo reſerved by B.
" But, admit that accident happen, and that A. be under the neceſ-
" ſity of requiring ſuccour from B.; whatever be the ſurplus property,
" with which the induſtry and care of A. may have provided him, it will
" all be expended before he will apply to B. for aſſiſtance. As ſuch, it
" is evident that the ſavings, or ſurplus property of A. is his no longer
" than he can do without the application of it to his neceſſities. The
" very moment he becomes incapable of work, he hath a right to reſort
" to B. for his ſubſiſtence, and to reſerve his own ſurplus property en-
" tire; but as the natural diſpoſition, and the education that A. hath
" received, teaches him to diſdain aſking relief, whilſt he hath any of
" his own property left, ſo long as this may laſt is B. exonerated, and,
" be it's amount what it may, that ſum is a ſaving to B[1]."

It

[1] An Enquiry into the Cauſes and Production of Poverty, &c. By John Vancouver, pp. 45. 63. In lieu of the preſent ſyſtem of maintaining the Poor, by aſſeſſments on their employers, Mr. Vancouver offers the following conſiderations to the attention of the Legiſlature; they are evidently framed on the principles of the Friendly Societies; but with this material difference, that, in the latter, the ſubſcriptions are voluntary; but, in the new plan, compulſory.

" 1. A completely equitable ſubſcription, by the employers, paid to and for the relief of
" the employed.

" 2. An obligation on the employed, to repay ſuch ſubſcription to the common joint ſtock
" or fund.

" 3. And a ſuperintendency and controul over the whole ordering and management of the
" Society's

It may, I think, be doubted, whether any ſuch contract exiſts, or ever exiſted. Both the numbers of the employers and employed are too great

"Society's affairs, by the parties intereſted in the joint capital ſtock ſo ſubſcribed and "funded."

The following is a ſhort outline of the principal features of the meaſures propoſed to carry theſe ideas into execution. I inſert it, as it appears to me (though I confeſs I am no friend to compulſory friendly ſocieties,) to be more deſerving of attention than moſt of the plauſible ſchemes of modern projectors.

"Into the hands of a perſon duly appointed to receive the ſame, there ſhould be paid, weekly, five per cent. or one ſhilling in the pound, (being for every 10d. ½d.) on the amount "of every member's daily, weekly, monthly, quarterly, or yearly produce of labour; i. e. "earnings; whether obtained by wages, by ſalary, by commiſſion, by *per centage*, by working "day-work, tide-work, by the great, by the piece, or by any kind of taſk-work, or other mode "whatever, in the following manner: that is to ſay, one ſingle man, or ſingle woman's daily "labour; the ſame. On ſingle, or married men, living and reſiding in the families of their "employers, whether they be in the ſervice of government, noblemen, gentlemen, ladies, "manufacturers, merchants, profeſſional perſons, artiſts, tradeſmen, mechanics, inland na-"vigators, farmers, graziers, or of perſons of any other ſtationary occupation whatever. The "boarding and lodging of each may be eſtimated at £15. 3s. 4d.; boys, under 14 years of "age, at £9. 15s. each, *per annum*; their wages taken at the ſum actually paid, and their "perquiſites at a fair valuation.

"On ſingle or married men, living and reſiding in the families of their maſters and miſ-"treſſes, as ſervants in or out of livery; their boarding, lodging, and cloaths, may be eſti-"mated at £26.; boys, under 14 years of age, at £17. 6s. 8d. each *per annum*; their wages "taken at the ſum actually paid, and their perquiſites at a fair valuation.

"On ſingle or married women, living and reſiding as ſervants in the families of noblemen, "gentlemen, manufacturers, merchants, profeſſional perſons, artiſts, tradeſmen, mechanics, "mariners, farmers, grazlers, or of perſons of any other occupation whatever; their board "and lodging may be eſtimated at £13.; girls, under 14 years of age, at £8. 13s. 4d. each, "*per annum*; their wages taken at the ſum uſually paid, and their perquiſites at a fair va-"luation.

"The amount of theſe ſubſcriptions, with regard to future aſſiſtance, as alſo the balance "of each member's account with the aſſociation, ſhould be conſidered (ſo far as it relates to "the extent of each individual's power over it,) as immediately belonging to the reſpective "ſubſcribers; but, on their marrying, the balance of each party's ſubſcription ſhould be "added together, and be deemed the joint ſtock of the new family, incapable of being re-"moved without the mutual conſent of both huſband and wife."

There are various regulations reſpecting the allowances to be given to widows, orphans, &c. which are not material for the general underſtanding of the plan. The mode of collecting the ſubſcriptions is as follows: "To aſcertain the wages paid by employers, printed "tickets, with blanks, readily filled up, ſhould be in poſſeſſion of the other Society; theſe "ſhould

great to admit of the poſſibility, that, in the ordinary caſes of hiring and ſervice, either body ſhould combine againſt the other. No doubt, in thoſe

" ſhould be made complete, by the addition of the ſum received by the employers, and given " to them as a diſcharge for wages. Tables would eaſily be conſtructed, by which the five " per cent. or any ſum earned, would at once be found; ſo that, hence, little difficulty would " ariſe. The pariſh clerk, every Sunday morning, on being duly authorized, might collect " theſe tickets of the employers, and give them to the miniſter, who, being empowered to " receive the ſame, would, from ſimilar tables, calculate the ſubſcription due on each ticket; " and in caſe the parties did not attend to pay, or cauſe to be paid, ſuch ſubſcription, it ſhould " be increaſed week after week, as before propoſed: after four ſuch omiſſions, a note ſhould " be ſent round to all the employers in the pariſh, or diſtrict, intimating what was due on " this ſcore; and the perſon, in whoſe employ ſuch defaulter then might be, ſhould be obliged " to retain, out of the earnings of ſuch labourer, for that week, and become anſwerable for " the ſame himſelf, the whole ſum ſtated at the time to be due to the aſſociation, from the " perſon guilty of ſuch omiſſions. The effect of thus making public a tranſaction, that each " individual would gladly endeavour to hide, would operate powerfully to prevent a repeti- " tion in the ſame member, and be an excellent admonitory leſſon for his ſurrounding neigh- " bours.

" In all matters relating to the joint concern, or aſſociation, a certain number of members " ſhould make a committee to determine upon them.

" A certain number of members ſhould conſtitute a viſiting committee, who ſhould deter- " mine in what proportion any member may require aſſiſtance, on being rendered incapable " of labour. Over this committee the magiſtrates ſhould preſide, and to whom, as at pre- " ſent, all appeals ſhould be made in caſe of diſagreement. Other committees would proba- " bly be found neceſſary, ſhould the maturation of the ſyſtem be ever in contemplation. " Theſe ſhould be compoſed of not leſs than three members, two of which, and in that pro- " portion, ſhould be of the employed ſociety; every one of whom ſhould be equally eligible, " after attaining 21 years of age.

" All the preſent legal diſtinctions of parties, belonging to this or that place, would ceaſe; " that of being an Engliſh ſubject would alone be the diſtinction required.

" A regular account ſhould be opened and kept with each individual member, wherein " credit ſhould be given for every ſubſcription paid to the fund, and the parties debited with " all ſums drawn out for aſſiſtance. The remaining balance alone the members ſhould have " the power of transferring to the ſtock of the aſſociation only, in the place to which he or ſhe " may meditate a removal. A balance amounting to a certain ſum of this funded property, " proportionate to the age and ſtate of health of any member, ſhould be indiſpenſibly neceſ- " ſary to gain admittance into a new aſſociation. Without gaining ſuch admiſſion, no one " ſhould be permitted to become a new reſident in any pariſh or diſtrict.

" Whether the fund ſo collected in each pariſh or diſtrict ſhould there remain for the ſer- " vice of the ſubſcribing members therein, the ſurplus once a quarter being remitted to one " grand treaſury, or general fund; or, the ſubſcription being inadequate to the demands, a

" ſum

thoſe particular trades and ſituations, in which the injudicious regulations of governments have fortified the employers with the excluſive privileges of monopoly, thoſe, who enter into their ſervice, muſt, in ſome degree, ſubmit to the harſh conditions which they may think proper to impoſe: but this, I conceive, is far from being the caſe with the general maſs of employers and employed in England. It is true that the man, who poſſeſſes any portion of accumulated ſtock, is not obliged, while it laſts, to the ſevere terms which may be impoſed on him by an employer, in order to ſupply himſelf with the immediate neceſſaries of life. The man who has only the unſubſtantial property of

" ſum once a quarter be applied for to anſwer ſuch deficiency; or, whether it ſhould be " added to all the like ſubſcriptions within each hundred, each county, or ſhire, is for future " conſideration. Difficulties will be attendant on the firſt arrangements in any way; but, ſo " far as any determination can be formed without the help of experience, the firſt method " hath the preference.

" The ſmaller the aſſociations, the better their internal buſineſs will be managed; and the " only inconveniency will be, that of the parties removing from one pariſh or diſtrict to ano- " ther, which may be provided againſt with little trouble.

" It perhaps may be important, that the general treaſure of this funded property be divid- " ed; one eſtabliſhed in London for the South, and the other in York or Newcaſtle for the " North of England; though each ſhould be under the ſame regulations, and both equally " amenable to the neceſſities of the ſubſcribers.

" A per centage ſhould be allowed the clergyman in every pariſh or diſtrict for receiving " the ſubſcriptions, out of which he ſhould ſatisfy the clerk for the trouble he may have in " collecting the tickets from employers. Security ſhould be given by the clergyman, " according to the ſurplus ſum likely at any time to be in his poſſeſſion, between one quarter " day and another. As no one ought to be benefited by the uſe of the Society's money, each " reſpective treaſury ſhould have power to order the remittances from ſuch pariſhes or diſ- " tricts more frequently than once a quarter, where the accruing balance ſhould be ſo conſi- " derable as to become an object to the funded property. Theſe two grand capitals, when " united together, ſhould, at ſtated times, be placed out at intereſt, under proper direction, " in the public funds, or on other permanent ſecurity. After the accumulation of a certain " ſum, which ſhould be conſidered as a ſacred fund, not to be broken in upon; but, with it's " intereſt, left to increaſe, and to remain as a proviſion in times of ſcarcity like the preſent; " whatever might hereafter be the reſidue in favour of the Society, after ſatisfying the claims " of the incapacitated, and the annuities awarded to ſoldiers, ſailors, and perſons of ad- " vanced ages, ſhould yearly, or as often as might be thought proper, be applied to the bind- " ing of children out as apprentices, or to any other purpoſes which from time to time " might generally be recommended by the Aſſociation, and conſented to by Parliament.

of labour to offer in exchange for the real viſible produce of landed property, and whoſe daily wants require daily exertion, muſt, it may be ſaid, from the very nature of his ſituation, be almoſt entirely at the mercy of his employer. This would actually be the caſe, if, notwithſtanding an unequal diſtribution of accumulated property, thoſe who poſſeſſed it, and thoſe who had only their manual labour to depend on, were influenced by the ſame wants, and ſatisfied with the ſame gratifications. The ardent thirſt, however, for the elegancies and ſuperfluities of life, (which is often the cauſe, but oftener the conſequence, of the accumulation of property,) operates with no leſs imperious force in obliging the employers to call in the aſſiſtance of the employed, than the preſſing want of indiſpenſible neceſſaries does, in obliging the labouring claſſes of the community to ſolicit employment from the capitaliſt. Their reſpective wants, though of a very different nature, produce a reciprocity of intereſt. One claſs wants work; the other, workmen. The employer endeavours to lower, and the workman to raiſe, the rate of wages. In ſmall aſſociations, either of maſters, or of workmen, this may ſometimes be effected through the means of a legal monopoly; but, conſidering the community as divided into two great bodies, of employers and employed, it ſeems impoſſible that the former ſhould ever be able to enter into any effectual combination in order to reduce the reward of labour below it's proper ſtandard. It may, too, be remarked,

"As it would be impoſſible that a plan of this ſort, involving many difficulties, and creating much labour, ſhould be carried into execution without a certain expence being incurred in receiving the ſubſcriptions—keeping the accounts—tranſacting the various buſineſs of each aſſociation, and correſponding with all the others, a proviſion is propoſed to be made for ſuch expence, not out of the Society's funds, which are intended to be kept free of all deduction; but by charging five per cent. on all allowances granted for aſſiſtance, and on the transferring or removal of any member's individual property from one aſſociation to that of another. The former will amount to but a few pence weekly, which will not inconvenience thoſe who are relieved; and the latter, which may be of more conſiderable amount, will have the deſirable effect of preventing that reſtleſs ſpirit in ſome individuals, which, by experience, hath been proved to be ſo greatly ſubverſive of good order and the peace of ſociety. The whole of this propoſed meaſure, it may be neceſſary to obſerve, hath relation alone to the Society of the employed, who may be liable to become members of the Society of the Poor; and hath no reference whatever to thoſe who are now permanent members of that Society."

that no ſuch diviſion exiſts in any Society. In every civilized country, the pooreſt inhabitant is an *employer*, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word. Every ploughman, who wears a pair of yarn hoſe and clouted ſhoon, contributes to the ſupport and ſubſiſtence of the claſs which is engaged in the manufacture of theſe articles; yet he never dreams of aſſociating with his neighbours, in order to compel an hoſier to ſell his hoſe, or a ſhoemaker to ſell his ſhoes, at a reduced price. The inſenſible progreſs of ſociety has excited in him a deſire, and afforded him the means, of obtaining this comfortable ſpecies of cloathing. He conſults only his own convenience in purchaſing it: others do the ſame, without calling in the advice of their neighbours; and it is thus that the aggregate demand is formed, which regulates the quantity that will be manufactured. The market price of the commodity, it is juſtly remarked, depends on the proportion between the quantity which is actually brought to market, and the demand of thoſe who are willing to pay the natural price of the commodity, or the whole value of the rent, labour, and profit, which muſt be paid in order to bring it thither [1]. It is the ſame with every other employer, and every other commodity, (whether it be labour, or it's ſubſtantial produce,) the price, which it will fetch, will not depend on the avarice, whim, or caprice, of the individual purchaſer, but on the general demand and ſupply, neither of which can be affected by him in any very ſenſible degree. That theſe circumſtances, and not the combined influence of the employers, regulate the reward of labour, ſeems ſufficiently apparent from the fluctuations which take place, from time to time, in the rate of wages. Thus, as Adam Smith obſerves, the demand for country labour is greater at hay-time and harveſt than during the reſt of the year, and the wages of agricultural labourers riſe accordingly. Upon the ſame principle it is, that, in time of war, when forty or fifty thouſand ſailors are forced from the merchants' ſervice into his Majeſty's navy, the demand for ſailors to merchant ſhips neceſſarily riſes with their ſcarcity; and the conſequence is, that thoſe who are employed in that ſervice are better paid during war, than peace [2]. The combination of the ſhip-owners could no more prevent a riſe in ſeamen's wages in time of war, than a combination of the ſea-

[1] Smith's Wealth of Nations, 5th ed. i. 84. [2] Ibid. 177.

men

men could prevent a fall in them, when nine tenths of the crews employed in the navy were paid off.

Were this ſuppoſed combination among the employers exerted in conſequence of the eſtabliſhment of a Poor's Rate, we might naturally expect to find the rate of wages much higher in thoſe countries in which no ſuch inſtitution exiſted. This, however, is not the caſe: notwithſtanding the check which the Poor Syſtem gives to induſtry, (and in this way only does it, indirectly, affect the labouring claſſes,) the reward of labour is more liberal in England, than in either of the neighbouring countries, Ireland or Scotland. I will venture to add, that, at no period whatever before the paſſing of the 43d of Elizabeth, (which is commonly, though erroneouſly, conſidered as the firſt Statute that provided a compulſory maintenance for the Poor,) could the labouring claſſes acquire ſuch a portion of the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life by a day's work, as they could before the late unparalleled advance in the price of the neceſſaries of life. Mr. Vancouver, indeed, ſays, that it is moſt certain that there was a time when labour protected againſt that deſcription of poverty, which hath been conſidered of moral production [1]; by which, I conceive, he means poverty occaſioned by accident, temporary want of health, or ſuſpenſion of employment. It is, however, to be regretted, that this ingenious Author has not been able to point out to us that era of our hiſtory, in which the labouring claſſes found, in their daily earnings, an adequate reſource againſt the unforeſeen calamities of occaſional incapacity.

I purpoſely abſtain from entering into a minute inveſtigation of the merits of the Bill reſpecting the Poor, which has been prepared according to the plan opened by Mr. Pitt, to the Houſe of Commons, in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament; becauſe, as the Bill has received conſiderable alterations ſince it was firſt printed, and may ſtill go through "great varieties of untried being," before it is ſubmitted to the conſideration of the Legiſlature, any obſervations which might be made on it, in it's preſent form, might not be applicable to it when ſubmitted to legiſ-

[1] Enquiry into the Cauſes and Production of Poverty, &c. p. 55.

lative

lative diſcuſſion. I confeſs, however, that, from a general view only of the laſt printed draught, with which I have been favoured, and of which the Reader will find the principal heads in the Appendix to this Volume, it does not appear to me, that the plan, as it now ſtands, will either be very alluring to the Poor themſelves, or very encouraging to thoſe who are to maintain them. The Poor, who want relief, are to educate their children in ſuch manner as ſhall be preſcribed; not by any particular Act, or clauſe or clauſes in any Act framed for that eſpecial purpoſe, but by the pariſh-officers; or elſe to ſend them to ſome Schools of Induſtry, as they are to be called, which are to be eſtabliſhed in incorporated pariſhes, and are to be managed by Wardens, (with ſalaries,) under the ſuperintendance of Viſitors, and the controul of Juſtices of the Peace. The functions of the various officers to be created and put into employment by this Bill, and more eſpecially of the Juſtices, are extremely multifarious. They are (by this plan,) empowered to purchaſe, build [1], hire warehouſes, within their diſtrict, for the ſafe depoſit of the materials, which may be wanted for the ſchools, and which may be manufactured in them; and to purchaſe, build, or hire work-houſes, for employing the Poor in manufacturing theſe materials; to hire ſkilful workmen to weave theſe articles, (which have been worked up by the Poor according to their reſpective abilities,) into wearing apparel; to appoint warehouſe-men, with ſalaries; to fix the price of manufactured goods; to enter into contracts with perſons for ſupplying the Poor with materials; to ſettle the rate of wages to be allowed in the ſchools of induſtry, and to be paid by the inhabitants to the Poor who are out of employ. A parochial fund is to be eſtabliſhed, to which the labouring claſſes may ſubſcribe, and from which allowances are to be made to ſick and ſuperannuated members.

[1] May it not be expected that this part of the plan will be the pregnant ſource of jobs? The expence of all public buildings, is, I believe, in general, greatly diſproportionate to their utility; and when it is conſidered, (what I am told is the fact,) that *Builders* have gained ſome influence in *Veſtries*, we may be aſſured that ſchools of induſtry will be erected on extenſive and expenſive plans; and, perhaps, like the new gaols, exhibit all the new-fangled varieties of architecture: an art, which, it is to be lamented, is at a very low ebb in England; and has done little to render our cottages commodious, or our palaces magnificent.

bers. If the allowances are proportioned to the ſubſcriptions, and, as I apprehend is the caſe, it is left to the option of people to ſubſcribe to a general Parochial Society, or to one of their own framing and managing, it is eaſy to ſee which they will prefer. If, on the contrary, the allowances exceed the ſubſcriptions, the deficiency muſt become a charge on the Poor's Rate. This is provided for by the Act: but it is to be hoped, that ſome eſtimate of the probable annual expence of parochial funds will be laid before Parliament, as well as an eſtimate of the probable expence of erecting or purchaſing ſchools of induſtry, work-houſes, and warehouſes; together with an eſtimate of the probable amount of ſalaries to wardens, warehouſe-keepers, and guardians. There is good reaſon to apprehend, that, in many inſtances, the produce of goods manufactured by the Poor will not pay for the raw materials, and the ſalaries of the teachers and hired workmen[a]. The proviſions in this Bill are too numerous, too various, and too complex; and the whole machinery much too complicated for Juſtices of the Peace, ſaddled as they already are with other buſineſs, to attempt to manage it. Excluſive of all the trouble thrown on the magiſtrates, the intricate ſyſtem of guardians of the Poor, viſitors, wardens, treaſurers, warehouſe-men, teachers, hired workmen, and the duties of overſeers with offices, and overſeers without offices, will, it is to be preſumed, prevent the Bill, as it now ſtands, from ever paſſing into a law. Before the Legiſlature accedes to this ſpecious propoſal of eſtabliſhing ſchools, (ſuch as the French would call *ecoles normales*,) for the undefined education of the children of the Poor, they will do well to inform themſelves, with ſome care and exactneſs, on two previous topics of enquiry; namely: what has been the reſult of ſimilar inſtitutions, which have already been tried on a ſmall ſcale? and what ideas the Public in general are likely to entertain of the project? I have been informed, that the ſpinning ſchools in Lincolnſhire, whether with or without reaſon, have, however, in general, excited much diſſatisfaction.

How others may regard this ſcheme, it is not for me to conjecture:

[a] See the 2d vol. p. 424.

but,

but, for myſelf, I am free to own, (and I both think and ſpeak of it without prejudice,) that at preſent, I ſee in it, if adopted, only the certainty of a prodigious increaſe of expence, merely to try an experiment. The Public were certainly taught to expect ſomething more than this: it was generally ſuppoſed we were now to have our whole Syſtem of Poor Laws reviſed and amended; not becauſe the Poor were neglected or ill treated, of which there are not even any ſuſpicions, but in order that the heavy and overpowering burthen laid on the ſhoulders of perſons of landed property, might, if poſſible, be a little mitigated; or, at leaſt, prevented from daily and rapidly growing more and more intolerable. Nothing of this kind, however, yet appears in the Bill: not a ſingle movement does it make in favour of agriculture.

I will only add, that, if it ſhould appear, upon further inveſtigation, or ſuſpicions only be excited, that the appointment of guardians has a tendency to increaſe and extend the influence of Government throughout the country; and that the perſons entruſted with the relief of the Poor are to be inveſted with a compulſory power of forcing their children to be educated according to their own, poſſibly crude, and certainly diſcordant, notions of propriety; or even if the courſe of education is to be preſcribed, not by law, nor by any long eſtabliſhed and tried ſyſtem, but by the vague opinions of men totally without experience in ſuch ſubjects; may it not, and will it not too, probably be ſaid, that it is aſſuming and exerciſing ſuch a ſtretch of power, as, to ſay the leaſt of it, will hardly be thought to accord well with the genius of our conſtitution; and thus a clamour be raiſed againſt this well-intended meaſure, which cannot but be unpropitious to it's favourable reception?

What then, (it may be aſked, and no doubt will be aſked,) is to be done in a caſe which avowedly calls for the attention of the Legiſlature? Are we to acquieſce in the unreformed continuance of a ſyſtem, which is very generally admitted to be the parent of idleneſs and improvidence; and to be the fruitful ſource of endleſsly accumulating expence? By no means. But before the mighty machine of reform is ſet in motion, I conceive, ſome ſuch preliminary enquiries as theſe ſhould be inſtituted. What are the actual evils which our Poor Laws have unqueſtionably created? What is their extent? What has been

the effect of various local modifications of the general law in different parts of the kingdom? Are the Poor either taken better care of, or maintained at a leſs expence, in incorporated diſtricts, than they are in ſmall pariſhes? Are their children more healthy, more orderly, or more induſtrious, from being educated in ſchools of induſtry? What are the comparative advantages, or diſadvantages, of farming the Poor, of relieving them in a work-houſe, or maintaining them at their own houſes; of furniſhing them with the neceſſaries of life, or granting them a pecuniary allowance, to be expended at their own diſcretion?

It would be illiberal and wrong to ſuſpect, that propoſitions, which, we are aſſured, have ariſen from a careful examination of the ſubject[1], are not founded on full and accurate information. But the Public have a right to aſk, and therefore do aſk, that ſuch information may be laid before the Houſe of Commons. Without it, how can they judge of propoſitions, which, as now preſented to the Public, are mere abſtract propoſitions; how can they hope to reach the root of the evil, whatever that evil may be? Mr. Pitt's Bill, indeed, at the ſame time that it makes a compleat alteration in the Poor Laws, propoſes the appointment of proper officers to report the ſtate of each pariſh. Theſe reports, when obtained, (as Mr. Howlett juſtly obſerves,) may poſſibly ſuggeſt many new ideas to Parliament, and enable them to frame regulations, which may ſo influence the courſe of events, as gradually to produce the much-talked-of level between wants and wages, without legiſlative interference[2].

It appears to me, however, that ſuch enquiry, and ſuch reports, ſhould rather form the baſis of future regulation, than conſtitute a ſubordinate part of a new and intricate ſyſtem, offered for immediate adoption. Before

[1] See Mr. Pitt's Speech in Debrett's Parl. Reg. xliv. 22.

[2] Examination of Mr. Pitt's Speech, 50. I queſtion, however, whether the Reports from the Guardians to the Privy Council will anſwer the expectations, which ſeem to be entertained, that this meaſure will produce an annual Poor Budget. The Privy Council, engaged as they are upon ſubjects of the greateſt importance, will hardly find time to inveſtigate and arrange the voluminous maſs of complex accounts which will be tranſmitted to them, to detect the errors of miſrepreſentation, (which will moſt aſſuredly frequently occur,) and to form

Before we chalk out a new and adventurous road, it would ſurely be wiſe to examine the heights and levels of the country we mean to improve. To the advocates for any attempts to produce, by legiſlative controul, what I conceive would be more eaſily effected by the unconſtrained efforts of unſhackled induſtry, I cannot better reply than by repeating the very judicious remarks, which Mr. Pitt himſelf introduced, on Mr. Whitbread's motion for the ſecond reading of his Bill for regulating the wages of labourers. And it is with all due deference ſubmitted to the conſideration of others, how far thoſe remarks are, or are not, equally applicable to the new ſyſtem in contemplation. He ſays: "it is admitted, that if the price of labour can find it's own level, "it would be impolitic to interfere. If Mr. Whitbread's remedy ſuc- "ceeded, according to the moſt ſanguine expectations, it only eſta- "bliſhed what would have been better effected by principle; and if it "failed, on the one hand, it might produce the ſevereſt oppreſſion, and "on the other, encourage the moſt profligate idleneſs and extravagance. "Is it not better for the Houſe, then, to conſider the operation of gene- "ral principles, and rely upon the effects of their unconfined exerciſe? "Is it not wiſer to reflect what remedy may be adopted, at once more "general in it's principles, and more comprehenſive in it's object; leſs "exceptionable in it's example, and leſs dangerous in it's application? "The Houſe ſhould look to the inſtances where interference had "ſhackled induſtry, and where the beſt intentions had often produced "the moſt pernicious effects[1]."

Without, however, making any immediate or violent alteration in the general out-line of the exiſting Poor Laws, there are, I conceive, many ſound and ſafe principles, upon which the Legiſlature may proceed, in

form the whole into ſuch well abſtracted and perſpicuous report or reports, as may excite the attention both of the Legiſlature and the Public. To perform this arduous taſk, to any good end, will require minds wholly devoted to the buſineſs; and I much doubt, whether the eſtabliſhment of a Board (the exiſtence of which, like that of the Board of Agriculture, ſhould depend on their continuing to be uſeful,) would not, both in point of economy and intelligence, be the beſt link of communication between pariſh or diſtrict officers, and the Legiſlature.

[1] The Reader will find the whole of this able ſpeech in the Appendix, No. xi. I readily aſſent to moſt, but not to every one, of the poſitions which it lays down. What evidence, for

in correcting the evils of a ſyſtem, which, it cannot be denied, has created ſupineneſs and negligence in it's adminiſtrators, and lazineſs and improvidence in it's objects. To the reformer of our Poor Laws, however, I would ſuggeſt many of the ſage reflections, and much of the conſtitutional advice, offered by Mr. Burke, in his ſpeech in 1780, on a reform in the Civil Liſt. "In a plan of reformation," he ſays, "it "would be one of my maxims, that, when I know of an eſtabliſhment, "which may be ſubſervient to uſeful purpoſes, and which, at the ſame "time, from it's diſcretionary nature, is liable to a very great perver-"ſion from theſe purpoſes, I would *limit the quantity of the power*, "*that might be ſo abuſed.*" Upon the ſame principle, it would ſeem adviſeable to limit the aſſeſſments for the maintenance of the Poor, to the average of the laſt ſeven, or laſt three years, or whatever other average might be found to be more proper [1].

In order, likewiſe, to facilitate any further, but gradual, reduction of this moſt burthenſome tax, (from which the commercial and manufacturing intereſts are almoſt wholly exempted,) it might be expedient to direct a new average to be taken at the end of ſome ſtated period,—every ſeven years, for inſtance; and the ſubſequent Rate to be regulated by the average of the preceding ſeven years [1]. There would thus be room for future economy, though not for future extravagance.

That improvident overſeers may be precluded from expending, in a few months, that ſum which is intended for the current expence of the year, it might be adviſeable to divide the whole annual collection into ſuch

for inſtance, has there been laid before the Public, that the labourer is unable to ſupply, by his wages, the neceſſities of himſelf, and thoſe of his children, when his family is numerous? or even that Friendly Societies, (of which I confeſs I entertain very high opinions,) are likely to contribute to alleviate the immenſe charge, with which the Public is loaded, for the ſupport of the Poor? Whether this may, or may not, be the caſe, it is ſurely extremely eſſential that the Legiſlature ſhould be furniſhed with ample documents, the reſult of full and accurate inveſtigation, before they proceed to offer even further aid to theſe uſeful inſtitutions: they are ſenſitive plants, which ſhrink from the touch of parliamentary interference: and I much miſtake, if the late well-intended Acts, (which were paſſed, no doubt, with a view of removing the difficulties the Clubs laboured under,) have not reduced their number.

[1] It might, perhaps, be adviſeable, if ever a new valuation ſhould take place preparatory to an additional land-tax, that the Poor's Rate ſhould be levied according to ſuch new valuation; and only upon the net rental, after deducting the ſum paid to the land-tax. At preſent,

ſuch monthly, or even weekly, portions, as, upon a fair inveſtigation of the relative wants of the Poor, at different ſeaſons of the year, might be deemed moſt equitable. Reſtricted to a ſpecific ſum, the adminiſtrators of parochial charity would apply it (it is fair to ſuppoſe,) with more frugality and diſcrimination, than where they feel their fund has no other bounds than what they may ſet to their benevolence.

I propoſe a limited aſſeſſment [r] with the greater confidence, becauſe it has been often recommended in many excellent political works, and by men of great practical experience. Arthur Young, who has in moſt of his valuable publications urged the neceſſity of recurring to this cor-

a perſon who is under-rated is doubly favoured; and in no place is the net rental made the criterion of the ability of the perſon rated to the Poor's Rate. A man who pays £100. a year for his houſe, in an unimproved part of the kingdom, where the land-tax is 4s. in the pound, and the Poor's Rate the ſame, in fact pays to the Poor 5s. in the pound on his net rental £80. In a London pariſh, where the land-tax is only 1s. (for inſtance) in the pound, a 4s. Poor's Rate on £100. a year, groſs rental, is 4s. 9d. in the pound on the net rental.

Another grievance, which merits the attention of the Legiſlature, is, the very heavy and unequal burthen now borne by pariſhes on the ſea coaſt, and more particularly by the large commercial towns, (in conſequence of the War,) in maintaining the families of ſeamen who have been preſſed into his Majeſty's ſervice. This burthen does not fall only on merchants, and others connected with commerce, who may be ſuppoſed, in ſome degree, to be repaid for this extraordinary expenee, by the protection which our maritime force is more peculiarly calculated to afford this claſs of the community; but on occupiers, of various other deſcriptions. Surely this article of expence concerns the Public at large, and ſhould be borne by them: rather than by the pariſh, or even by the county, as is the caſe with the families of militiamen. The hardſhip of the Law, as it now ſtands, is very ſeriouſly complained of in many of our ſea-ports. See 2d Volume, p. 563.

[r] Limiting the Poor's Rate is not unprecedented. The principle, that the public fund for the relief of the Poor may be confined within certain bounds, has been frequently recognized by the Legiſlature. I believe all the Acts for incorporating particular diſtricts direct that the future Rate ſhall not exceed the average of ſome certain number of preceding years*: and in Mr. Pitt's intended Bill there is a clauſe, which directs, that, in certain caſes, a limitation of the Poor's Rate ſhall take place. See § 23. I have heard the following reform in our Poor's Syſtem ſuggeſted, as a means of deſtroying litigation and vagrancy; but it appears to me to be open to ſtill greater objections than the limitation I propoſe. Let an average of the Poor's Rates in every pariſh be taken for the laſt ſeven years, and formed into a general fund for the relief of the Poor. If there ſhould be any ſurplus, let it be applied towards the reduction of the national debt: if a deficiency, let it be made up by public grants.

* Owing, however, to the preſſure of the times, enlarged powers have been given to the guardians of incorporated diſtricts by 36 Geo. 3. c. 10.

rective

rective of the Poor Laws, juſtly remarks, that, "had ſuch an Act been "paſſed ten years before he wrote, limiting the aſſeſſments to the average "of the preceding ſeven years," (a meaſure which he had frequently urged in print,) "it would have ſaved half a million a year in expen-"diture, and four times that amount in the prevention of poverty and "diſtreſs[1]."

It does not occur to me, that any very ſolid objections can be made to the adoption of this meaſure. I conceive they chiefly amount to this:—that if, from the ſeverity of an inclement winter, from the careleſſneſs of pariſh-officers, or from other circumſtances, the limited aſſeſſment were found inadequate to ſupply the impotent Poor with the neceſſaries of life, many perſons muſt inevitably periſh for want. To this it may be replied, that thoſe who really want, and cannot get relief from the pariſh, may yet have recourſe to the diſcriminating liberality of individuals: a fund which never yet has failed; and it is probable never will fail, till the nation is overwhelmed in greater calamities than it experiences at preſent. Many caſes might be enumerated, in which it is not practicable to apply to a pariſh-officer for relief; "there are many requiſites to a comfortable ſubſiſtence, which pariſh "relief does not always ſupply; and there are ſome, who would ſuffer "almoſt as much from receiving pariſh relief, as by the want of it[2];" and it may further be added, that there are many modes of charity, to which parochial interference is not applicable. Are not the indigent, in ſuch inſtances, liberally provided for by the ſuccour of the humane and benevolent?

It is, in my humble opinion, a miſtaken idea, that the nation is indiſpenſably called upon, in it's collective capacity, to educate the orphan, feed the aged and impotent, and provide employment for the induſtrious. Theſe are duties, on the individual, of high and powerful obligation. Our legal eſtabliſhment, vaſt and extenſive as it may be in it's object, and unbounded in it's means, leaves many deficiencies, which muſt be ſupplied by voluntary charity. The compulſion of the Law is merely confined to the removal of extreme wants, in caſes of the moſt urgent neceſſity.

[1] Travels in France, i. 440.

[2] Paley's Moral Philoſophy, B. iii. C. 5.

neceſſity. Content with this narrow, but neceſſary limit, it here "ends "it's office as guardian of the Poor, leaving the reſt to the faithful "truſts of the ſentiments of our minds, the feelings of our hearts, the "compunctions of our conſciences, as their friends; but this great "charge of the overplus of charity, is not thus left without a practical "ſecurity for the proviſion againſt the infirmities of one part of man-"kind in the generoſity of the other. So far is the Legiſlature from "having reaſon to repent the ſacred depoſit of the wants of ſome, in "the abundance of others, that as many inſtances might be found of the "ſurplus of charity, as of it's deficiency."

It ſeems likewiſe to be but juſtice, both to the payers and receivers of Poor's Rate, that other parochial charges ſhould not be blended with the Poor account. On this ſubject, the able report which I have juſt cited makes the following judicious obſervations. "While they" (the Poor's Rates,) "are certainly, even in their proper uſe, much increaſ-"ed, and ſtill increaſing, yet it is alſo obſervable, that improper abuſes "have crept into them, by which they become more and more encum-"bered with what does not properly belong to them; therefore, the "Poor appear to have more than they really have contributed to them, "while, of courſe, the contributors are in the ſame proportion burdened. "In fact, the general Poor Rate conſiſts commonly of the proper Poor "Rate, the County Rate, and often the Church Rate. In an average "of (three) years, ending in 1785, it appears, by the parliamentary "documents, that, of the whole collected nominally for the Poor, one-"ſeventh part was not really ſo; and the lately growing practice, of "throwing the great expences under the ſeveral Acts, as in the Land "Quota Bill [1], into the Poor Rate, tends ſtill more to enlarge it; be-"ſides which legal uſe, a great illegal abuſe prevails in many pariſhes, "of introducing into it matters relative to the highways, and other to-"tally extraneous articles [2]. Theſe practices, ſo injurious to the payers

[1] A ſecond ſeaman and landſman's Bill has juſt paſſed, which will ſaddle the Rate of this year with an immenſe additional increaſe: probably more than £300,000.; as 15,000 men are to be thus provided. See 37 Geo. 3. c. 4.

[2] Of theſe practices the Reader will meet with ſeveral inſtances in the Second Volume of this Work.

" and receivers of the Poor Rate, will continue until the more intelli-
" gent and honourable Pariſhioners interfere, as they ought, to check
" theſe and ſimilar abuſes; in ſhort, until Veſtries become, what they
" were always meant to be, general aſſemblies of pariſhioners, inſtead
" of what they too often are, partial confederacies of pariſh-officers.
" It is, therefore, juſtice to the Poor, who have the repute of greater
" contributions than they have the benefit of, to ſtate this grievance,
" and, as far as may be, to remedy it, by introducing as little as poſſible
" into the Poor Rate, that does not properly belong to it, and eſpecially
" by avoiding and diſallowing all unneceſſary expences of entertain-
" ments or other extravagancies, which are as unfeeling and unſuitable
" to the occaſion, as the barbarous cuſtom, not otherwiſe unlike them,
" in ſome countries, of feſtivals at funerals [1]."

At the ſame time that the Legiſlature limited the aſſeſſments in each pariſh, and reſtricted their application to their ancient and proper uſe, the relief of the Poor; it would materially aſſiſt future enquiries on this ſubject, if pariſh-officers were obliged to keep their accounts in a more uniform and regular manner than is done at preſent. The Legiſlature has, to a certain extent, adopted this meaſure with regard to the Infant Poor, in the metropolis, by the 7 Geo. 3. c. 39. The officers entruſted with the management of the Poor in the different pariſhes within the bills of mortality, are directed to regiſter the age of children admitted into work-houſes, together with births, deaths, and many other circumſtances, which the political enquirer muſt neceſſarily advert to, before he decides on the merits or defects of parochial inſtitutions. I have inſerted the forms required by the Act of Parliament, in Appendix, No. xvi. The Reader will likewiſe find, in the Second Volume of this Work, a few ſpecimens of printed accounts [2], which, in ſome pariſhes, are publiſhed every year, for the ſatisfaction of the inhabitants. I am ſorry to ſay that this very uſeful meaſure is adopted in few parts of the kingdom. Nor are any of the annual ſtatements,

[1] Ann. of Agric. xxv. 389.

[2] See likewiſe a ſpecimen of Books for Accounts of Pariſh Poor, in a Collection of Pamphlets concerning the Poor, in 4to. publiſhed in 1787.

which

which have fallen within my obſervation, ſufficiently clear or circumſtantial. Not only the number, age, ſex, and infirmities, of the perſons receiving parochial aid, ſhould be ſpecified; but the weekly allowances to each deſcription of Paupers, the weekly expenditure in work-houſes, and the quantity and price of proviſions and other articles purchaſed for the Poor, ſhould be detailed in ſuch a manner as to afford the payers of the Poor's Rate an opportunity of judging whether the fund to which they contribute is adminiſtered with frugality and judgment. It is true, that, at preſent, every pariſhioner has a right to inſpect the pariſh-officers' accounts: but this is a right which is ſeldom exerciſed; and, indeed, in moſt inſtances, it would be labour thrown away. The receipts and diſburſements from the day-book of an overſeer, or the maſter of a work-houſe, would afford little information, till they were methodized and arranged in a Ledger. A man, however, who is on the point of quitting his ſhort-lived office, ſeldom thinks of undertaking this trouble. It is ſufficient if he make ſuch a ſtatement as will ſatisfy the Juſtices, who are to paſs his accounts. Indeed, as it often happens that the perſon who is choſen overſeer is utterly unacquainted with arithmetic, and that no ſet form of book-keeping is pointed out by the Legiſlature, or by individuals, who are converſant with accounts; and as no ſevere penalty attaches on an overſeer for deſtroying the books of his predeceſſors; it is no wonder that the entries ſhould be ſeldom clear and ſatisfactory, and that the preſervation of parochial records ſhould be ſo little attended to.

It is, therefore, much to be wiſhed, that the Legiſlature would oblige pariſh-officers to provide themſelves with account-books, conſtructed on the moſt approved models, for regiſtering receipts and expenditures, number of Poor, mortality, and ſuch other circumſtances as the Public are intereſted in knowing; and would, likewiſe, direct, that a printed ſtatement, abſtracted from the pariſh-books, (in ſuch manner as may be judged proper, and pointed out in the ſchedules of the next Poor Act,) ſhould be annually delivered to ſuch of the inhabitants as are aſſeſſed to the Poor's Rate, and laid before the General Quarter Seſſions of the county, in which the pariſh it relates to is ſituated. I think too, that parochial records ſhould be acceſſible to a ſtranger, upon his paying a reaſonable fee for inſpection. Every member of the commu-

nity is more or leſs intereſted in the correction, and, conſequently, in the previous inveſtigation, of thoſe abuſes, which, though immediately confined to a ſmall pariſh, often ſpread the contagion of idleneſs and improvidence through the ſurrounding country.

It would be extremely ſerviceable to the labouring claſſes, if the Juſtices were empowered to enforce the payment of wages, not exceeding £10., to ſervants of every deſcription, in the ſame manner in which they are now authorized by ſtatute to order the payment of wages for agricultural labour [1]. A poor girl, who has 40 or 50s. due to her for wages, from a maſter, who has not employed her in huſbandry, cannot, without conſiderable expence and difficulty, commence any legal proceſs for obtaining payment of this inconſiderable ſum.

Perhaps it might likewiſe be adviſeable to introduce Courts of Conſcience, (or ſome other ſummary mode of recovering ſmall debts,) into every part of the kingdom.

Mr. Gilbert gives the following inſtance of the hardſhips to which poor perſons are expoſed, by the methods now taken for the recovery of ſmall debts, in the county, and other inferior courts.

"A poor labourer, owing 1s. 6d. for ſhop-goods, was ſerved with a "ſummons, to appear at the Hundred Court; and in the margin of "the ſummons was printed as under:

		s.	d.
"Warrant to ſue	- - -	1	0
"Entering action, ſummons, ſervice, and fee		3	4
"Withdrawing and fee	- - -	2	6
	Coſts -	6	10

"By which proceeding, this poor man was charged with a ſum above "four times the amount of the debt, at the inſtant he had notice of any "action being commenced againſt him; which he muſt either ſubmit to, "however unjuſt the demand might be, or ſuffer his goods to be diſ-"trained, &c. &c. and hazard a much greater expence by the leaſt "delay [2]."

[1] See p. 292-5.

[2] Heads of a Bill, &c. 1787.—p. 29.

CHAP-

CHAPTER II.

Of the Diet, Dreſs, Fuel, and Habitation, of the Labouring Claſſes.

CONCERNING the relative advantages enjoyed by the labouring claſſes in different parts of this kingdom, in the important articles of diet, dreſs, fuel, and habitation, the Reader, I fear, will find but little information in the Second Volume of this Work. It was, indeed, part of my original plan to have inveſtigated theſe ſubjects in ſuch a manner as to have enabled me to offer ſome clear and certain concluſions on the practicability of meliorating the condition of thoſe of our fellow-ſubjects, who are the worſt ſupplied with theſe eſſential neceſſaries of life; either in conſequence of ſome local diſadvantages, which prevent them from obtaining equal enjoyments, from equal induſtry, with their neighbours; or, (as is more frequently the caſe,) in conſequence of injudicious and waſteful ſyſtems of domeſtic economy. I moſt ſincerely agree with thoſe who regret that the labourer does not get more for his ſhilling than is uſually the caſe: the misfortune, however, which he experiences in expending it, does not ariſe from (what is ſo often moſt unjuſtly reprobated) his being obliged to purchaſe the few articles he has occaſion for, from petty retail ſhops, and conſequently to pay a larger price for them than his more opulent maſter: but if he does not reap the full reward of his labour, or, in other words, if he does not enjoy thoſe gratifications which his labour can afford him, it is becauſe, either through ignorance, cuſtom, or prejudice, he adheres to ancient improvident ſyſtems in dreſs, in diet, and in other branches of private expenditure. If, for inſtance, it could be demonſtrated to the inhabitant of any country, that the ſum which he appropriates to the purchaſe of cloaths, would procure handſomer, warmer, and in every reſpect better apparel, than that which he uſually provides; or that the vegetable or animal productions, which conſtitute his ordinary diet,

inſtead of being prepared in the way he has been accuſtomed to have them prepared, might, with equal eaſe, be ſo combined as to reduce the expence of his food one half, without rendering it leſs palatable, leſs nutritious, or leſs wholſome;—it might, with the greateſt propriety, be urged, that, in this man's caſe, his ſhilling did not produce his ſhilling's worth. To inſtruct him how to obtain this deſirable end; or if, from his ſituation and circumſtances, or from his inveterate habits and predilections, he is ill diſpoſed to liſten to, and ſtill leſs to follow, any advice, which may be given him on the ſubject[1]; to point out to his employer, thoſe improvements, which his intereſt will prompt him, and his influence will enable him, by well-timed interference, gradually to introduce among thoſe whom he employs; theſe, I conceive, are the moſt obvious methods of attempting to benefit the labouring claſſes with any probability of ſucceſs. Inſtead of the ill-grounded complaints, which have been ſo often reiterated by writers on the Poor, that the wages of induſtry are in general too inadequate to provide the labourer with thoſe comforts and convenencies which are befitting his ſtation in the community[2], they would better ſerve the cauſe of the induſtrious peaſant and manufacturer, by pointing out to them the beſt means of reducing their expences, without diminiſhing their comforts; by ſuggeſting and explaining the mode of preparing cheap and agreeable ſubſtitutes for thoſe articles of diet, which, in times of ſcarcity and diſtreſs, exhauſt ſo much of the daily earnings of a working man, as to leave him little or nothing for many highly requiſite conveniencies;

[1] The public and private diſtribution of cheap pamphlets, on various topics connected with domeſtic economy, might anſwer many uſeful purpoſes. In many parts of England, the eſtabliſhment of a parochial library by ſubſcription, for the purchaſe of books on agriculture and the other uſeful arts, would not only be extremely convenient to the country gentleman of moderate fortune, who cannot afford to purchaſe expenſive books; but often no leſs ſo to the practical farmer, and even to the working manufacturer and day-labourer.

[2] From the information which the Reader will find detailed in the following Reports, it would ſeem that by far the greater part of inmates in work-houſes conſiſt of perſons who have followed thoſe occupations in which the higheſt wages are given. The poor-houſes in the vicinity of the metropolis are full of Paupers of this deſcription; and would furniſh many of Falſtaff's recruits—"diſcarded unjuſt ſerving men, revolted tapſters, and oſtlers trade-fallen:"—in the more remote parts of the kingdom, agricultural labourers are much ſeldomer thrown on the pariſh than manufacturers.

by

by noticing ſuch mechanical contrivances, as may, with little expence, be applied towards rendering the cottager's habitation more comfortable; and ſuch improvements in the uſeful arts, as will enable him to leſſen his expenditure in the article of dreſs; and, in ſhort, by communicating to the inhabitants of thoſe parts of the kingdom, which have made the leaſt progreſs in ſocial improvements, the ſuperior ſkill and ingenuity of other diſtricts, or of other countries, in the various branches of knowledge, which, even in the humbleſt occupations, are wanted for the purpoſes of domeſtic economy [1].

It

[1] Commerce has done much towards furniſhing us with the raw materials and manufactured produce of the moſt diſtant parts of the habitable globe: the humbleſt peaſant in this country, it is probable, is indebted both to the eaſtern and weſtern hemiſpheres, (to the Weſt Indies, which are, at leaſt, 3000 miles, and to the East Indies and China, which are more than 10,000 miles, diſtant from this country,) for ſome of the few articles which conſtitute a part of his morning repaſt. The progreſs, however, of the mechanical arts is much ſlower than that of commerce. We had long known and reaped the benefit of the ſilk-manufactures of Italy, before the machines for fabricating them were made, or even known in England. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that, with regard to manufactures, there are powerful cauſes, (but more particularly the ſecrecy in which manufacturers envelope all new diſcoveries, and the want of capital,) that prevent many important inventions from being extended from one country to another. The monopolizing ſpirit of commercial nations, moreover, often ſucceſsfully interferes to prevent the free participation of the fruits of human ingenuity; but it may be doubted whether ſuch an attempt, by a Government, is a ſound, wiſe policy: and it may, I think, be queſtioned, whether that is an enlightened, or even a beneficial law, which prohibits the emigration of artiſans or manufacturers.

With reſpect, however, to the mechanical contrivances, and ingenious expedients, which are applied to various purpoſes of domeſtic economy, and are, more or leſs, peculiar to different countries, it requires little more than a ſpirit of inquiſitive reſearch in the traveller, in order to inveſtigate, and record them, for the benefit of his countrymen. An uſeful application of a power in nature may, often, be learned by ſtepping into a cottage, or by obſerving the unconcealed operations of agricultural labour. And yet, notwithſtanding myriads of Engliſhmen are for ever wandering through Europe, it is aſtoniſhing how little information of this nature is brought back. With the exception of Arthur Young's intereſting agricultural travels through France, there are very few tours which have been undertaken with the expreſs view of inveſtigating the progreſs of the uſeful arts. It has often ſtruck me as not a little extraordinary, that ſo little notice has been taken, by modern writers, of the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants of that part of Aſia which conſtitutes, perhaps, the faireſt portion of the Britiſh empire. The Eaſt was formerly conſidered as the mother of the arts; and among the various tribes which compoſe the rich, populous, and (I will hope) civilized dominions which we poſſeſs in that quarter of the globe, there are, doubtleſs, many happy inventions,

It is not probable, that the arguments of philanthropiſts ever will have much weight in perſuading the great maſs of employers to increaſe the wages of the employed; for it is by imperious circumſtances alone, which neither maſter nor workman can controul, that the demands of the one, and the conceſſions of the other, are regulated: but, if the labourer can be perſuaded to adopt thoſe economical ſyſtems of his neighbours, which, whilſt they are cheaper, are, demonſtrably, no leſs productive of comfort, than his own unimproved routine of ancient predilections and prejudices, he will cultivate a field from which he is certain of being repaid for his exertions. To convince his employer that his wages ought to be raiſed, may require more eloquence than he is poſſeſſed of: but to make the wages which he receives more productive, depends on a few little frugal arrangements at home. If his earnings are really inſufficient to afford him the neceſſaries and comforts of life, he muſt be miſerably dependent on the good-will of another: but if, on the contrary, by judicious contrivances, (ſuggeſted to him by neceſſity, or recommended to him by the experience of others,) he can be induced ſo to alter his courſe of life, as to effect a conſiderable ſaving in any one article of expence, but more eſpecially in that of diet, he will thereby ſecure himſelf a fund for future independence, and increaſing gratifications [1]. In ſuch an attempt he will have the beſt encouragement

ventions, many ingenious contrivances of mechaniſm in common uſe, many excellent expedients adopted in houſhold economics, which are no leſs worthy of being recorded and tranſmitted to Europe, than the Ordinances of Menu, or the Inſtitutes of Acbar. The ſhiploads of rice, which, during the late ſcarcity, arrived from the Eaſt Indies, would have been more valuable, and more acceptable, if, along with this article of food, the various modes of preparing it, which probably every oriental Apicius is acquainted with, had been communicated to the Public.

[1] Let it not, however, be imagined, that I mean to contend that a general decreaſe in the uſe of conſumable commodities would be at all beneficial to the nation; the thirſt even for ſuperfluities is productive of important national advantages, and of many individual comforts: all I mean to inſiſt on is, that the labourer's income may be ſpent in a far more advantageous way to himſelf than it uſually is, and with equal profit to thoſe who ſubſiſt by the demand for conſumable commodities. He has, no doubt, a right to diſpoſe of his earnings in any way not injurious to his health or moral faculties: and I entirely agree with the Author of the following paſſage, (which has been quoted by Arthur Young in his "Political Arithmetic:) "A clean ſhirt and a laced hat are not inconſiſtent with piety and virtue, nor Ortolans

ragement to proceed, becauſe the ſucceſs will depend upon himſelf: and, indeed, I believe it is in general the caſe, both in the elevated, and in the humble, ſpheres of life, that the comforts, which we ſo anxiouſly thirſt after, depend more on a due attention to domeſtic concerns, than on thoſe extraneous, (though apparently more important,) circumſtances, which reſult from the purſuits of the profeſſion we are engaged in, or the nature of the Government we live under. There ſeems to be juſt reaſon to conclude, that the miſeries of the labouring Poor ariſe, leſs from the ſcantineſs of their income, (however much the philanthropiſt might wiſh it to be increaſed,) than from their own improvidence and unthriftineſs; ſince it is the fact, and, I truſt, will be demonſtrated in a ſubſequent part of this Work, that, in many parts of the kingdom, where the earnings of induſtry are moderate, the condition of the labourer is more comfortable, than in other diſtricts, where wages are exorbitant [1]. To aſcertain, with preciſion, how far the increaſing

" and Burgundy with temperance, nor a feather-bed with fortitude, nor a pinch of ſnuff with " ſobriety, nor a handſome woman with chaſtity. A man may enjoy them all, and yet act up to " the dignity of his nature, and conformably to the precepts of religion and morality. Neither, " on the other hand, does a man's confining himſelf to the uſe of fat bacon, Lacedemonian " broth, muddy beer, coarſe woollens, a leather doublet, a canvas ſhirt, and a thatched hovel " upon a common, render him the more pious, temperate, ſober, chaſte, religious and vir- " tuous; for he may confine himſelf to the uſe of all thoſe, and yet be a moſt ſlovenly ſinner, " and beaſtly profligate. And it ſeems that the refined debauchee is the moſt eligible character " of the two." A Vindication of Commerce and the Arts, 1758, p. 51.

[1] How then (it may be aſked,) if there is ſo much improvidence in the great maſs of the community, have thoſe frugal accumulations of capital been effected, by which this nation has riſen to opulence and proſperity? To this I would reply, that additions are made to capital (by thoſe who poſſeſs it,) by individual parſimony, much oftener than by any general ſyſtems, or habits of frugality; and that, even admitting it to be the caſe, that hard-working people will often accumulate a very conſiderable ſtock-purſe, it by no means follows, that they make what they actually expend, go as far as they might do. Daniel De-Foe, in noticing the induſtry of his countrymen, calls them the moſt *lazy diligent* people in the world: and with the ſame propriety, I think, (conſidering their increaſing opulence and increaſing diſtreſs,) they may be deemed the moſt *ſaving improvident* nation in the univerſe. There are, however, exceptions to moſt general rules. Mr. Marſhall remarks, that, in one of the midland counties, where (excluſive of an allowance in beer,) the yearly wages of a labourer did not exceed £10., a ruſtic, (who died in 1789, aged 73,) had from the earnings of manual labour reared five children to maturity, and died worth an hundred pounds. Midland Counties, i. 131.

creaſing numbers, and increaſing diſtreſſes of our Poor, have been occaſioned by domeſtic improvidence and miſconduct, and to detail the many economical expedients by which the condition of the labouring claſſes might be bettered, would require much practical knowledge, which I do not poſſeſs, and more comprehenſive details than can fall within the graſp of a ſingle individual. The ſucceſs which has attended my very limited enquiries on theſe points, has been too inconſiderable to enable me to offer much new information on the ſubject, in addition to the very valuable ſuggeſtions with which Count Rumford has favoured the Public, for the promotion of improvements in the domeſtic economy of the labouring Poor. The little which I have to advance on theſe topics, will, I truſt, be conſidered as merely ſupplementary to his more intereſting and original communications; and I am ſorry to have to add, that, though not entirely, it has, in general, perhaps, been derived more from hiſtorical, than from perſonal and local, enquiries.

It muſt ſtrike every one, who has at all inveſtigated the ſubject of diet, (and indeed it will appear from ſeveral of the Reports in this Work, in which the earnings and expenditure of labourers are particularized[1],) that there is not only a remarkable difference in the proportion of earnings appropriated to the purchaſe of ſubſiſtence by labourers in the North and South of England; but that their mode of preparing their food is no leſs diſſimilar. In the South of England, the pooreſt labourers are habituated to the unvarying meal of dry bread and cheeſe from week's end to week's end: and in thoſe families, whoſe finances do not allow them the indulgence of malt liquor, the deleterious produce of China

i. 131. ii. 287. I myſelf know of more ſingular inſtances of economy. A common ſhoemaker in a village in Gloceſterſhire has accumulated £300. which he has at length conſented to place in the funds: and in a ſmall town in the ſame county, a barber, beſides educating two children, has ſaved a fortune of £800. If Mr. Pitt's parochial fund can perſuade working men to place the ſums out at intereſt, which they have hid in holes and corners, it will aſſuredly be a great benefit to them, by making their earnings more productive; and no leſs a benefit to the nation, by increaſing the circulating medium. Perhaps a county bank, ſomewhat on the plan of that contained in the Appendix, No. xix. and perfectly unconnected with a *parochial tax*, might anſwer the end of drawing an immenſe maſs of hoarded caſh into circulation; and of thus preventing many iniquitous practices, too often ſucceſsfully attempted, to defraud a working man of the ſavings of a life of parſimonious induſtry.

[1] See Appendix, No. xii. and the Reports in the Second Volume of this Work.

conſtitutes

conſtitutes their moſt uſual and general beverage. If a labourer is rich enough to afford himſelf meat once a week, he commonly adopts the ſimpleſt of all culinary preparations; that of roaſting it; or, if he lives near a baker's, of baking it; and if he boils his meat, he never thinks of forming it into a ſoup, that would be not only as wholſome, and as nouriſhing, but, certainly, more palatable than a plain boiled joint.

In the North of England, and in Scotland and Wales, on the contrary, the pooreſt labourers can, and actually do, regale themſelves with a variety of diſhes, that are wholly unknown to the Southern inhabitant of this iſland. With regard to ſome of theſe, I ſhall venture to particularize the culinary proceſſes, which are neceſſary for preparing them; being fully perſuaded, that there is more than one claſs of Readers, to whom ſuch minute and circumſtantial details will be acceptable; and, I will add, that, as nine tenths of the community are chiefly impelled to the exertion of their manual and intellectual abilities, in order to procure their daily meals, any ſavings or improvements in that branch of domeſtic economy which relates to the preparing of food, which can be pointed out, are the moſt ſubſtantial benefactions which can be conferred on the labourer.

To begin with one of the ſimpleſt articles of diet, "the healſome porritch, chief of Scotia's food[1]," *haſty-pudding*. It is made of oat-meal, water, and ſalt, in the following manner: To a quart of water, whilſt it is boiling in an open pot, a ſmall quantity of ſalt is added; and 13 ounces of oat-meal are dropped into it, by little and little, whilſt boiling, and ſtirred about with a ſtick[2] or a ſpoon. It is boiled in this manner for two or three minutes, when it becomes pretty thick; and is then taken out of the pot, or pan, for uſe. Over-boiling makes it tough and clammy. The quantity of oat-meal, put into a quart of water, is varied, according to the conſiſtency which is required. The above, however, is the moſt uſual proportion: and is ſufficient for a meal for two labourers. Haſty-pudding is eaten with a little milk or beer poured upon it; or with a little cold butter put into the middle; or with a little treacle. This diſh is extremely nutritious, and is much liked by

[1] Burns' "Cotter's Saturday Night." [2] Called a *ſpurtle*.

thoſe who have been accuſtomed to it[1]. A good meal for one perſon, ſuppoſing the price of oats to be 20s. the quarter, will not exceed 1d.

Crowdie is not ſo generally uſed as haſty-pudding: it is, however, a very common diſh in the North, among labourers of all deſcriptions, but particularly miners, as it is ſoon made ready, and without much trouble. The proceſs is extremely ſimple; and conſiſts in pouring boiling water over oat-meal, and ſtirring it a little. The reſpective quantities of each are much the ſame as what are uſed in making haſty-pudding. It is eaten with milk or butter. There is another ſort of *crowdie* made, by pouring boiling broth on oatmeal: after the diſh is ſtirred about, a piece of fat is taken from the broth, and put on the crowdie, inſtead of butter or milk.

This diſh is very common in Scotland, and is accounted a very great luxury by labourers. It is a never-failing dinner[2] with all ranks of people on Shrove Tueſday, (as pancakes are in England;) and was probably firſt introduced on that day, while the Roman Catholic religion prevailed, to ſtrengthen them againſt the Lenten Faſt; it being accounted the moſt ſubſtantial diſh known in that country[3]. On this day there is always put

[1] I have no doubt but that the mode of preparing haſty-pudding from Indian corn in America, (of which Count Rumford gives a deſcription extremely ſimilar to the above account,) was copied from the North Country faſhion of preparing haſty-pudding. The American colonies were chiefly ſettled by emigrants from Scotland, and the Northern counties of England; which circumſtance ſufficiently explains the great ſimilarity which prevails in culinary proceſſes in theſe parts of the new and old world.

[2] I believe Burns, the Ayrſhire poet, ſomewhere calls breakfaſt *crowdie-time*.

[3] This wholſome and nutritive diſh is in Scotland called *broſe*, and is often mentioned in the Statiſtical Account of that country, lately publiſhed. (See vol. ii. 539. vol. ix. 326. vol. xv. 239, &c.; and Scots Songs, ii. 160. 207.) Some fanciful etymologiſts would have the word to be derived from the Greek word βροσιω, *to feed*; which derivation, however far-fetched, is a juſt and emphatical encomium on this kind of food. It however ſeems to be rather derived from the Saxon bpiþ, which Somner tranſlates, "jus, juſculum, liquamen, "ſorbitio: to which Lye adds, "offulæ adipatæ," and alſo bpoð, "jus, juſculum." The Germans, in the like manner, uſe *brey* for pulſe, i. e. gruel, panada, or pottage; and *bruhe* or *brue* for that kind of ſoup which we call *broth*: a word which, according to Caſaubon and Junius, is derived from the German term *brot*, bread, and is thus deſcriptive of ſops, or pieces of bread which are commonly put into broth. In Shaw's Gaelic Dictionary we find *brathas* for what the Lowlanders call *bruis*; and I am informed that the Highlanders alſo uſe the Gaelic word *bruaiſd*,

put into the baſon or porringer, out of which the unmarried folks are to eat, a ring, the finding of which, by fair means, is ſuppoſed to be ominous of the finder's being firſt married.

This latter kind of crowdie is that which is moſt in uſe in the North of England; where the greateſt advantage, and richeſt treat expected from a ſmall piece of corned beef, (which there are few ſo low or poor as not to indulge themſelves with for a Sunday's dinner,) is it's ſupplying ſufficient ſtores of ſavoury ſkimmings for crowdies.

Frumenty, or *barley-milk*, as made in the North, is barley, (with the huſks taken off, (which was formerly done in a kind of large ſtone mortar, called a *knocking-ſtane*, but is now performed in a mill conſtructed for the purpoſe,) boiled in water near two hours, and afterwards mixed with ſkimmed milk; ſometimes a little ſugar is added: it is generally eaten in Cumberland with barley bread. Barley is alſo dreſſed by the peaſants in Scotland, and in the North of England, for broth [1], or barley-milk, by being moiſtened with water, and then beaten with a long wooden mallet, rounded at the end, in a ſtone mortar.

bruaiſd, or *bruaiſt*, for the ſame article: or, in their own ſtyle of cookery, for a mixture of the liquor in which meat has been boiled, and oaten meal, (moſt commonly *gradden*, if it can be had,) made by ſimply pouring the liquor, in a boiling ſtate, over the raw meal, and mixing it. For *broth*, Shaw gives not only *bracan*, but *ean-bhrith*: whilſt, according to O'Brien, the Iriſh have our *broth*, which he derives from *bruith*, fleſh. The Welſh have *breſych*. *Brouet*, (which, I believe, is now pretty generally adopted into the French language, to denote any thin ſoup,) according to Bullet, and Gebelin, is originally a *Bas-Breton* word, ſignifying *bouillon*, or *ſauce-clare*. *Bre*, in Auvergne, and *breu* or *bra* in *Franche-Compté*, are ſoup, pottage, or ſauce. In the Patois of Beſançon, *bru d'andouille* is literally what the Scotch call *pudding-bree*, or *broo*, i. e. the water in which black-puddings are boiled. It would ſeem, that, in general, ſome diſtinction has obtained in the manner of uſing theſe different terms: the one ſignifying ſimply the gravy or liquid in which meat has been boiled; and the other, pieces of bread, meat, or legumes, mixed with it. This, Somner ſays, is the import of *brewis*, as Mr. Pegge (Forme of Cury, 127.) thinks it alſo is both of our old Engliſh *brewet*, and the French *brouet*. In one of the receipts in the little book intituled, "The Court and "Kitchin of Joan Cromwell," (p. 76.) boiled meat is directed to be ſerved "on *brewis*, "with roots, or cabbage, boiled in milk, &c." Here it probably means ſops of bread in broth; and it is certain that, to this day, *brewis* bears the ſame ſenſe in moſt of the Northern counties of England.

[1] The Author of the Court and Kitchin of Joan Cromwell, (p. 116.) informs us, that barley broth was a meſs frequently prepared for *Oliver*.

This is called *knocked-bear*, to diſtinguiſh it from the pearl barley, which is dreſſed in the mill. In the Northern counties, *oat-meal* is made in the following manner: the oats are firſt dried in a kiln; after which the huſks are taken off by an operation of the mill, called *ſkilling*, (or ſhelling;) the oats are then cleanſed from the duſt by another machine, and afterwards ground in the barley-mill, and the meal ſifted through a ſieve. The farmers uſually make from 15 to 40 buſhels of oats into meal at a time, according to the number of their family; but enough to ſerve them from three to ſix months. The refuſe, which remains after the meal has been ſifted, and is ſimilar to the bran of wheat, conſiſts chiefly of huſks, and is called *ſeeds*: it is uſed for *ſowens*[1] or *ſtummery*, which is made in the following manner: the ſeeds are put into water, where they remain from one to three days: they are then wrung, or ſtrained, out again; and this proceſs is repeated a ſecond and third time, in different veſſels of water. By this contrivance all the mealy particles of the ſeeds are extracted. The water is then mixed together; and when it has ſtood about ſix hours, the clear water is poured off, and freſh water is added; ſometimes this is done a ſecond time. When the ſediment which is thus obtained is to be uſed, it muſt be ſtirred up, and water put to it till it will juſt tinge a wooden diſh with a whitiſh colour: it is then put into a pot, and boiled, ſeldom leſs than half an hour, and often a whole hour: care muſt be taken to ſtir it all the time that it remains over the fire: and it is added, from long tradition, that the meſs muſt always be ſtirred one way. It is afterwards put into baſons, where it acquires a conſiderable degree of

[1] Robert Burns, the Ayrſhire ploughman, mentions *ſowens* as part of the rural feaſt which concludes the merriment of his countrymen on Hallow-e'en:

"Till *butter'd ſo'ns*, wi' fragrant lunt *,
"Set a' their gabs † a-ſteerin;
"Syne, wi' a ſocial glaſs o' ſtrunt ‡,
"They parted aff careerin
"Fu' blythe that night."

Sowens, with butter inſtead of milk, is not only the Hallow-e'en ſupper, but the Chriſtmas and New-year's-day's breakfaſt, in many parts of Scotland.

* Smoke. † Mouths. ‡ Spirituous liquors.

ſolidity,

ſolidity, and becomes perfectly ſmooth, and very like what in England is called bla-mange. It is eaten with milk; and is an extremely cheap, wholſome, and even delicious food for ſupper; but, perhaps, is not quite ſo ſtrong and nutritive a diet as haſty-pudding. This article of ſubſiſtence is only uſed occaſionally in the North of England; but in many parts of Scotland, particularly on the North-eaſt coaſt, it conſtitutes the invariable dinner of the labourer.

Peaſe-kail is made by boiling peaſe till they are ſoft; the water is then poured from them, and milk is added. Sometimes peaſe are put into broth, and boiled down into a ſort of ſoup. Neither of theſe diſhes, however, are very generally uſed, nor much to be commended.

Potatoes are not only particularly good in the North of England, but uſed in various ways. They are ſometimes roaſted, or boiled, and eaten with butter, as in the South; but are more commonly boiled, (ſometimes with the ſkin on, and ſometimes with it taken off,) chopped into ſmall pieces, and eaten with butter, (either cold or melted,) or bacon fried. Potatoes are likewiſe generally uſed in the North, with roaſt or boiled meat, in the ſame manner as in the South of England: but when eaten with roaſt meat, they are commonly firſt put into the dripping-pan; but the principal way in which this uſeful root is dreſſed in the North by labourers' families, is, by being peeled, or rather ſcraped, raw; chopped, and boiled together with a ſmall quantity of meat cut into very ſmall pieces. The whole of this mixture is then formed into a haſh, with pepper, ſalt, onions, &c. and forms a cheap and nutritive diſh; which being common alſo in ſhips, is by ſailors called *lobſcouſe*. No vegetable is, or ever was, applied to ſuch a variety of uſes in the North of England as the potatoe: it is a conſtant ſtanding diſh, at every meal, breakfaſt excepted, at the tables of the Rich, as well as the Poor: and it is generally ſuppoſed that they are produced in much greater perfection in Lancaſhire, and diſtricts near Lancaſhire, than in other parts of England. This, however, I conceive, is a miſtake. I have indeed eat potatoes there, which, when brought to the table, and touched with a fork, fell into powder, like ſome of the fungus tribe. Potatoes, however, from the very ſame field or garden, when ſent up to London, appear to be quite a different production: the outſide is generally too much

much done, and is either ſodden or watery; whilſt the centre of the potatoe remains as hard as it was when taken out of the ground. The directions of the Board of Agriculture, (which Count Rumford has inſerted in his Eſſays,) are highly worthy the attention of thoſe who wiſh to taſte this excellent root in perfection. I ſhall therefore tranſcribe them without apology.

On the Boiling of Potatoes, ſo as to be eat as bread.

" There is nothing that would tend more to promote the conſump-
" tion of potatoes, than to have the proper mode of preparing them as
" food generally known. In London this is very little attended to;
" whereas in Lancaſhire and Ireland the boiling of potatoes is brought
" to very great perfection indeed. When prepared in the following
" manner, if the quality of the root is good, they may be eat as bread,
" a practice not unuſual in Ireland. The potatoes ſhould be as much as
" poſſible of the ſame ſize, and the large and ſmall ones boiled ſepa-
" rately. They muſt be waſhed clean, and, without paring or ſcraping,
" put in a pot, with cold water, not ſufficient to cover them, as they
" will produce, themſelves, before they boil, a conſiderable quantity of
" fluid. They do not admit being put into a veſſel of boiling water,
" like greens. If the potatoes are tolerably large, it will be neceſſary,
" as ſoon as they begin to boil, to throw in ſome cold water, and occa-
" ſionally to repeat it till the potatoes are boiled to the heart, (which
" will take from half an hour to an hour and a quarter, according to
" their ſize;) they will otherwiſe crack and burſt to pieces on the out-
" ſide, whilſt the inſide will be nearly in a crude ſtate, and conſequently
" very unpalatable and unwholſome. During the boiling, throwing in
" a little ſalt occaſionally is found a great improvement; and it is cer-
" tain, that the ſlower they are cooked, the better. When boiled, pour
" off the water, and evaporate the moiſture, by replacing the veſſel in
" which the potatoes were boiled once more over the fire. This makes
" them remarkably dry and mealy. They ſhould be brought to the
" table with the ſkins on, and eat with a little ſalt, as bread. Nothing
" but experience can ſatisfy any one how ſuperior the potatoe is,
" thus prepared, if the ſort is good and mealy. Some prefer
" roaſting

" roaſting potatoes; but the mode above detailed, extracted partly " from the intereſting paper of Samuel Hayes, Eſq. of Avondale, in " Ireland, (Report on the Culture of Potatoes, p. 71 and 103.) and " partly from the Lancaſhire re-printed Report, (p. 63.) and other " communications to the Board, is at leaſt equal, if not ſuperior. Some " have tried potatoes in ſteam, thinking by that proceſs they muſt " imbibe leſs water. But immerſion in water cauſes the diſcharge of a " certain ſubſtance which the ſteam alone is incapable of doing, and " by retaining which, the flavour of the root is injured, and they after- " wards become dry, by being put over the water a ſecond time without " water. With a little butter, or milk, or fiſh, they make an excel- " lent meſs[1]."

The Report obſerves, that " it is alſo a fact, and one of great im- " portance, that potatoes and water alone, with common ſalt, can nouriſh " men completely; but other mealy ſubſtances, although the principal " food of millions of the human race, who never taſte animal ſubſtances, " are always mixed with ſome other kind of alimentary matter; ſuch " as, with oil, fruits, whey, milk, ſour milk, &c[2]."

This contraſt, however, is not quite exact and juſt; for many poor people, particularly in Scotland, live, and that very comfortably, for months together, upon oat-meal, and barley-meal, mixed with only water and ſalt, with no other variety than the different degrees of thick- neſs and thinneſs, of bread, pottage, flummery, and gruel. If they can afford now and then to convert a peck of malt, (which is likewiſe a mealy ſubſtance,) into beer, they think themſelves moſt luxurioufly provided. This is the caſe with day-labourers, who rent a cottage, without any croft or garden, for growing vegetables, annexed to it. Theſe generally lay in their ſtock of meal about Martinmas, when it is cheapeſt; and, if carefully packed, it is accounted much more ſubſtantial from being kept. As few of them have the art of preſerving potatoes in ſmall quantities, after the growing ſeaſon comes in, their ſtore of that article is generally exhauſted by the month of March, when they become too dear to be purchaſed by labourers for food. A contrivance, for

[1] Count Rumford's Eſſays, 277.

[2] Report of the Board of Agriculture, concerning the Culture and Uſe of Potatoes, 84.

preſerving potatoes in ſmall quantities, is much wanted. Adam Smith obſerves, that "it is difficult to preſerve potatoes through the year, and "impoſſible to ſtore them, like corn, for two or three years together. "The fear of not being able to ſell them before they rot, diſcourages "their cultivation, and is, perhaps, the chief obſtacle to their ever be-"coming, in any great country, like bread, the principal vegetable food "of all the different ranks of the people[1]."

A more ſimple, or ſafer, ſyſtem for preſerving potatoes dry and good throughout the *Winter* and *Spring*, (but perhaps not through the *Summer*,) needs hardly to be wiſhed for, than that which is in common practice in moſt of the diſtricts of Cumberland. A light and ſandy ſoil is as neceſſary for preſerving potatoes, as it is for producing them. In ſuch a ſoil, on the ſunny ſide of an hill, if ſuch be at hand, an hole is dug of ſufficient capacity to contain, not enough for the conſumption of the year, but as many as may conveniently be taken out at one time: into this, when lined with *brackens*, or fern, on a dry day, when the potatoes have firſt been duly dried, they are put; and the hole is then carefully covered with the ſand and ſoil dug out of it. From hence they are taken, when wanted, with much more eaſe than ice is from an ice-houſe: and it is very rare to hear of their being hurt by the froſt. Some, for ſtill greater ſecurity, have ſuch holes dug in their cart-houſes, byres[2], or other out-houſes: in the cabin, or quarter, of a negro in Virginia and Maryland, a potatoe-hole in the floor of his hovel, near the fire, and boarded over, is full as common as a fire-place is.

The very general uſe which is now made of potatoes in theſe kingdoms, as food for man, is a convincing proof that the prejudices of a nation, with regard to diet, however deeply rooted, are by no means unconquerable. Within the preſent century, this uſeful vegetable production ſeems to have been conſidered as food only fit for the pooreſt claſs in the community. In ſpeaking of the wretched diet, to which beggars, from their miſerable appearance, might naturally be ſuppoſed to have habituated themſelves, Sir Andrew Freeport, (one of the Spectator's club,) is made to remark, that "one would think *potatoes* ſhould "be all their bread, and their drink the pure element[3]." The natu-

[1] Wealth of Nations, 5th ed. i. 251.
[2] A North Country word ſignifying "cow-houſes."
[3] Spectator, No. 232.

raliſts of Queen Anne's times would, probably, have been aſtoniſhed to hear, what the Report of the Board of Agriculture mentions as a fact of the greateſt importance, " that potatoes and water alone, with com- " mon ſalt, can nouriſh men completely [1]."

The following extracts from the communications which have been made to the Board of Agriculture on this ſubject, are worthy the attention of thoſe political economiſts, who tell us, that the condition of the labourer, in former times, was more comfortable than it is at preſent, becauſe the price of wheat, in compariſon with the money price of labour, has, of late years, very conſiderably augmented; and that, conſequently, the labouring claſſes cannot now afford themſelves ſuch an ample ſhare of the neceſſaries of life, as was the lot of their forefathers. Such reaſoners would do well to take into their conſideration, many articles of food, of cloathing, and of convenience, which, though unenjoyed even by the moſt opulent proprietors in ancient times, can now be eaſily acquired by the pooreſt cottager in the kingdom. Potatoes are perhaps as ſtrong an inſtance of the extenſion of human enjoyment as can be mentioned; and it ſeems probable, from the following inſtances of the progreſs which various diſtricts have made in the cultivation of this valuable root, which may be aptly denominated " the poor man's wants, the rich man's luxury [2]," that, in the courſe of a very few years, the conſumption of potatoes in this kingdom will be almoſt as general and univerſal as that of corn.

" In the central Highlands of Scotland, potatoes are become the " principal food of the people, and are conſidered as the greateſt " bleſſing that modern times have beſtowed on the country: they have " probably more than once ſaved it from the miſeries of famine. Be- " fore the introduction of this ineſtimable root, famines were frequent " in the Highlands.

" In the county of Forfar, the importance of this root is conſidered " as great, from the circumſtance of it's affording a ſupply of food for

[1] Report of the Committee of the Board of Agriculture, concerning the Culture and Uſe of Potatoes, 84.

[2] Somerville: Fable of the Two Springs.

" the Poor in July, before the corn harveſt comes on; in which view " early planting in the Spring is an object.

" It would be difficult to calculate how much the introduction of po- " tatoes into the Hebrides has improved the arable land, and bettered " the condition of the poorer inhabitants.

" In Eaſt Lothian, this vegetable conſtitutes nearly one third of the " food of the labouring people, from the firſt of Auguſt, to the end of " May.

" It is of all others the moſt valuable root in Perthſhire: the Author " of the Agricultural Report of that county ſays; ' it has done more to " ' prevent emigration than any device whatſoever.'

" In Banff, the introduction of potatoes is the moſt important im- " provement that ever found it's way into the country; had it not " been of general uſe, in 1783, it is probable that many of the inhabi- " tants would have periſhed for want of food.

" The benefit derived from the cultivation of potatoes is no leſs appa- " rent in Ayrſhire.

" It is a common practice in Devonſhire to make bread of potatoes, " mixed with flour, which is done by ſimply maſhing them after they " have been boiled, and then mixing them with the flour or leaven.

" In Cardiganſhire, potatoes, with barley-bread, form the chief ſuſte- " nance of the Poor.

" It is no uncommon thing, in Somerſetſhire, for a family, conſiſting " of a father, mother, and five or ſix children, to conſume twenty ſacks " per year, 240 lbs. the ſack, or 20 lbs. per head per week, allowing " twelve weeks' ceſſation from this food. Indeed the children nearly " ſubſiſt on it, and the deprivation thereof would bring the whole fa- " mily to the pariſh[1]."

Of

[1] Report on Potatoes, 70. The Report farther mentions the following remarkable inſtance of the conſumption of potatoes and oat-meal in Ireland, from Arthur Young's Iriſh Tour.— " At Leſlie-hill, a man, his wife, and four children, will eat four buſhels per week. If they " live upon oat-meal, they will eat 40 lbs. or two buſhels of oats. In another part of the ſame " diſtrict, a barrel laſts a family, of ſix, eight days. At Weſtport, a man, his wife, and four " children, will eat a buſhel of 3 cwt. a week; in 39 weeks 5 ton 17 cwt. which is juſt half an " acre

Of the diſcovery and introduction of this uſeful vegetable into England, hiſtorians have afforded us very little information. The following particulars concerning it are moſtly noticed by the Report of the Board of Agriculture. "The potatoe," it is ſaid, "is a native of "America, and was well known to the Indians long before the conqueſt "of Mexico and Peru. Gomara, in his General Hiſtory of the Indies, "and Joſephus Acoſta, are amongſt the early Spaniſh writers who have "mentioned the potatoe by the Indian names *openauk*[1], *papa*, and *papas*. "Cluſius, and after him Gerarde, gave figures of the potatoe plant. "Gerarde was the firſt author who gave it the name of *ſolanum tube-* "*roſum*, which Linnæus and his followers adopted.

"In 1584, Sir Walter Raleigh, ſo celebrated for his worth, his va- "lour, and his misfortunes, diſcovered that part of America called "Norembega, and by him [2] named Virginia. Whether the Admiral

"acre Iriſh. Of oat-meal, the common allowance is a quart a day for a labourer. At Shaen's "Caſtle, Queen's County, in Ireland, a barrel of potatoes will laſt a man, his wife, and four "children, a week. One barrel of oats will yield 1 cwt. of oat-meal, which ſells at 8s. 6d. to "10s." (twenty years ago) "and will in *ſtir-about* * laſt them a week; the ſame time as a barrel "of potatoes. At Shaen's Caſtle, in Antrim, a man, his wife, and four children, will eat "three buſhels of potatoes and 20 lbs. of oat-meal a week. At Caſtle Caldwell, a man, his "wife, and four children, eat eighteen ſtone of potatoes a week, or 252 lbs.; but 40 lbs. of "oat-meal will ſerve them. In King's County, a barrel of potatoes will laſt a family of five "perſons a week. At Derry, in the ſame county, a family of five perſons will eat and waſte "forty-two ſtone in a week." Report, 71.—That potatoes are uncommonly nutritious, and even prolific, is proved by the peaſantry of Ireland, who ſubſiſt almoſt entirely on potatoes; and where have we more numerous hordes of ruddy, healthy, and ſtrong children, than may be ſeen daily iſſuing from the cabins of the Iriſh Poor? whom, however, I muſt not call *labourers*. What a pity it is they cannot be perſuaded to work, as well as to fight!

[1] In an account of the new-found land of Virginia, written about the year 1588, by Thomas Heriot, one of Sir Walter Raleigh's ſervants, *openauck* is thus deſcribed: "*Openauck* are "a kinde of root of round forme, ſome of the bigneſſe of walnuts, ſome farre greater, which "are found in moiſt and mariſh grounds, growing many together, one by another in ropes, "as though they were faſtened with a ſtring. Being boiled, or ſodden, they are very good "meat." He mentions ſeveral other roots, of which bread might be made; of the *okeepenauk*, in particular, he ſays, the inhabitants make bread, which does "as well as the houſholde "bread made of rie in England." Hakluyt, iii. 272.

Potato rootes are mentioned among the productions of St. Jago, (one of the Cape de Verd iſlands,) which Sir Francis Drake touched at, in the year 1585. Hakluyt, iii. 537.

[2] Or rather by his Captains, Mr. Philip Amadas, and Mr. Arthur Barlow. See Hakluyt's Voyages, iii. 246.

* Haſty-pudding.

"was acquainted with the potatoe in his firſt voyage, or whether it "was ſent to him by Sir Thomas Grenville, or Mr. Lane, the firſt Go- "vernor of Virginia, is uncertain. It is probable he was poſſeſſed of "this root about the year 1586. He is ſaid to have given it to his gar- "dener, in Ireland, as a fine fruit from America, and which he deſired "him to plant in his kitchen-garden in the Spring. In Auguſt this plant "flowered, and, in September, produced a fruit; but ſo different to the "gardener's expectation, that in an ill humour he carried the potatoe- "apple to his maſter. 'Is this,' (ſaid he,) 'the fine fruit from America "'you prized ſo highly?' Sir Walter either was, or pretended to be, "ignorant of the matter; and told the gardener, ſince that was the caſe, "to dig up the weed, and throw it away. The gardener ſoon returned "with a good parcel of potatoes.

"Gerarde, an old Engliſh botaniſt, received ſeedlings of the pota- "toe, about the year 1590; and tells us, that it grew as kindly in his "garden, as in it's native ſoil, Virginia. The plant was cultivated, in "the gardens of the Nobility and Gentry, early in the laſt century, as a "a curious exotic; and towards the end of it, (1684,) was planted out "in the fields, in ſmall patches, in Lancaſhire. From thence it was "gradually propagated all over the kingdom, as well as in France."

In 1683, Sutherland noticed "the Solanum Tuberoſum, in his Hor- "tus Medicus Edinburgenſis; and it is probable that many others in "Scotland cultivated the potatoe, in their gardens, about that time. "It was not, however, cultivated in open fields in Scotland till the "year 1728, when Thomas Prentice, a day-labourer, firſt cultivated "potatoes at Kilſyth. The ſucceſs was ſuch, that every farmer and cot- "tager followed his example; and, for many years paſt, it has become "a ſtaple article. Thomas Prentice, by his induſtry, had ſaved £ 200. "ſterling, which he ſunk for double intereſt. Upon this he ſubſiſted "for many years, and died at Edinburgh, in 1792, aged 86 years[1]."

I doubt much, whether the account of Gerarde, above noticed, refers to the potatoe, which is now in common uſe. His deſcription is as follows: "This plant," he ſays, "which is called of ſome *Siſarum Peru-* "*vianum*, or *Skyrrets of Peru*, is generally of us called *Potatus*, or *Po-* "*tatos*. It hath long, rough, flexible branches, trailing upon the ground,

[1] Report, 75.

"like

"like unto thoſe of pompions, whereupon are ſet the greene three-
" cornered leaves, very like thoſe of the wilde cucumber. Of theſe
" roots may be made conſerves. Theſe roots may ſerve as a ground
" or foundation, whereon the cunning confectioner, or ſugar-baker, may
" worke and frame many comfortable conſerves, and reſtorative ſweet-
" meats. They are uſed to be eaten roſted in the aſhes. Some, when
" they be ſo roſted, infuſe and ſop them in wine: and others, to give
" them the greater grace in eating, do boile them with prunes, and ſo
" eat them: likewiſe, others dreſſe them, (being firſt roſted,) with oile,
" vinegar, and ſalt, every man according to his owne taſte and liking [1]."
This laſt-mentioned diſh is extremely ſimilar to one, which, Count Rumford ſays, is in high repute in ſome parts of Germany, and, prepared in the following manner, forms an excellent ſallad: the potatoes being properly boiled and ſkinned, are cut into thin ſlices; and the ſame ſauce, which is uſed for ſallads of lettuce, is poured over them. Some mix anchovies with this ſauce, which renders the potatoes remarkably palatable [2]. I refer the Reader, who is deſirous of inveſtigating the ſingular qualities which were aſcribed to this root in Queen Elizabeth's days, to what the Author of the "Purſuits of Literature" calls "the potatoe note" of Mr. Collins, at the end of Shakſpeare's Troilus and Creſſida [3]. The learned Commentator, (to uſe Dr. Farmer's remark on a note on ſtewed prunes,) "has *ſo fully* diſcuſſed the ſubject

[1] Gerarde's Herbal, 926. [2] Eſſays, 283.

[3] The potatoes mentioned by Shakſpeare, and other dramatic writers, ſeem to have been of the Spaniſh ſort. Their ſweetneſs rendered them peculiarly fit for conſerves. The common ſort, it is probable, was uſed in the following receipt, which is extracted from a curious little cookery book, intituled, "the Court and Kitchin of Elizabeth, commonly called Joan Cromwell, the wife of the late Uſurper," &c. publiſhed in 1664.

"*Olines of beef, ſtewed and roſte.*—Take a buttock of beef, and cut ſome of it into thin "ſlices, as broad as your hand; then hack them with the back of a knife, lard them with "ſmall lard, and ſeaſon them with pepper, ſalt, and nutmeg; then make a farſing with "ſome ſweet herbs, time, onions, the yolks of hard eggs, beef-ſuet, or lard, all minced, "ſome ſalt, barberries, grapes, or gooſeberries; ſeaſon it with the former ſpices lightly, "and work it up together; then lay it on the ſlices, and roul them up round, with ſome "caul of veal, beef, or mutton; bake them in a diſh in the oven, or roſte them; then put "them in a pipkin, with ſome butter, and ſaffron, or none, blow off the fat from the "gravy, and put it to them, with ſome artichocks, *potato*, or ſkirrets blanched, being firſt "boiled, a little claret wine, and ſerve them on ſippets, with ſome ſlic't orange, lemon, bar-"berries, grapes, or gooſeberries," p. 79. In another receipt, (p. 89.) "*potatoes* boiled and "blanched," occur among the ingredients for ſtuffing of a boiled fowl.

"of."

"of" *potatoes*, "that one can add nothing but *the price*." In a MS. account of the houſhold expences of Queen Anne, wife of James the Firſt, the price of potatoes is ſtated at 1s. the pound [1]: Q. Anne died in 1618. It appears from Dr. Campbell's "Political Survey of Great "Britain," that potatoes were brought into Ireland about the year 1610, and that they came firſt from Ireland into Lancaſhire. It was not, however, till about the year 1650, that they were much cultivated, even about London: but their great utility was very publicly recognized a few years after, at one of the earlieſt meetings of the Royal Society [2].

There are many different ſorts of bread uſed in the North of England. In Cumberland, it is generally made of barley, which is ground in a mill for the purpoſe; after which, the meal is ſifted from the huſks, and the uſual proceſs of making it into dough, with ſalt, &c. is then followed. It is ſometimes baked in unleavened cakes, of about half an inch thick, and twelve inches in diameter; but is more commonly leavened, and made into loaves of about twelve pounds each. Theſe loaves are uſually baked in ovens, which are heated with heath, furze, or bruſh-wood, the expence of which is inconſiderable; where, as is often the caſe in Cumberland, the ovens are formed upon a good conſtruction. A common oven will bake about three Wincheſter buſhels of barley, made into bread, at once. This bread will keep good four or five weeks in Winter; and two or three in Summer. Such leavened bread is almoſt the only bread uſed by the peaſantry of that county; and, there are few families, (either of ſubſtantial farmers, or even day-labourers,) who do not manufacture their own bread from the meal. Barley-bread, leavened, laſt May, ſold in Carliſle for 1s. the 11lb.: at that time barley, was 5s. the buſhel, Wincheſter meaſure. By thoſe who are accuſtomed to it, this kind of bread, though ſomewhat ſour, and of a darkiſh hue, is conſidered as extremely nutritious: and ſome perſons have aſſured me, that, upon coming into the South, and giving it

[1] See Harleian MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, No. 157. This account is ſaid to have been drawn up in 1613.

[2] At a meeting of the Royal Society, held on the 18th March 1762-3, a letter was read from Mr. Buckland, a Somerſetſhire gentleman, to recommend the planting of potatoes in all parts of the kingdom, as a preventative againſt famine. This letter was referred to a committee. Such of the members as had lands, were requeſted to plant potatoes: Mr. Buckland was thanked for his propoſal; and Mr. Evelyn was deſired to publiſh it at the end of his Sylva.

up

up for wheaten-bread, they have found the latter aſtringent, and very unwholſome[1].

Of the various ſorts of oaten-bread uſed in the counties on the Borders, Mr. Ray, in his Collection of North Country Words, has given a very circumſtantial detail, which is perfectly explanatory of the different modes ſtill in uſe, in the Northern parts of England, for preparing this (apparently ſimple) article of diet[2]. He mentions five different ſorts of oaten bread, viz. 1ſt. "*Thar-cakes*, which," he ſays, "are the ſame "as bannocks." Theſe are what Moryſon more properly calls *hearth-cakes*, no doubt from their being baked on the hearth; but which in Cumberland are called *hard-cakes*[3]; which, unleſs they may be ſuppoſed to have got their name from their criſpneſs, muſt be a corruption of *hearth-cakes*. 2. "*Claſh-bread*, thin hard oat-cakes;" but, in Cumberland, it is frequently made of the meal of barley; and differs from barley-bread only by being unleavened, made in the form of cakes, and not baked in an oven. It has it's name of *claſh-bread* from it's being *claſhed*, or beaten out with the hand, while it is dough, into the form of large round cakes: there is a particular board for this purpoſe, which is called a *claſh-board*. Of the clap-bread eaten in Weſtmoreland, the Author of the Agricultural Report of that county gives the following account:

[1] Barley-bread was laſt year introduced into many parts of Glouceſterſhire; and in ſome pariſhes in that county, though labourers could not be perſuaded to abandon their uſual practice of purchaſing the fineſt wheaten-bread, they leſſened their conſumption of this expenſive article, and bought little other but barley flour. This they bake, in pans or kettles, placed on the fire, into cakes; or boil it into dumplins, which are uſed inſtead of bread. They do not as yet ſeem to have any idea, that the uſe of this grain would be more profitable in ſoups.

It is much to be lamented, that a very pernicious cuſtom takes place in this county, as well as in many others, of allowing labourers an enormous quantity of liquor. That the more they receive in liquor, the leſs they receive in wages, there can be no doubt: in many parts of the county the labourer receives almoſt as much liquor as is equal to his day's pay; and is thus encouraged in a practice which is not more ruinous to his health, than prejudicial to his family.

[2] See Ray, under *Bannock*, p. 16.

[3] "Behind the door a bag of meal,
"And in the kiſt was plenty
"Of good *hard-cakes* his mither bakes;
"And *bannocks* were nae ſcanty." The Miller; Scots Songs, ii. 116.

"The bread generally eaten in the county," (he ſays,) "is made "from oat-meal. Water and oat-meal are kneaded together into a "paſte without any leaven; this paſte is rolled into a circular cake of "about twenty inches in diameter, and is placed upon a thin flat plate "of iron called a *girgle*[1], under which a fire is put; and the cake, thus "baked, goes by the name of *clap-bread*, which is to be ſeen at almoſt "every table in the county. The meal is moſtly ground to ſuch a "degree of fineneſs that a meaſure of ſixteen quarts will weigh ſixteen "pounds. Farmers, labourers, and manufacturers, uſually have fifteen "cakes made from ſixteen pounds of meal, and as many baked in a day as "will ſerve their families for a month. Such of the Gentry as eat this "ſort of bread (moſt of them now eating bread made from wheat) have "it baked much more frequently, and alſo much thinner. A labouring "man will eat ſixteen pounds of meal, made into bread, in a fortnight; "the price of ſixteen pounds of meal is variable, from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d.; "the medium is 2s. which gives 1s. a week for each labourer for bread. "His cottage and his fuel coſt, at leaſt, as much more." This kind of bread appears to be alſo in general uſe in Norway. Mr. Coxe ſays; "the common food of the peaſant is milk, cheeſe, dried or ſalted fiſh, "and ſometimes, but rarely, fleſh or dried meat, oat-bread called *flad-* "*brod*, baked in ſmall cakes about the ſize and thickneſs of a pan-cake; "it is uſually made twice a year. I obſerved a woman employed in "preparing it: having placed over the fire a round iron plate, ſhe took "a handful of dough, and rolled it out with a rolling-pin to the ſize of "the iron plate: ſhe then placed it on the plate, and baked it on one "ſide; then turned it on the other with a ſmall ſtick," (which in the North of England, and in Scotland, is called a *ſpurtle*;) "in this "manner ſhe baked an aſtoniſhing number in leſs than a quarter of an "hour; and I was informed that one woman, in one day, can bake "ſufficient for the family during a whole year[2]." Oat-meal cakes, of exactly the ſame kind, and made in exactly the ſame manner, this pleaſing writer may ſtill ſee in the houſes of all the peaſantry in the

[1] This I take to be a typographical error, for *girdle*. In South Wales, and in the weſt of England, ſuch a plate of iron is called a *plank*, and the bread baked on it, *plank-bread*.

[2] It ſhould here be remarked, that oat-bread, when kept any length of time, turns bitter and unſavoury. In Scotland, they bake at leaſt once a week; commonly twice, or oftener.

moſt

moſt northern counties of England. He adds, that the peaſants of Norway, "in times of ſcarcity, mix the bark of trees, uſually of the fir-tree, with "their oatmeal; then dry this bark before the fire, grind it to powder, "mix it with ſome oat-meal, then bake it, and eat it like bread: it is "bitteriſh, and affords but little nouriſhment[1]."

The third kind of oaten-bread, noticed by Ray, is "*kitcheneſs bread*," which is deſcribed to be "thin oat-cakes, made of thin batter." 4. "*Riddle-cakes*[2]," ſaid to be "thick ſour cakes;" the ſame, I apprehend, in

[1] Coxe's Travels into Poland, &c. 4th ed. v. 11.

[2] In Lancaſhire and the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, a ſort of *oat-bread* is ſtill called *riddle-bread*. It is moſtly eaten with tea; and, for this purpoſe, is preferred to wheaten bread. A native of Cumberland, with whom I converſed on this ſubject, told me that the *oat-bread* which he ate in Lancaſhire, (and which I preſume was this ſour *riddle-bread*,) was extremely diſagreeable to his taſte; he was aſtoniſhed that any perſon could like it; and added, that though he had been in different parts of the kingdom, he had never eat any bread he liked ſo well as the Cumberland barley-bread. On the other hand, the Lancaſhire people, being accuſtomed to oat-bread, are equally averſe to that made from barley. Such are the powerful effects of cuſtom! The Lancaſhire oat-bread is made both leavened and unleavened. See Ann. of Agric. xxvi. 226. The very healthy appearance of thoſe inhabitants of Lancaſhire who ſubſiſt principally on oaten-bread, invalidates the following obſervations of Adam Smith reſpecting this article of diet. He ſays, "In ſome parts of Lancaſhire, it is pretended, that bread of oatmeal is a heartier food for labouring people than wheaten bread," and ſays he has frequently heard "the ſame doctrine held in Scotland." He adds, "I am, however, "ſomewhat doubtful of it. The common people of Scotland, who are fed with oatmeal, are "in general neither ſo ſtrong nor ſo handſome as the ſame rank of people in England, who "are fed with wheaten bread. They neither work ſo well, nor look ſo well; and as there is "not the ſame difference between the people of faſhion in the two countries, experience "would ſeem to ſhow, that the food of the common people in Scotland is not ſo ſuitable to "the human conſtitution as that of their neighbours of the ſame rank in England." (Wealth of Nations, 5th ed. i. 250.) Theſe remarks do not appear to me to be warranted by fact: handſomer and more muſcular men are not reared in any part of the Britiſh dominions, than in thoſe countries where the oat-meal diet is predominant. The 33d regiment, which goes by the name of the *Haver-cake Lads*, and which is uſually recruited in thoſe parts of the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, where oat-bread is in common uſe, has been often remarked, as well as the Lancaſhire regiments, to be compoſed of ſome of the fineſt looking ſoldiers in his Majeſty's ſervice. It likewiſe deſerves notice, that oat-bread, as well as potatoes, conſtitutes a very conſiderable portion of the diet of the labouring claſſes in Ireland, from whom we draw thoſe whom Adam Smith conſiders as perhaps the ſtrongeſt men in the Britiſh dominions;—the chairmen, porters, and coal-heavers in the metropolis. I ſhould rather aſcribe the good looks of the labouring claſſes in England, to ſuperior cleanlineſs, and a difference of climate. The filth and ſmoke in which a cotter's family in Scotland are enveloped when at

in name at leaſt, as the bread, which, in Wales, is called *bara-greiddell;* no doubt, from it's being baked on a *girdle*, or thin iron plate. Bread of this kind appears to be in general uſe in Sweden. "The common people, as in all other parts of Sweden, make their "bread but once, or, at moſt, but twice, in the year; it conſiſts of rye "mixed with oats, and is called *knikke broë* or *kake broë:* this they "form into cakes of the figure and breadth of a common plate, and "of the thickneſs of a little finger; they then make a hole in the mid-"dle, and the peaſants ſtring them together by hundreds, and ſuſpend "them from the ceilings of their houſes. The bread of this ſort, al-"though immoderately hard, is not ill-taſted; and it often appears at "the tables of perſons of the firſt diſtinction, accompanied with wheaten "bread of very excellent colour and flavour. In times of ſcarcity, "and eſpecially in the north of Dalecarlia, they add to the meal of rye "and oats the bark of the birch-tree, well broken and pounded; and "this bread becomes then ſo hard, that nothing but the tooth of a Dale-"carlian ſeems able to penetrate it[1]." 5. "*Hand-hoven-bread*," now more commonly called *Hoven-bread*[2], is leavened bread, of barley, made not into loaves, but into cakes. 6. "*Jannock oaten-bread* made up in "loaves." Neither this kind of bread, nor it's name, appear to be common at preſent: but a kind of thin cakes, made of the meal of maize, or Indian corn, and baked before the fire, like the Scotch *bannocks*, are, in Virginia and Maryland, the moſt common bread of planters; and are called *Johnny-cakes*. A cake which is made in South Carolina, and is called a *journey-cake*, is, I apprehend, made in the ſame manner, and of the ſame ingredients. *Bannocks*[3], which are the com-

home, and the parching winds to which they are expoſed when abroad, contribute, no doubt, to render the appearance of the Highland peaſantry, (though they are, perhaps, as ſtout and as muſcular as their Southern neighbours,) leſs ruddy and blooming than that exhibited by the natives of more favoured regions. Uncleanlineſs in dreſs is likewiſe no leſs unfavourable to good looks.

[1] See the Journey of a Dutch officer through Sweden, tranſlated by Mr. Radcliffe, p. 6.

[2] *Hoven* is a Saxon word, that well expreſſes the effect of fermentation, viz. *heaving*, or ſwelling, and is equivalent to *leaven*; which, as well as the French word *levain*, is probably formed from the Latin *levare*, to raiſe. *Hoven*, in Scotland, ſignifies *puffed up*, and is applied to bread baked with *yeaſt*, in contradiſtinction to the flat *unfermented* cake.

[3] *Bonn*, in the Gaelic, ſignifies a round flat piece of money: *ach* is a termination by which nouns are turned into adjectives of ſimilitude.

mon

mon bread in Scotland, are thick cakes of unleavened bread, made only of meal and water. They are moſt generally made of oatmeal, and kneaded with water only; but, ſometimes, of barley-meal[1]; and ſometimes of peaſe-meal[2]: and ſometimes of oatmeal with milk, butter, (or cream,) eggs and carraway ſeeds, and are then made rather thicker than uſual, and dreſſed, (or, as the Scotch term it, *fired*,) upon a *brander*[3], or grid-iron, or toaſted by being ſet up againſt a ſtone[4], or wooden frame made for that purpoſe, before a clear fire: and ſometimes they are baked on a *girdle*[5], or flat plate of iron[6]: they are alſo ſometimes baked on the heated hearth ſwept clean; but rarely in the aſhes: which is a very dirty way of dreſſing them, and occaſions a great deal of waſte in bruſhing off the aſhes. That the people of Scotland have been long diſtinguiſhed for their uſe of this bread, appears from various paſſages in ancient hiſtorians. Moryſon, who wrote in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, ſays; "they" (the Scotch) "vulgarly eate harth-cakes of oates; but "in cities have alſo wheaten bread[7], which for the moſt part was "bought by Courtiers, Gentlemen, and the beſt ſort of citizens[8]."— "They (Scotchmen going to war,) carye with them none other pur- "veiaunce, but on their horſe betwene the ſaddell and the pannell, they "truſſe a broade plate of metall, and behynde the ſaddell they wyll have "a lytell ſacke full of otemel, to the entent, that when they have eaten

[1] "With bair blew bonattis, and hobbeld ſchone,
"And *beir-bonnokis* with thame thay tak!" Lord Hailes's Bannatyne, p. 171.
See alſo the Song called "*Bannocks of Barley-meal.*" Scots Songs, ed. 1791. ii. 241.

[2] See Heron's Journey through Scotland, ii. 316.

[3] From the Saxon *brennan*, to burn.

[4] See Pennant's Voyage to the Hebrides, ed. 1774, vol. ii. 281.

[5] "Wi' butter'd *bannocks* now the *girdle* reeks." Ferguſſon's Farmer's Ingle.

[6] A *girdle* is uſually a ſimple plate of iron, which is laid on the fire to be heated: in ſome places, however, it has a handle fixed to it, by which it is hung from the iron *crook*, which is either ſuſpended from the chimney, or, where there is no chimney, from a ſtick projecting from the wall, under the orifice through which the ſmoke is let out.

[7] That wheaten bread, however, was in common uſe in the more fertile parts of Scotland at a very early period, may be gathered from the appellation of *Cruithnich*, or *Fir-an-cruineac*, (i. e. *the wheaten-bread men*,) by which the Caledonian mountaineers (who were hunters and ſhepherds) diſtinguiſhed their agricultural neighbours, the Picts. See Dr. M'Pherſon's Ancient Caledonians, ed. i. p. 344.

[8] Moryſon's Itinerary, part iii. b. 3. c. 4. p. 155.—Before his time, Patten, in his Account of an Expedition into Scotland, under the Duke of Somerſet, in 1547, in giving an account of the proviſions found in Douglas Caſtle, remarks, that "the ſpoile was not rych ſure, but "of white bread, oten cakes, and Scottiſhe ale." The Expedition into Scotland, &c. by W. Patten, printed in 1548, fol. b. 5.

" of the ſodden fleſhe, than they ley thys plate on the fyre, and tempre " a lytell of the otemell, and whan the plate is hote, they caſt of the thyn " paſte thereon, and ſo make a lytle cake in maner of a crakenell or " byſket, and that they eate to comfort withall their ſtomaks : wherfore " it is no gret merveile though they make greatter journeis than other " people do[1]." Even reſpecting the ancient Britons, Giraldus Cambrenſis obſerves, that their bread was " thin and broad cakes, which were baked " from day to day[2]."

The learned traveller, Pococke, alſo mentions it as a cuſtom ſtill exiſting among the Arabians, to " make bread wherever they eat; which " they bake on iron hearths heated, or on embers[3]." Theſe iron hearths ſeem to anſwer exactly to the *girdles*[4] now in uſe in the North. Niebuhr, in his deſcription of Arabia, ſays, " the Arabians uſe a plate " of iron[5] to bake their bread or cakes on. Sometimes they put " a ball or lump of dough on the embers of wood; or on a fire made of " the dried dung[6] of camels: with this fire they cover it carefully, that " it may be thoroughly penetrated by it: they then take the aſhes from " it, and eat it quite hot[7]." People in mills in Scotland often make ſuch a ball as this of dry oat-meal in the hand, dip it in the mill-dam to make it keep together, and *fire* it by covering it over with the hot embers of the oat-hulls, which are always in winter burning in mills. This article, thus prepared, is called a *Fitchack*.

The mode of baking bread on girdles is ſaid to be ſtill uſed in the Eaſt. " So long ago as Queen Elizabeth's time, Rauwolff obſerved, " that travellers frequently baked bread in the Deſerts of Arabia, on the " ground, heated for that purpoſe by fire, covering their cakes of bread " with aſhes and coals, and turning them ſeveral times until they were " enough." He adds, " that ſome of the Arabians had, in their tents, " *ſtones*, or *copper-plates*, made on purpoſe for baking[8]." Stones of this kind, and uſed for this purpoſe, are very common in Derbyſhire; and,

[1] Froyſart's Chronycle, f. viii. col. 3. [2] See the Tranſlation of his Account, in Henry's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. iv. 390, 4to. ii. 592. [3] Deſcrip. of the Eaſt, ii. 96. [4] Iron-plates, which are uſed for the ſame purpoſe in the weſt of England, and in Wales, are there called *planks*. [5] This Mr. Pinkerton (not aware, as it would ſeem, of the difference between the two terms,) renders a *grid-iron*, inſtead of a *girdle*. [6] Dung is ſtill uſed as fuel in many parts of Great Britain. (See the 2d Vol. of this Work, p. 394.) [7] Vol. iii. 46. [8] See Harmer's Obſervations, i. 232.

I believe,

I believe, they are ſtill in very general uſe in moſt of the Northern counties, as well as in Scotland [1].

It is ſingular, that although bread is (apparently) the moſt ſimple article of diet, and is the principal article on which the human race has ſubſiſted; yet, excepted that, in general, it has been compoſed of the flour of ſome kind of grain, but little is known of it's hiſtory. The little, however, which is known, ſhews that there has been very little improvement made in preparing this eſſential article of food. The *Graddaned* [2] *corn*, which is ſtill in uſe in the Highlands of Scotland, is probably

[1] In Scotland there are various kinds of bread, which vary in a ſlight degree from the ſorts which I have enumerated. Similar kinds of bread to what are uſed in England, are often known by a very different appellation in that country. Thus, in Aberdeenſhire, and ſome of the Southern parts of Scotland, a *round*, ſmall, thin, crimp, biſcuit, is called a *bunn*. In Morayſhire, a large *round* loaf, made of wheaten-flour, goes by the ſame name, which it derives from it's form, not from it's ſize or quality; *bonn*, in the Gaelic language, ſignifying a *round piece* of any kind; e. g. *bonn ſia*, an Engliſh halfpenny, i. e. *ſix* Scotch pennies, or *round pieces*. Is it not probable, that the Latin *panis*, the French *pain*, the American *pawn*, (ſee p. 523.) the *bunn*, and the Scotch *bannock*, (pronounced by the Highlanders *bonnach*,) have ſome etymological relationſhip? The bunn anſwers to Minſheu's definition of a *cob-loaf*, which he ſays is "*a bunne*. It is a little loaf, made with a *round* head, "ſuch as cob-irons, which ſupport the fire. G. *bignet*, a *bigne*, a knob, or lump, riſen after a "knock or blow." Cotgrave, in his Dictionary, publiſhed in 1611, renders *bignets*,—"little *round* loaves or lumps, made of fine meale, oyle, or butter, and reaſons: *bunnes*, Lenten "loaves." Such are the South country bunns. See the notes on A. 2. S. 1. of Shakſpeare's Troilus and Creſſida; in which Ajax calls Theſſites "a *cob-loaf*." On which Mr. Steevens remarks, that "a cruſty, uneven, gibbous loaf is, in ſome counties, called by this "name."

[2] *Graddaned* corn, in Scotland, ſignifies corn "burnt out of the ear, inſtead of being "threſhed: this is performed two ways: firſt by cutting off the ears, and drying them in a "kiln; then ſetting fire to them on a floor, and picking out the grains, by this operation "rendered as black as coal. The other method is more expeditious; for the whole ſheaf is "burnt, without the trouble of cutting off the ears: a moſt ruinous practice, as it deſtroys "both thatch and manure." Pennant's Tour in Scotland, ed. 1774, i. 280. Mr. Pennant derives the word *graddan* from *grad*, quick; as the proceſs is very expeditious. This is not a very natural derivation: the method of getting at the ears of corn was probably originally adopted rather from it's ſimplicity than for it's expedition. I have no etymological dictionary at hand; but ſhould rather derive the term from ſome word ſignifying a coarſe operation. Oats, beat out of the ſtraw by a mallet, and barley, burnt out, are both, when ground, called *gradden*. *Grits*, or grain coarſely ground, is not a very diſſimilar word. But be this as it may, it muſt be confeſſed, that corn can be much ſooner *graddaned* than *threſhed*: of which a Gentleman

bly the ſame as the *parched corn*, which Boaz preſented to Ruth; and an ephah of which Jeſſe ſent, by David, to his ſons who were in the camp

Gentleman mentioned to me a very practical inſtance. Calling at a highland cottage in Lochaber, he found an old woman there, who had juſt put her *kail-pot* on the fire. She had then nothing but kail in the houſe: but tripped out to her croft, cut down a little barley, graddaned it in the ſtraw, winnowed it by throwing it up againſt the wind, ground it in her quern, and applied it, after the kail was boiled, to thicken the liquor. She alſo made ſome meal into *bannocks*; and baked them, by laying them upright againſt a ſtone placed near the fire. All theſe proceſſes were performed in leſs than half an hour. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that the mode uſed in Scotland, of grinding corn in the *quern*, is very tedious: Mr. Pennant ſays, it employs two pair of hands four hours to grind only a ſingle buſhel of corn. The following deſcription of a *hand-mill*, uſed in India, and noticed by a member of Parliament laſt year, will convey an exact idea of the *Scotch quern:*

"It is conſtituted of two circular horizontal ſtones, rough on the inſide, and the under one "the moſt weighty, in order to preſerve them ſteady in circulation; their denſity and diameter "being rendered commenſurate to the ſize and ſtrength of the perſon, whether man, woman, "or child, who is to work them; the upper ſtone moves vertically looſe on the axis, to yield "a cavity ſufficiently capacious for the reception of different quantities and qualities of "grain; the holes on each ſide the pivot are for admiſſion of the ſeed, taken from a meaſure "placed within reach of either hand; through thoſe apertures, the grain falls between the "ſtones; the handle is placed diſtant as poſſible from the centre, to facilitate, as well as to "accelerate, the rotatory motion." See Debrett's Parl. Reg. xliv. 217. The account of Mr. Francis's Speech, adds: "In various economical tracts and legiſlative diſcuſſions relative "to proviſions, recently given to the Public, frequent repreſentations are exhibited of frauds "perpetrated in mills, to the exceeding detriment of the Poor; a diſtribution, therefore, "of this little machine, or one of ſimilar conſtruction, on any previous deſign, amongſt the "indigent and laborious claſſes of the community, the needy tenantry of landed property, or "within the houſe of induſtry, might conduce, probably, to their immediate benefit in point "of ſubſiſtence, and to their eventual relief and comfort.

"The fabrication of them may be rendered cheap, by uſing the old worn-down ſtones of "wind, water, or other large mills.

"Such a mill might be introduced in all villages, at an expence of fourteen or fifteen "ſhillings. It could be managed with the greateſt eaſe by the children, who had nothing elſe "to do, who might thus grind a ſufficient quantity of grain for the conſumption of the "family."

This is an exact deſcription of the common *quern*. The introduction of this machine among the Poor could be of no advantage. Grinding at the quern is hard work; (See Vaillant's New Travels, ii. 90. and Shaw, 231.) much above the ſtrength of children; and, to grown-up perſons, would occaſion a loſs of time, and waſte of grain, which would more than counterbalance the ſaving in mill-dues. By the peaſantry in the Lowlands of Scotland, it is now entirely appropriated to the grinding of malt, which they grind in ſuch ſmall quantities (perhaps half a peck at a time)

camp of Saul[1]. The *barley-bread*, which is now generally eaten by the peaſantry in Cumberland, differs but little, it is probable, from thoſe twenty loaves of *barley* which the man of Baal-Shaliſha brought to Eliſha in Gilgal; or from thoſe *five barley-loaves*, of which our bleſſed Lord himſelf partook, with no other addition than a piece of broiled fiſh. And in what does the *cake baken on the coals*, which Elijah found under the juniper-tree in the wilderneſs, appear to differ from the cakes of Scotland, or bannocks, excepting that it was miraculouſly provided?

Buſbequius mentions the baking of bread under the coals, by the women of Bulgaria, in Turkey, as an uſual practice in his time[2].

Dr. Shaw ſays, "The Eaſtern nations, in general, are great eaters of "bread; it being computed, that three perſons in four live entirely upon "it; or elſe upon ſuch compoſitions as are made of barley, or wheat-flour. "Frequent mention is made of this ſimple diet, in the Holy Scriptures;

time) as are not worth carrying to a common mill. Many of the Poor in the Highlands, (for the ſame reaſon,) uſe it for grinding oats and barley into *gradden*; but it makes a great deal of waſte, and the meal is ſuch as no peaſant in the richer parts of England would eat.

It is to be hoped that the philanthropic, but viſionary, ſchemes of erecting mills and ovens at the public expence, which I underſtand are in contemplation in ſome parts of the kingdom, will be deſiſted from. To ſay the leaſt of their ill effects; they will certainly be a waſte of money; produce jobs; and probably end in monopoly. A reſpectable clergyman of my acquaintance, with the moſt charitable intentions, lately joined with his neighbours in raiſing a conſiderable ſubſcription to erect a mill for grinding corn, (more eſpecially oat-meal, if it could be introduced,) for the labourers in his pariſh. The ſcheme, however, has been obliged to be new-modelled: as it would have made the ſubſcribers a company of traders; and ſubjected them to the bankrupt laws: beſides which, it was ſuggeſted, (what perhaps may not have occurred to others no leſs benevolent paſtors, whoſe aim is to benefit their pariſhioners,) that a clergyman could not trade, nor ſell any merchandize, under forfeiture of the treble value.

[1] Parched corn may have been pulſe, ſteeped in water, and then fried. *Peaſe*, or *beans*, dreſſed in this manner, are called *carlings* in Scotland, and are a ſtated diſh on the Sunday next before Eaſter. They are ſometimes fried with milk or butter. This is looked upon as a kind of ſeed-time feaſt, as it is juſt about the time of ſowing thoſe kinds of pulſe: it is not improbable, that, about this period of the year, in Pagan times, propitiatory ſacrifices may have been offered to *Ceres*, or ſome other rural deity; and have given riſe to this, ſtill very prevalent, cuſtom.

[2] De Legat. Turc. Epiſt. i. p. 42. That this bread was alſo in uſe among the Greeks, appears from a dialogue of Lucian's, in which he ſays, Empedocles, who was burned to death in Mount Etna, was σποδου πλέως, ὥσπερ ἐγκρυφίας ἄρτος, i. e. *full of aſhes, like bread baked under the coals*. Lucian. ed. Bened. i. 305.

" where the fleſh of animals, (though, ſometimes, indeed, it may be in-
" cluded in the *eating bread*, or making a meal,) is not often recorded.

" In cities and villages, where there are public ovens, the bread is
"uſually leavened; but among the *Bedoweens*, and *Kabyles*, as ſoon as
" the dough is kneaded, it is made into thin cakes, either to be baked im-
" mediately upon the coals, or elſe in a Ta-jen," (i. e. a ſhallow earthen veſſel, like a frying-pan.) " Such were the *unleavened cakes*, which we
" ſo often read of in Scripture: ſuch likewiſe were the cakes which
' *Sarah made quickly upon the hearth*[1].'"

Captain Forreſt gives the following curious account of Sago-bread, which is much uſed in the Moluccas. The Papua oven might, I think, be applied to many culinary purpoſes in England.

" The Sago or Libley tree," he ſays, " has, like the Coco-nut tree, no
" diſtinct bark that peels off, and may be defined a long tube of hard
" wood, about two inches thick, containing a pulp, or pith, mixed
" with many longitudinal fibres. The tree being felled, it is cut into
" lengths of about 5 or 6 feet. A part of the hard wood is then ſliced
" off; and the work-man, coming to the pith, cuts acroſs, (generally
" with an adze, made of hard wood, called *Aneebong*,) the longitudi-
" nal fibres and the pith together, leaving a part at each end uncut;
" ſo that, when it is excavated, there remains a trough, into which the
" pulp is again put, mixed with water, and beat with a piece of wood;
" then the fibres, ſeparated from the pulp, float a-top, and the flour
" ſubſides. After being cleared in this manner, by ſeveral waters, the
" pulp is put into cylindrical baſkets, made of the leaves of the tree,
" and, if it is to be kept ſome time, thoſe baſkets are generally ſunk in
" freſh water, to keep it moiſt.

" One tree will produce from two to four hundred weight of flour.
" I have often found large pieces of the ſago-tree on the ſea-ſhore,
" drifts from other countries. The ſago, thus ſteeped in the ſalt
" water, had always a ſour diſagreeable ſmell; and, in this ſtate, I dare
" ſay, the wild hogs would not taſte it. The leaf of the ſago tree
" makes the beſt covering for houſes, of all the palm kind: it will laſt

[1] Shaw's Travels, 230.

" ſeven years. Coverings of the Nipa, or common Attop, ſuch as they " uſe on the ſouth-weſt coaſt of Sumatra, will not laſt half the time. " When ſago trees are cut down, freſh ones ſprout up from the roots.

" We ſeldom or never ſee ſago in Europe, but in a granulated ſtate. " To bring it into this ſtate from the flour, it muſt be firſt moiſtened, " and paſſed through a ſieve into an iron pot, (very ſhallow,) held over " a fire, which enables it to aſſume a globular form.

" Thus all our grained ſago is half-baked, and will keep long. The " pulp, or powder, of which this is made, will alſo keep long, if pre- " ſerved from the air; but, if expoſed, it preſently turns ſour.

" The Papua oven, for this flour, is made of earthen-ware. It is " generally 9 inches ſquare, and about 4 deep: it is divided into two " equal parts, by a partition parallel to it's ſides. Each of thoſe parts " is ſubdivided into 8 or 9, about an inch broad; ſo the whole contains " two rows of cells, about 8 or 9 in a row. When the cell is broad, " the ſago cake is not likely to be well baked. I think the beſt ſized " cell is ſuch as would contain an ordinary octavo volume upon it's " edge. When they are of ſuch a ſize, the cakes will be properly " baked, in the following manner:

" The oven is ſuppoſed to have at it's bottom a round handle, by " which the baker turns the cells downward upon the fire. When ſuffi- " ciently heated, it is turned with the mouths of the cells up; and then " reſts upon the handle, (which is now become the bottom,) as on a " ſtand.

" Whilſt the oven is heating, the baker is ſuppoſed to have prepared " his flour, by breaking the lumps ſmall; moiſtening it with water, if " too dry; and paſſing it once or twice through a ſieve; at the ſame " time rejecting any parts that look black, or ſmell ſour. This done, " he fills the cells with the flour, lays a bit of clean leaf over, and with " his finger preſſes the flour down into the cell; then covers all up with " leaves, and puts a ſtone, or piece of wood, a-top, to keep in the heat. " In about 10 or 12 minutes, the cakes will be ſufficiently baked, ac- " cording to their thickneſs; and bread, thus baked, will keep, I am " told, ſeveral years. I have kept it twelve months, nor did vermin

"affect it in that time. It may not be amiſs to mix a little ſalt with "the flour.

"The ſago bread, freſh from the oven, eats juſt like hot rolls. I "grew very fond of it, as did both my officers. If the baker hits his "time, the cakes will be nicely browned on each ſide. If the heat be "too great, the corners of the cakes will melt into a jelly, which, "when kept, becomes hard and horny; and, if eat freſh, proves in-"ſipid. When properly baked, it is in a kind of middle ſtate, between "raw and jellied.

"A ſago cake, when hard, requires to be ſoaked in water before it be "eaten; it then ſoftens, and ſwells into a curd, like biſcuit ſoaked; but, "if eat without ſoaking, (unleſs freſh from the oven,) it feels diſagree-"able, like ſand, in the mouth.

"No wonder, then, if agriculture be neglected in a country where "the labour of five men, in felling ſago trees, beating the flour, and in-"ſtantly baking the bread, will maintain a hundred. I muſt own "my crew would have preferred rice; and when my ſmall ſtock of "rice, which I carried from Balambangan, was near expended, I have "heard them grumble, and ſay, *nanti makan roti Papua*: 'we muſt "'ſoon eat Papua bread.' But, as I took all opportunities of baking it "freſh, being almoſt continually in port, they were very well con-"tented.

"The ſago bread, intended for immediate uſe, need not be kept ſo "long in the oven as what is intended for ſea uſe, which may be ſaid "to reſemble biſcuit[1]."

That men may live, and be ſtrong to labour, with little or no animal food, is evinced by the field negroes in the Middle States of North America, who are an healthy and hardy race of people; and whoſe labour is conſtant, and ſometimes ſevere, although they are fed almoſt entirely on vegetables. The annual allowance, to a working ſlave, is three barrels of India corn, (or maize,) equal to 15 Wincheſter buſhels, and a peck of ſalt. If to this, a few ſalt herrings, or now and then a

[1] Forreſt's Voyage to the Moluccas, ed. 2. p. 39.

piece

piece of muſty bacon is added, ſuch additions are regarded as indulgences. Moſt negroes, it is true, have, annexed to their quarter or cabin, a ſmall patch of ground, on which, at the few leiſure hours allowed to them, but particularly on Sundays, they work and raiſe potatoes, pompions, onions, melons, coleworts, &c: they alſo very generally raiſe chickens, and an houſe-pig, called a Jocky. But the chickens and the pig are almoſt always ſold, to procure them a few extra articles of dreſs, as they are particularly fond of any thing that looks like finery. The fact is indiſputable, that two-thirds of the ſlaves in Virginia, who there compoſe entirely the labouring claſſes of the community, and conſiſt of, perhaps, not leſs than 300,000 ſouls, are fed ſolely on dry bread, called *Pawn*, which is made and baked much in the form of a Scotch bannock, but generally eat hot, and dipped only in a little ſalt. Their beverage is ſimple water: and among all the topics of complaint heard among the oppoſers of the Slave Trade, it is remarkable, that neither the ſcantineſs nor the coarſeneſs of their food are generally inſiſted on. Nor could they be inſiſted on, without doing violence to truth: for, though the dwelling, the cloathing, and other accommodations of a ſlave, are, to the full, as ſimple and mean as his diet; inaſmuch as the whole maintenance of a working man, in Virginia, for a year, uſed to be eſtimated at leſs than forty ſhillings ſterling:—there are no complainings among them, nor, in general, any cauſe for complaint. If they are made to work hard, and with few or no intermiſſions of labour, they know and feel, that they are, what they deem, well houſed, well clad, and well fed, with no thought or care of their own: in general too, they are ſtrong and well made, (inſtances of deformity being extremely rare among them;) go forth cheerfully to their labour; and, if leſs informed, (which, however, is not always the caſe,) are certainly neither leſs healthy, and, perhaps, not leſs happy, than the labouring claſſes are in England. Their miſeries do not ariſe from want of good food.

This annual allowance of corn, to negro ſlaves, is, out of reſpect to their convenience, doled out to them, when wanted, in ſmall portions; but always in whole corn, which they themſelves grind into meal, at an hand-mill, with which every *quarter*, (ſo the cottages of negroes are called,) is ſupplied. Sometimes, inſtead of *pawn*, or *poan*, they regale

themſelves with another meſs, alſo made of Indian corn, called *homony*. The whole grain, moiſtened with a little water, is put into a wooden mortar, and there, (like the *knocked bear* of Scotland, or *knocked bigg* of Cumberland,) beaten with a wooden peſtle, till the huſk or ſkin, which is particularly thin, comes off: then, like *flummery*, or *ſowens*, it is ſimmered over a ſlow fire, till, with the aſſiſtance of a few French beans, it becomes a pulpy and nutritious ſoup: and, though ſeaſoned only with ſalt, and a kind of baſtard pimento, which their own woods ſupply, and a few grains of capſicum, raiſed by themſelves, it is ſo ſavoury and palatable a food, that it is hardly leſs common to ſee *homony* at the tables of rich, than it is to ſee it among labourers. Among many more objectionable things, which might be mentioned, in the management of negroes, it certainly is as little to the credit of their owners, as it is to their own comfort, that they ſo rarely eat their morſel, ſeated with their family, at a table. Here, where the practice is ſo common, that not only the loweſt peaſant eats his meal at a table, but alſo has his table covered with a table-cloth; it may not, perhaps, be ſo readily perceived, as it is by thoſe who have been witneſſes to a contrary practice, that the ſitting together at a table, is, perhaps, one of the ſtrongeſt characteriſtics of civilization and refinement[1].

If it be true, as we are confidently told it is, that Maize will thrive and ſucceed, as well in England, as it does in the United States of America, and in many of the circles of Germany, it is not eaſy to aſſign a good reaſon for it's not being more generally cultivated. On land equally good, with but equal ſkill and labour, the increaſe is ſaid to be greater than of wheat: and the ſaving of labour in the in-gathering, during the buſy ſeaſon of harveſt, is of very ſerious moment. It is ſaid, moreover, to be a grain particularly nutritious: negroes have a notion, that they never would have ſtrength ſufficient to undergo their daily toils, if fed only on wheaten-bread.

The principal advantage which the labourers in the North of Eng-

[1] Hence, it has always ſtruck me, that there is a particular force in the phraſe *â, menſâ et thoro*, which occurs in articles of ſeparation between man and wife. Neither of the terms are, in any ſenſe, applicable to negroes, or ſavages; who, literally ſpeaking, have neither bed nor board.

land poſſeſs over their countrymen in the South, conſiſts in the great variety of cheap and ſavory ſoups, which the uſe of barley and barley-bread affords them an opportunity of making. The cheapneſs of fuel is, perhaps, another reaſon why the culinary preparations of the Northern peaſant are ſo much diverſified, and his table ſo often ſupplied with hot diſhes. The following is one of the uſual ſoups made by labourers' families, in the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland. It conſiſts of meat, oat-meal, barley, (with the huſks taken off, in the manner above-mentioned [1],) and pot-herbs, ſuch as onions, chives, parſley, thyme, &c. in the following proportions:

A pound of good beef, or mutton, 6 quarts of water, and 3 ounces of barley, are boiled till the liquor is reduced to about three quarts: one ounce of oat-meal, which has been previouſly mixed up with a little cold water, and a handful, or more, of herbs, are added, after the broth has boiled ſome time. Some put in a greater, and others a leſs, quantity of water: the above, however, is the moſt uſual proportion: a pint, or a pint and a half, of the broth, with 8 ounces of barley-bread, makes a very good ſupper. The day the broth is made, the dinner uſually is broth, with part of the meat, bread, and potatoes, chopped and boiled; and the ſupper is broth and bread: the next day, the dinner is cold meat from the broth, warm potatoes, broth and bread; and the ſupper, bread and broth warmed up, but not boiled again. The broth will keep good three days, if kept cool; and may be heated when wanted. Veal, pork, bacon, lean beef, or mutton, will not make ſuch good broth, with this proportion of water: it will, however, ſtill be very palatable; and not a drop of the liquor is loſt, or waſted, whatever meat is boiled in it. To roaſt meat, is conſidered, by the country people in the North, as the moſt prodigal method of cooking it; becauſe that culinary proceſs does not afford them the opportunity of converting a conſiderable quantity of water into a nutritious and wholſome ſoup.

Boiled milk, another very common diſh in the North, is milk boiled with oat-meal, in the proportion of one handful of meal to three pints of milk. The meal is put into the pot whilſt the milk is boiling, and is ſoon after taken off the fire, and eaten with barley-bread for breakfaſt or ſupper.

Could the uſe of barley, oat-meal, ſoups, &c. be introduced into the

[1] See p. 499.

South of England, the ſituation of the labouring claſſes would, at once, be greatly improved: ſo ſtrong, however, are the prejudices entertained by them, againſt theſe ſorts of food, that their introduction would be attended with conſiderable difficulty. It is generally ſuppoſed by the people in the South, and even aſſerted by ſome of the Faculty, that theſe kinds of (apparently coarſe) food are neither ſo wholſome, nor ſo nutritious, as the wheaten-bread, which conſtitutes the chief diet of labourers in the counties adjoining the metropolis[1]. It is not a very uncommon opinion in Kent and Suſſex, that even brown wheaten-bread is purgative and relaxing.

The prejudice againſt rye-bread is equally ſtrong in the South of England. In ſeveral parts of the kingdom, however, rye and wheat are conſidered an excellent ſpecies of bread. "In Nottinghamſhire, opu-"lent farmers conſume one-third wheat, one-third rye, and one-third "barley; but their labourers do not reliſh it, and have loſt their *rye*-"*teeth*, as they expreſs it[2]." The following mode of compoſing rye-bread is ſaid to have anſwered extremely well, on a long trial; and is recommended by the Board of Agriculture. "Suppoſing a buſhel of "rye to weigh ſixty pounds, to that add one-fourth part, or fifteen "pounds, of rice. This is all ground down together, and, taking out the "broad bran only, which ſeldom exceeds four and a half, or five "pounds, for that quantity, it is thus prepared for houſhold uſe. Four-"teen pounds of this flour, when baked into bread, and well ſoaked in "the oven, will produce twenty-two pounds weight of bread, which is "a ſurplus of three pounds and a half in fourteen pounds, over and "above what is uſually produced in the common proceſs of converting "houſhold wheat-flour into bread. The aſtringent quality of the rice, "thus mixed with rye, corrects the laxative quality of the latter, and "makes it equally ſtrong and nouriſhing, with the ſame weight of "common wheaten bread[3]."

It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that bread, into which rye enters in any conſiderable proportion, can ſeldom be made as pleaſant and palatable as admixtures of other ſorts of grain. It's unpleaſant taſte is

[1] If wheat is more nutritious than our other kinds of grain, I conceive it is ſo from containing a conſiderable quantity of *animal* matter: this ſtriking peculiarity occurs alſo in Indian corn. See the Report of the Board of Agriculture on Potatoes.

[2] Ann. of Agric. xxv. 580. [3] Ibid.

perhaps

perhaps owing to it's being badly prepared, or not well baked[1]; but, upon the whole, there ſeems to be ſufficient foundation for the remarks on this ſubject, addreſſed by Dr. Pearſon, of Birmingham, to the Board of Agriculture. He obſerves, with regard to the means of leſſening the conſumption of wheat, by the ſubſtitution of other grain, that, next to Indian corn, none are likely to anſwer ſo well as oats. "For making "bread, with other admixtures," he ſays, "I prefer oats to either barley "or rye; for barley-meal gives a heavy, viſcid, and flatulent bread, and "bread that contains a large portion of rye-flour readily becomes "aceſcent, and conſequently very unfit for children, and frequently diſa- "grees even with grown-up perſons; whereas the wholſome qualities of "oat-meal, and it's fitneſs as an aliment for man, are proved in the "moſt ſatisfactory manner, by the healthineſs and vigour of the inha- "bitants of the Northern parts of Great Britain, to whom it is the "principal food, both in the infant and adult ſtate. In addition to the "objections already thrown out againſt barley and rye, it may be men- "tioned, that they are conſiderably dearer than oats, which, at the time "that a cheap proviſion for the Poor is required, is a matter of no ſmall "moment. Under every point of view, therefore, oats ſeem to be "preferable to the other ſpecies of grain, as a general ſubſtitute for "wheat[2]."

The principal conſumption of barley in the South of England land is in malt liquor: it may, however, be doubted, whether a given quantity of barley and water, reduced by the culinary art into a thick ſoup, does not contain more nouriſhment than the ſame quantity of barley and water, converted by the proceſs of fermentation into beer. Certain it is that a perſon might ſubſiſt entirely on *barley-broth:* but it is not probable, that *porter alone* would long ſupport a perſon in good health. The true uſe of this valuable grain is well underſtood in the North: and the frequent recurrence which is, there, made to it, for compoſing palatable mixtures, is a practical inſtance of the juſtice of Count Rumford's remarks on it's extraordinary nutritive power. The appo-

[1] The Reader will find a detailed account of the proceſs of making rye-bread, in Count Rumford's Eſſays, i. 438.

[2] Appendix to Experiments on the Compoſition of Various Kinds of Bread; by the Board of Agriculture. See Ann. of Agric. xxv. 585.

ſiteneſs of the following paſſage in his Eſſays on Food, will be a ſufficient apology for it's inſertion in this place. He ſays: "It is not in "bread, but in ſoups, that barley can be employed to the greateſt ad- "vantage. It is aſtoniſhing how much water a ſmall quantity of bar- "ley-meal will thicken, and change to the conſiſtency of a jelly; and "if my ſuſpicions with regard to the part which water acts in nutrition "are founded, this will enable us to account, not only for the nutri- "tive quality of barley, but alſo for the ſame quality, in a ſtill higher "degree, which ſago and ſaloop are known to poſſeſs. Sago and ſaloop "thicken, and change to the conſiſtency of a jelly, and, as I ſuppoſe, "prepare for decompoſition, a greater quantity of water than barley; "and both ſago [1] and ſaloop [2] are known to be nutritious in a very ex- "traordinary degree. Barley will thicken and change to a jelly, much "more water, than any other grain, with which we are acquainted, "rice even not excepted; and I have found reaſon to conclude, from

[1] *Sago* is a farinaceous ſubſtance, prepared from the pith of a palm-tree, which grows in the Eaſt Indies, and to which Botaniſts have given the name of *Cycas circinalis*. An inferior ſort, from a different tree, is produced in the Weſt Indies. *Tapioca* is another of the many mucilaginous and mealy ſubſtances, which may be obtained from the palm-tree. It is extracted from the roots of a ſpecies of the *Jatropha* or *Caſſava*; and is brought from the Weſt Indies and South America. Both *tapioca* and *ſago* are highly nutritious, and require no other preparation than to be moiſtened with hot water, or to be boiled in water. A little ſugar and ſpice, or wine, are palatable, and wholſome, additions to them. They may be made with milk into thick pottage. *Tapioca* is often uſed in puddings, in the ſame manner as rice. See an uſeful little pamphlet, intituled, "An Enumeration of the Principal Vegeta- "bles, &c. that may be ſubſtituted in place of Wheat, and other Bread-corn." Printed for Baldwin, Paternoſter-row, 1796. *Sago*, made in England from wheaten-flour, is one of the few articles of diet that are exciſed. It falls under the denomination of ſtarch.

[2] *Salep* is the root of a ſpecies of *orchis*, which is much cultivated in the Eaſt, but grows in England ſpontaneouſly. That which we receive from Turkey, is in oval pieces, of a yellowiſh white colour, very hard, and almoſt pellucid. The Engliſh *orchis* may be made into ſalep, without difficulty. It is ſaid to have a ſuperior quality of thickening water, above flour, in the proportion of two and a half to one. (See Phil. Tranſ. lix. 1.) It is alſo thought to contain the greateſt quantity of vegetable nouriſhment in the ſmalleſt bulk, which renders it extremely convenient as a portable ſoup. It appears, from Dr. Percival, that *ſalep* may be prepared, in that part of England where labour is high, at about 8d. or 10d. the pound; or even cheaper; and that a ſufficient quantity of it for a day's ſubſiſtence, might be ſold for 2½d. Dr. Percival enumerates many other excellencies of this vegetable, and recommends it as a very uſeful addition to bread. Eſſays Med. and Exp. vol. ii.

"the

" the reſult of innumerable experiments, which, in the courſe of ſeveral " years, have been made, under my direction, in the public kitchen of " the Houſe of Induſtry at Munich, that, for making ſoup, barley is by " far the beſt grain that can be employed. Were I called upon to give " an opinion in regard to the comparative nutritiouſneſs of barley-meal " and wheat-flour, *when uſed in ſoups*, I ſhould not heſitate to ſay, that " I think the former at leaſt three or four times as nutritious as the " latter. Scotch broth is known to be one of the moſt nouriſhing diſhes " in common uſe; and there is no doubt but it owes it's extraordinary " quality to the Scotch, (or pearl,) barley, which is always uſed in " preparing it. If the barley be omitted, the broth will be found to " be poor and waſhy, and will afford little nouriſhment; but any of " the other ingredients may be retrenched; even the meat; without " impairing very ſenſibly the nutritive quality of the food. It's flavour " and palatableneſs may be impaired by ſuch retrenchments; but if the " water be well thickened with the barley, the food will ſtill be very " nouriſhing.

" In preparing the ſoup uſed in feeding the Poor in the Houſe of " Induſtry at Munich, pearl barley has hitherto been uſed; but I have " found, by ſome experiments I have lately made in London, that pearl " barley is by no means neceſſary, as common barley-meal will anſwer " to all intents and purpoſes juſt as well. In one reſpect it anſwers " better; for it does not require half ſo much boiling [1]."

The Count adds the following general directions for preparing a cheap ſoup from barley: " Firſt, each portion of ſoup ſhould conſiſt of *one pint* " and *a quarter*, which, if the ſoup be rich, will afford a good meal to " a grown perſon." This, I am perſuaded, is a very fair allowance; and is as much as a North-country labourer, in general, allows himſelf. " Such a portion will," he ſays, " in general, weigh about *one pound* " and *a quarter*, or *twenty ounces* averdupois. Secondly, the baſis of " each portion of ſoup ſhould conſiſt of one ounce and a quarter of bar- " ley meal, boiled with one pint and a quarter of water, till the whole " be reduced to the uniform conſiſtency of a thick jelly. All other ad-

[1] Eſſays, 284.

" ditions to the ſoup do little elſe than help to make it more palatable;
" or, by rendering a long maſtication neceſſary, to increaſe and prolong
" the pleaſure of eating; both theſe objects are, however, of very great
" importance, and too much attention cannot be paid to them; but both
" of them may, with proper management, be attained without much
" expence."

The following receipt for the cheapeſt food, which the Count thinks it would be poſſible to provide in this country, is highly deſerving the attention of the maſters and governors of work-houſes:

Receipt for a very cheap Soup.

" Take of water eight gallons, and mixing with it 5lb. of barley meal,
" boil it to the conſiſtency of a thick jelly. Seaſon it with ſalt, pepper,
" vinegar, ſweet herbs, and four red herrings, pounded in a mortar.
" Inſtead of bread, add to it 5lb. of Indian corn, made into *Samp*; and
" ſtirring it together with a ladle, ſerve it up immediately in portions of
" 20 ounces.

" *Samp*, which is here recommended, is a diſh ſaid to have been in-
" vented by the ſavages of North America, who have no corn-mills. It
" is Indian corn deprived of it's external coat, by ſoaking it ten or twelve
" hours in a lixivium of water and wood-aſhes. This coat, or huſk,
" being ſeparated from the kernel, riſes to the ſurface of the water;
" while the grain, which is ſpecifically heavier than water, remains at
" the bottom of the veſſel; which grain, thus deprived of it's hard coat
" of armour, is boiled, or rather ſimmered for a great length of time,
" two days for inſtance, in a kettle of water placed near the fire. When
" ſufficiently cooked, the kernels will be found to be ſwelled to a great
" ſize, and burſt open; and this food, which is uncommonly ſweet and
" nouriſhing, may be uſed in a great variety of ways; but the beſt way
" of uſing it is to mix it with milk, and with ſoups, and broths, as a
" ſubſtitute for bread. It is even better than bread for theſe purpoſes;
" for, beſides being quite as palatable as the very beſt bread, as it is leſs
" liable than bread to grow too ſoft when mixed with theſe liquids,
" without being diſagreeably hard, it requires more maſtication, and
" conſequently tends more to increaſe and prolong the pleaſure of eating.

" The ſoup which may be prepared with the quantities of ingredients " mentioned in the foregoing receipt, will be ſufficient for 64 perſons; " and the coſt of theſe ingredients will be as follows:

" For 5lb. of barley-meal at 1½d. the barley being reckoned " at the preſent very high price of it in this country, viz. " 5s. 6d. per buſhel	7½d.
" 5lb. of Indian corn, at 1¼d. the pound	6¼
" 4 red herrings	3
" Vinegar	1
" Salt	1
" Pepper and ſweet herbs	2
	20¾d.

" This ſum, (20¾d.) divided by 64, the number of portions of ſoup, " gives ſomething leſs than *one-third of a penny* for the coſt of each " portion. But, at the medium price of barley in Great Britain, and of " Indian corn, as it may be afforded here, I am perſuaded that this ſoup " may be provided at *one farthing* the portion of 20 ounces[1]."

It is not to be expected that milk ſhould ever form a conſiderable part of the diet of labourers in the South of England, until the practice of keeping cows becomes more general among cottagers than it is at preſent. In many parts of the iſland, however, conſiderable difficulties will occur, in attempting to introduce this cuſtom. In the vicinity of large towns, the value of graſs land is much too high to enable labourers to rent it to advantage: and in other diſtricts, where there is hardly any thing but arable land, and the maintenance of a cow depends on ſtraw, turnips, cabbages, or purchaſed hay, the ſyſtem of cow-keeping is much too operoſe for a labourer to engage in. A garden, however, will prove of infinite benefit to a labourer in almoſt every ſituation, but more eſpecially in arable countries, where he would find it difficult to procure ſufficient paſture to maintain a cow both in Summer and Winter; and where, although he might be able to cultivate a few acres of arable land

[1] Eſſays, i. 286.

for Winter food for his cow, he would not always be able to procure hay, for Summer food, from the farmers.

I am, however, perſuaded, that, even in London, where milk is extremely dear, (now 3½d. the quart,) poor houſholders might occaſionally uſe it to conſiderable advantage. A ſmall quantity of it, judiciouſly applied, would render many diſhes tender and delicate, which, from their toughneſs, and the drought which they occaſion, are not only unpalatable, but expenſive. A labouring man, in the metropolis, who thinks he cannot afford milk, and therefore obliges his family to drink their tea in a very crude ſtate, by way of economy, buys himſelf half a pound of fat bacon, (at 10d. or 1s. the pound,) for dinner. This creates ſuch a thirſt, that he is fain to allay it with no inconſiderable quantity of porter. As for ſalt fiſh, (an article of diet which ſeems to be peculiarly ſuited to the poorer inhabitant of a great commercial city,) it ſeems now going very generally into diſuſe; and is little eaten, except on particular occaſions. This is not to be wondered at; for, in the common way that it is cooked, ſalt fiſh is hard, dry, and unſavoury. A ſauce is abſolutely eſſential to render it palatable: but eggs and butter, which are the uſual appendages to this diſh, are much too expenſive for the greater part of the labouring claſſes. I remember eating, a few years ago, at Rome, a moſt exquiſite diſh, which I have often regretted was not more generally known in England. It conſiſted of ſalt fiſh, milk, and ſliced potatoes, with a very few herbs. The harſhneſs and dryneſs, which are ſo predominant in all ſalted meat in England, were entirely annihilated. I cannot, indeed, conceive a more nutritious mixture of ingredients from the animal and vegetable kingdom, than cod, or ſalmon, (which is often cheaper in London than butcher's meat,) with milk and potatoes. This diſh of ſalt or freſh fiſh, milk, and potatoes, ſeaſoned with onions, or chives, and parſley, &c. is very common in France and Scotland. *Salmon* will not anſwer ſo well with milk; only *white* fiſh,—ſuch as haddock, cod, turbot, plaice, ſole, flounder, whiting, &c. will make good ſoup. In Scotland, they likewiſe make a very excellent pudding of oat-meal mixed with butter, (or the livers of haddocks,) ſeaſoned with pepper, ſalt, onions, &c. crammed into the heads of freſh haddocks. It is ſometimes made into dumplins, and boiled along with the fiſh.

With regard to broths and ſoups, compoſed of barley-meal, or oat-meal, and potatoes, the averſion to them in many parts of the South is almoſt inſuperable. I have known inſtances during the laſt winter, when the Poor were extremely diſtreſſed by the high price of proviſions, of their rejecting ſoup which was ſerved at a Gentleman's table. Their common outcry was: "this is waſhy ſtuff, that affords no nouriſhment: we will "not be fed on meal, and chopped potatoes, like hogs!" Even in their employers, ancient prejudices are, in general, ſo deeply rooted, that they are perſuaded, that a diet, which chiefly conſiſts of liquids, will not enable their labourers to perform their work; or, (to uſe an homely phraſe,) that it will not ſtick to their ribs, like plain dry wheaten bread[1].

I readily

[1] The following judicious experiments and obſervations on flour and bread were delivered, by Dr. Irving, to the Committee of the Houſe of Commons appointed (in 1774) to conſider of the methods practiſed in making flour from wheat, &c. See Report (which was ordered to be reprinted 9th Nov. 1795,) p. 72.

"*EXPERIMENTS and OBSERVATIONS on Flour and Bread, delivered to the Committee by* DR. IRVING.

"To grind wheat into flour with the greateſt advantage, the mill-ſtone ſhould make about ſixty revolutions in a minute: if faſter, the ſtones acquire too much heat, and give a burnt taſte to the meal: if ſlower, a part of it adheres firmly to the bran or huſk, and cannot be ſeparated in the bolting.

"Flour, when kept ſome time, evaporates a part of it's moiſture, becomes leſs adheſive and clammy, loſes ſomewhat of it's agreeable taſte, and imbibes a greater portion of water in the making of it into dough: the bread of it appears ſmoother in the cutting, whiter in the grain, dries ſooner, and becomes more crumbly, than the bread of new flour. Theſe reaſons induce the baker to prefer old flour to new in the making of bread.

"The yeaſt of porter does not raiſe bread ſo perfectly as that produced from ſmall beer; beſides, it is very bitter to the taſte: the baker, therefore, in London, inſtead of uſing a ſufficient quantity of yeaſt for the leavening of his bread, mixes only a ſmall portion of it with flour and water, made to the conſiſtence of a ſyrup, called *ſponge*; which, when fermented, is added to the flour; and being worked up together into dough, the whole maſs is ſuffered to ferment.

"This method, however, of leavening the dough, is by no means ſo good as that in which yeaſt only is uſed; as it gives the bread a ſour taſte, frequently perceptible in that of London. I find, by experiment, three pounds and a half of flour, kept a year in a dry place, requires two pounds of water to make it into dough, and loſes in the baking into bread ten ounces; but, from the variable age, dryneſs, and quality of the flour, with the indeterminate degrees of kneading and baking, it is impoſſible to aſcertain the exact proportion of water in all caſes; nor is any uniform proportion ever obſerved by the bakers.

"Flour

I readily admit, that a diet, conſiſting entirely of liquids, would neither gratify the palate, nor enable the body to ſupport any violent fatigue. There is, however, a medium between food entirely liquid and entirely ſolid. And, after all, I am perſuaded, that the South-country labourer, notwithſtanding his conviction of the neceſſity of ſubſtan-

"Flour made from heated or damaged corn does not thoroughly mix with water, ſo as to form a perfect dough, unleſs a ſmall portion of alum be added. In this caſe, the baker is induced to uſe it; as he may be likewiſe when the water with which he makes the dough is very muddy; alum having the property of purifying it. I find, however, by the experiment of diſſolving the ſalt from bread by water, and adding to the ſolution an alcali, (which would diſcover the earth of alum by precipitation,) that the bakers in London very ſeldom uſe alum; but ſubſtitute hard pump-water, with an extraordinary quantity of common ſalt; which, in ſome meaſure, anſwer their purpoſe, in the working of damaged flour.

"Flour, or bread, freed of it's ſalt, being burnt in a crucible, leaves behind only a very ſmall portion of earth; but if chalk, lime, whiting, bone aſh, or any calcareous ſubſtance, be mixed with either, theſe foreign ingredients will remain unconſumed in the crucible, and the quantity may be perfectly aſcertained.

"The mixture of theſe ingredients with flour or bread may alſo be diſcovered, by adding ſpirit of ſalt well diluted with water; and their quantity known by precipitation with a fixt alcali. The following Experiments were made with a view of aſcertaining theſe facts:

"EXPERIMENT 1ſt.

"One pound of fine flour burnt in a crucible, left behind twenty-eight grains of earth; of which nineteen were ſandy matter; the remainder ſoluble in an acid.

"EXPERIMENT 2d.

"One pound of bread of a quartern loaf, freed of its ſalt by water, and treated in the ſame manner, gave forty-three grains; of which twenty-nine were ſandy matter; the reſt ſoluble by an acid.

"EXPERIMENT 3d.

"One pound of bread added to ſpirit of ſalt, ſufficiently diluted with diſtilled water, gave ſcarce any precipitation of earth, by adding a fixt alcali.

"From theſe and other chemical trials, ſeveral times repeated, with flour and bread procured in many parts of London and Weſtminſter, the reſult was nearly the ſame; except that coarſe flour and bread contained a few grains more of earthy matter. It evidently appears, therefore, that no frauds were practiſed in the above ſamples.

"The defects of the London bread ſeem to be owing to the following cauſes:

"1ſt. The uſe of old flour, in preference to new; which gives the bread a leſs ſavoury taſte.

"2d. The employing *ſponge*, inſtead of yeaſt; which generally gives a ſour, unpalatable, taſte to the bread.

"3d. Not kneading it ſufficiently, but, in place of that labour, uſing too great a quantity of water; which makes the bread heavy and unpleaſant.

"CHARLES IRVING."

tial diet, takes more liquids into his ſtomach, than the Cumberland or the Yorkſhire-man[1]. Excluſive of beer, (when he can afford it,) and ſpirits, the quantity of water, (which, with tea, forms a deleterious beverage, that is ſeldom qualified with milk or ſugar,) poured down the throats of a labourer's family, is aſtoniſhing. Any perſon who will give himſelf the trouble of ſtepping into the cottages of Middleſex and Surrey at meal-times, will find, that, in poor families, tea is not only the uſual beverage in the morning and evening, but is generally drank in large quantities even at dinner. Whether this exotic is more palatable or more nutritious than home-raiſed barley converted into broth, I leave to Medical Gentlemen to determine.

There is a material difference in the habits of labourers in the different parts of the kingdom, in the article of drinking, both with regard to the quantity and the quality of the liquors they conſume. The Reader will find ſome details in the Second Volume of this Work, on the ſubject, which, I fear, will juſtify the concluſion, that temperance does not appear to be an Engliſh virtue. We are ſtill much addicted to the propenſity, which has been ſo often aſcribed to Northern nations; and Shakſpeare, were he alive, might, with great truth, delineate us, as he did two hundred years ago, as "moſt potent in potting[2]." It might indeed be ſuppoſed, from Davenant's account of the malt liquor drank in the metropolis in his days, and the preſent conſumption, as far as it can be collected from the tax on beer, that either the population of this great city had declined, or that, in becoming more opulent, we had alſo become more abſtemious. Neither of theſe facts, however, it is probable, is the caſe: I confeſs myſelf unable to detect the fallacy of Dr. Price's ſuppoſition of a declining population, as far as it is founded

[1] Though the South-country labourer takes as much *barley* into his ſtomach as the North countryman, who eats *barley-bread* and *barley-broth*, there is this material difference between them; the one ſeldom gets it in the South till it has been loaded with the malt and beer, or ſpirit, duties. Thoſe who uſe their barley for ſoup and bread, have at leaſt the ſatisfaction of taſting it *unexciſed*.

[2] Othello, A. 2. S. 3.

on

on the ſuperior produce of the hereditary and temporary exciſe for three years, ending in 1689, beyond what it was when he wrote. The additional duties which have been impoſed on beer ſince the Revolution, do not ſufficiently account for the decreaſed conſumption of malt liquor, which he ſuppoſes has taken place.

I have made ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, in various parts of the kingdom, to obtain information of the quantity of malt and ſpirituous liquors drank in pariſhes, where I had reaſon to think the conſumption was very conſiderable, notwithſtanding the apparent inability of the inhabitants to indulge themſelves in the purchaſe of theſe ſuperfluities; but, for obvious reaſons, I have ſcarcely ever been able to learn any thing on this head, ſo completely ſatisfactory as was hoped for, either from exciſe-men, maſters of ale-houſes, or others. From various circumſtances, however, (ſome of which I ſhall take notice of, in a ſubſequent part of this Chapter,) I am perſuaded, that the conſumption of labourers, in purchaſed liquor, (whatever exceptions particular diſtricts may furniſh,) is in general prodigious. A tolerably accurate eſtimate might probably be formed, (from various documents relative to the revenue,) of the whole amount of wine, beer, and ſpirituous liquors annually conſumed in England. I have not the means of entering into theſe details, any further than by a ſhort ſtatement of the produce of the taxes on the principal liquors conſumed in England in the year ending on the 10th October 1795.

Account

Account of the Net Produce of the Exciſe and Cuſtoms, on Spirituous and Vinous Liquors, for one Year, ending the 10th October 1795.

Exciſe, *England.*	
BEER - - -	£ 1,958,135
Cyder, perry, and verjuice -	19,456
Malt perpetual - -	629,072
Annual malt, mum, cyder and perry - - -	574,799
Wine - - -	318,536
Ditto, additional duty, 24th Feb. 1795 - -	591,876
Britiſh ſpirits - -	711,838
Ditto foreign - - -	532,133
Ditto Britiſh additional duty 5th Jan. 1791 - -	119,043
Ditto foreign ditto - -	107,151
Ditto Britiſh additional duty 24th Feb. 1794 - -	120,209
Ditto foreign ditto - -	106,733
Ditto Britiſh additional duty 24th Feb. 1795 - -	63,777
Ditto foreign ditto - -	28,076
Metheglin, including vinegar	20,628
Exciſe, *Scotland.*	
Malt perpetual - -	23,959
Spirits, Britiſh -	42,000
Ditto, quarterly remittance -	36,000
Ditto foreign - -	13,000
Ditto foreign, 1794 - -	5000
Wine - - -	18,000
Annual malt, mum, cyder and perry - - -	12,040
	£ 6,051,461

Cuſtoms, *Great Britain.*		
Spirits—Brandy	- -	£ 13,858
	Geneva - -	14,278
	Rum - -	31,612
Wine—Canary	- -	1,326
	French - -	11,107
	Madeira - -	10,208
	Portugal - -	429,936
	Rheniſh - -	1,259
	Spaniſh - -	87,539
Total cuſtoms	-	601,123
Total exciſe	-	6,051,461
Total cuſtoms and exciſe	-	£ 6,652,584

The Reader may be enabled to aſcertain the annual conſumption of wine with tolerable exactneſs, and to form ſome gueſs at the quantity of ſpirits, (annually drank,) which have paid duty, from the produce of the additional (exciſe) duties impoſed laſt year on theſe articles.

Additional duties in 1795.

For every ton of French wine imported	£30	0	0		
ditto other foreign wine -	20	0	0	by 35 G. 3. c. 10.	
barrel ſweets made in England	0	11	7¼		
gallon of ſpirits made in England	0	0	1		
ditto waſh - - -	0	0	1	by 35 G. 3. c. 11.	
ditto brandy ſingle, imported	0	0	10		
ditto —— above proof -	0	1	8		
ditto rum, from Britiſh W. I. ſing.	0	0	8		
ditto —— above proof -	0	1	4		
ditto —— from other parts, ſing.	0	0	10		
ditto —— above proof -	0	1	8	by 35 G. 3. c. 12.	

This additional duty on wine produced, for the year ending on 5th July 1796,

Wines imported - -	£711,264	(Little or none, it is probable, was French.)
Sweets, or home-made wines	10,503	From accounts laid before the Houſe of Commons.

From this it appears that of foreign wines were imported about - - 35,500[1] tons.

The above duty on home-made wines (11s. 7¼d. the barrel,) gives - 18,102 barrels.

[1] It will appear from the following ſtatement, that the meaſure of exciſing wine, which was adopted in 1786, have increaſed the legal conſumption, and, conſequently, the revenue, very conſiderably.

		Tons.		Duty after deducting Drawbacks.
Quantity imported in —	1790 —	29,189	—	£ 804,167
	1791 —	33,092	—	910,920
	1792 —	35,525	—	1,031,704
		97,806	—	2,746,791
Average of 1790, 1791, and 1792 — —		32,602	—	915,597
Average of 1784, 1785, and 1786 — —		15,953	—	625,454
Average increaſe — — —	Tons	16,649	Duties	£290,143

See "Brief Examination into the Increaſe of the Revenue," &c. printed by Stockdale, p. 25.

It is not ſo eaſy to form an eſtimate of the quantity of foreign and home-made ſpirits conſumed in Great Britain; as the account of duties ariſing from them relates to various ſorts, on which very different duties are impoſed. It is, however, probable, that, with the exception of the laſt year, during which the diſtilleries were ſtopped, the conſumption has not, of late years, been leſs than it was thirty years ago. Dr. Price, in his obſervations on the Population of England and Wales, gives the following account of the conſumption of ſpirits in England. It ſhews the progreſs of gin-drinking, which ſeems to have been moſt prevalent about the years 1750 and 1751.

The annual average of ſpirits drawn from malted corn, cyder, melaſſes, and brewers waſh,

					Gallons.
In the years	1692	and	1693	was	2,329,487
	1730	and	1731	—	6,658,788
	1750	and	1751	—	11,326,976
	1752	and	1753	—	7,500,000
	1767	and	1768	—	3,663,568

Mr. Colquhoun eſtimates the annual conſumption of gin and compounds in the metropolis at 3,000,000 of gallons [1].

Dr. Price adds, that the annual average of exciſeable brandy imported in 1688 and 1689 was 1,713,974 gallons.

1767 and 1768 — 1,612,631

A very conſiderable addition may be made to this amount, for the quantity of brandy annually ſmuggled into this kingdom in times of Peace.

Owing to the ſtoppage of the diſtilleries, the duties on ſpirits have conſiderably decreaſed ſince laſt year. Some idea of the progreſſive increaſe of this branch of revenue, in the preceding years, may be formed from the following information, which is contained in various accounts laid before the Houſe of Commons, in the laſt and preceding month, (Oct. 1796.)

[1] Treatiſe on the Police, 2d ed. p. 40.

Old Duty on Britiſh Spirits for		England.	Scotland.
Years ending the 10th October	1792	£644,104	£36,000
	1793	603,402	36,000
	1794	655,658	36,000
	1795	711,836	36,000
	1796	98,207	18,000

Produce of additional Duties impoſed in 1793, 1794, and 1795.

Britiſh ſpirits	additional duty impoſed in 1793,	produced for the year ending 5th July 1796,	£ 42,259
Foreign ditto			107,130
Britiſh ſpirits	additional duty impoſed in 1794,		43,687
Foreign ditto			103,221
Britiſh ſpirits	additional duty impoſed in 1795,		46,718
Foreign ditto			104,011

Of beer, it is hardly poſſible to form a gueſs at the amount annually conſumed in Great Britain, as a very conſiderable quantity is brewed at home, which is exempted from duty, and of courſe neither it's quality, nor quantity, can be aſcertained with any tolerable degree of preciſion. Dr. Price[1] would infer, from the ſuperior produce of the hereditary and temporary exciſe for the three years ending in 1689, over any ſubſequent period that has occurred ſince, that the population of the country has decreaſed ſince the Revolution. The unfairneſs, however, of ſelecting this particular period for the purpoſe of his argument, has been ſufficiently expoſed[2]: and it appears, that a conſiderable increaſe has taken place, if the produce of this exciſe, in modern times, be compared with it's produce in the years immediately ſubſequent to, and in other periods ſince, the Revolution.

The following Table[3] exemplifies this increaſe:

Three years, ending at - 1689 - - £700,147[4]

[1] Obſervations on the Population of England and Wales, printed in 1780, p. 20. and App. p. 46.

[2] See Mr. Eden, now Lord Auckland's, Letters, 3d ed. App. xxxii.

[3] See Dr. Price's Obſervations, &c. App. 46.

[4] The great decreaſe in the produce of the hereditary and temporary exciſe after the Revolution, is owing to the duties on low wines and ſpirits (about £70,000. a year,) having been taken from it in 1736, and carried to the aggregate fund, to the coffee duty which was taken from the exciſe in 1690, and more eſpecially to the alteration of meaſure, and the large allowance given to brewers ſoon after the Revolution.

Two years, ending at -	1695	- -	£ 438,573
	1699	- -	381,886
	1703	- -	473,799
	1710	- -	449,666
	1719	- -	509,370
	1736	- -	515,400
	1746	- -	495,749
	1753	- -	527,091
	1761	- -	575,280
	1768	- -	527,991
	1774	- -	520,613
	1778	- -	554,460

Dr. Price informs us, that the annual average of three years, ending in 1689, was

	Barrels.		Gallons, reckoning 35 to the Barrel.
Of ſtrong beer brewed for ſale	5,055,870	=	176,955,450
ſmall ditto - -	2,582,248	=	90,378,680

And that the average of three years, ending in 1768, was

	Barrels.		Gallons.
Of ſtrong beer -	3,925,131	=	137,379,585
ſmall - -	1,886,760	=	66,036,600

It appears from a pamphlet, publiſhed in 1794, intituled, "Obſervations and Facts relative to Public Houſes," that the number of barrels of porter, ale, and amber, brewed in London,

in 1794, was 1,397,355 barrels, or 48,907,425 gallons.

The duty for which amounted to £2,058,246. 6s. 10d.

Of this quantity, 65,208 barrels are ſuppoſed to be exported;
and 200,000 barrels to be ſent coaſtways, and by land, for country conſumption.

265,208: which being deducted, there will remain for the conſumption of London and it's environs - 1,132,147 barrels, of 35 gallons each; or 39,625,145 gallons; for which the conſumers pay at the rate of 14¼d. per gallon average, making in all £2,352,742. 19s. 8¼d. paid for malt liquor in London and it's environs in the courſe of one year.

Purchaſed

Purchaſed liquor is an article of expenditure particularly prevalent in the South; which, though apparently of but little moment, is certainly not beneath our notice, in the comparative eſtimate of the difference of expence manifeſt in the families of the peaſantry in the Northern and Southern counties. In the latter, there is hardly a labouring man, of any account whatever, who does not think it neceſſary to indulge himſelf, every day, in a certain quantity of malt liquor: and if taxed, at any time, with drinking too much, he thinks it a ſufficient, and by no means an unbecoming, apology for himſelf, to allege, that, excepting on a Saturday evening, or occaſions of feſtivity, he rarely allows himſelf more than a pint, or, at moſt, a pot of beer a day. In cyder countries, the peaſantry are equally liberal to themſelves in the uſe of that beverage. This is not the caſe in the North; where, beſides the pure limpid ſtream, the general drink of the labouring claſſes is either whey or milk, or rather milk and water; or, at beſt, very meagre ſmall beer. And though drinking to exceſs is ſaid to be a Northern vice, as being indeed moſt natural to the cold regions of the North [1]; and it is by no means pretended that a Northern peaſant is not as prone to brutalize himſelf by drunkenneſs as any other; they have not yet become habituated to conſider any ſtrong drink as a neceſſary of life. It is reſerved as an indulgence for extraordinary feſtivals; for a horſe-race; a merry-making; or a market-day; and reſorted to, not merely for *ſhallow draughts*, but with the avowed purpoſe of *drinking*

[1] Mr. Brydone imagines a fondneſs for drinking to be the propenſity of *mountaineers*. Speaking of Agrigentum, in Sicily, he ſays: "The very elevated ſituation of this city, where "the air is exceedingly thin and cold, has probably been one great reaſon that it's inhabi- "tants have become greater drunkards than their neighbours in the vallies." Tour to Sicily and Malta, Lett. xix. The remark ſhould, perhaps, be confined to *civilized nations*; for *barbarians*, both in hot and cold countries, on hills or in vallies, ſeem equally fond of liquor; and when that cannot be had, of getting intoxicated by other means. The Malays are often rendered perfectly mad, by an immoderate uſe of the beetle-nut. See Cook's Voyages. Vaillant, in his Travels, lately publiſhed, mentions a ſingular inſtance of brandy-drinking among the Hottentots. Eight men and ſix women had a *ſet-to* for three days, without interminſion; and emptied a caſk of brandy, containing 20 gallons: this is nearly a gallon and a half a piece. See Vaillant's New Travels, Lond. ed. 1796. ii. 94. This equals the ſtory of the Gloucesterſhire hogſhead of cyder, which the Reader will meet with a few pages on.

deep.

deep. And as theſe occaſions are not of very frequent recurrence, the expence of them is conſequently very inferior to that which is incurred by thoſe, who, beſides ſuch occaſions as theſe, allow themſelves a daily portion of beer. A comparative Table of the conſumption of malt and hops in two or three different diſtricts in the North and South, circumſtanced, as nearly as may be, alike, in the great leading features of population, market-towns, manufactures, &c. with the reſpective numbers of their inhabitants, would prove this point beyond all poſſibility of doubt: meanwhile, it is ſubmitted to the judgment of the Reader to determine for himſelf, how far it is ſufficiently proved by the ſtriking fact brought forward in ſeveral of the enſuing Reports, that, in pariſhes of pretty equal population in the North and the South, for one alehouſe in the former, there are often not leſs than three or four in the latter.

In an age of finance, and in times when the conſideration of the means of finance is become the indiſpenſible duty of every man, the touching, even incidentally, and in the moſt guarded manner, on ſo prolific a ſource of national revenue, as the conſumption of malt liquor, is certainly tender ground: and far be it from the writer of theſe ſheets to hazard even an expreſſion, which he can foreſee may, by even a diſtorted implication, do harm. He cannot but flatter himſelf, however, that it is impoſſible it ſhould do any harm, whilſt he is willing to hope it may do much good, thus fairly to appeal to the Public, and more eſpecially to thoſe, who are moſt capable of forming a true judgment as to the queſtion, how far either the Public, or individuals, are really benefited by the prodigious uſe of ſtrong drinks, which is now ſo general in theſe kingdoms. The benefit to the Public, ariſing from the revenue, is not here to be taken into the account; becauſe it is to be preſumed no Government ever did, or ever will, promote diſſipation and vice among it's people, merely for the ſake of revenue. I would beg leave to aſk, in what ſenſe, or by what means, any ſtrong drink whatever, (whether it be wine, gin, cyder, or beer,) really invigorates the conſtitution, or does good, beyond, or better than, any other wholſome beverage? Without preſuming to enter into the phyſical diſcuſſion of a queſtion confeſſedly deep and difficult, and without

out any wiſh to arraign the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms of a large portion of an enlightened people, and alſo without having recourſe to that not uncommon, but very reprehenſible, expedient, of controverſialiſts, of arguing, from the abuſe, againſt the uſe; I may be permitted to obſerve, that there always have been, and ſtill are, many large communities, where their general habits of life, as to the point now immediately under conſideration, differed, and do differ, totally from ours: and yet they are as large and muſcular in their make, poſſeſs as much bodily ſtrength, are as healthy, live as long, and in all other reſpects are as uſeful and as happy as thoſe, "that riſe up early in the morning that they may fol-"low ſtrong drink, that continue until night, till wine inflame them[1]." Scanty as is the information contained in the following ſheets, which I have been enabled to collect, there is abundant reaſon to conclude, that, in every pariſh, the conſumption of liquor is far beyond any thing of which ordinary obſervers are aware: of which the aſcertained amount of the duties ariſing from this ſingle article of taxation is a direct and ſufficient evidence. Still it is matter of regret, that no clear and certain evidence is to be obtained, how much is conſumed in each pariſh, and by whom. In one pariſh in the county of Surrey, conſiſting of 1671 men, women, and children, of which there is a detailed account in the following Reports[2], the friend to whom the Author was indebted for that account, was fortunately enabled to learn, that the draught, as it is called, of one ale-houſe only, out of ſixteen, amounted to £ 20. per month. The houſe is conſidered as having neither the beſt nor the worſt cuſtom; ſo that £20. a month may be conſidered as the fair averaged receipts of every ale-houſe in the place. This ſum, multiplied by 16, gives £320. as the total conſumption of a month; and that again multiplied by 12, gives £3840. as the whole amount of what is annually expended for ſtrong drink among 1600 perſons; two thirds of whom, conſiſting of women and children, and gentry, may fairly be ſuppoſed to have little or no ſhare in ſuch expenditures. This ſum muſt be allowed to be immenſe; and as there is no reaſon to believe, either that this calculation, formed, as it confeſſedly

[1] Iſaiah, ch. 5. v. 11. [2] See 2d Vol. p. 709.

is,

is, on no other data than ſuch as are here ſtated, is exaggerated and erroneous, or that this pariſh is unique in it's addiction to drinking, it is a circumſtance that ſurely merits a fuller inveſtigation. The pariſh in queſtion conſiſts but of one pretty conſiderable village, or town, with an hamlet or two; and no conſiderable manufactures are carried on in it; and the people in general, beſides a few farmers, are gentlemen, ſhopkeepers and tradeſmen. It is indeed a thoroughfare, and lying on one of the roads that leads to Portſmouth; yet it can not be ſaid to be much frequented by travellers. It is therefore fair to infer, that much the largeſt part of the above-ſtated prodigious expenditure in ale-houſes comes from the pockets of ſome of the inhabitants. It is not the faſhion for gentlemen, and people of rank, to frequent ale-houſes: the only claſſes, therefore, here left to be charged with this laviſh expenditure of their money, are ſhopkeepers, artificers, journeymen, gentlemen's ſervants, and labourers. For Government to offer encouragement to ale-houſes, any farther than they are wanted for the many uſeful purpoſes which they ſerve among the labouring claſſes, is to act the part of a *felo de ſe*: nor ought the Public ever to be lulled into an acquieſcence, by the flattering bait of an immediate gain, which ere long they would be obliged to pay back to Paupers, in relief, with an heavy intereſt [t].

Of

[t] It is but fair, after mentioning the evils which are produced by ale-houſes, to enumerate ſome of their advantages. Independently of the conveniences which they offer to the traveller, (the providing of which is, as the Statute of King James the Firſt juſtly obſerves, one of "the ancient, true, and principal uſe of ale-houſes,") they afford many incalculable advantages to the labouring claſſes, which are not eaſily eſtimated by thoſe who ſee little more in the publican, than the retailer of beer and ſpirits, and the willing receiver of riotous company. Whether in gratitude for the money ſpent there, or with intereſted views of future gain, I will not determine; but the fact is, that moſt of the ſervants, day-labourers, and working people of all deſcriptions, who are out of employ, are accuſtomed to "ſojourn, lodge, or "victual in inns and ale-houſes *." The facility of thus procuring an abode in times of diſtreſs, I am perſuaded, often prevents thoſe enormities, which thoſe who are turned adrift on the world would otherwiſe be induced to commit. In this ſpeculating and commercial country, there are ſudden ſtagnations in trade, and unforeſeen interruptions to employment. The workman, who has been receiving high wages for ſeveral months, (the greateſt part of which he may, perhaps, have ſpent at the ale-houſe,) is ſuddenly diſcharged: he naturally applies to the ale-houſe for a little temporary aſſiſtance; and the publican, (who has gene-

* 2 Jac. c. 9. § 2.

Of the drinking propenſities of labourers in a cyder county, Mr. Marſhall, in his account of the rural economy of Glouceſterſhire, gives the following remarkable inſtances:—"Drinking a gallon-bottle full "at a draught is ſaid to be no uncommon feat: a mere boyiſh trick, "which will not bear to be bragged of. But to drain a two-gallon "bottle, without taking it from the lips, as a labourer of the vale "(of Eveſham,) is ſaid to have done, by way of being even with "maſter, who had paid him ſhort in money, is ſpoken of as an ex-"ploit, which carried the art of draining a wooden bottle to it's full "pitch. Two gallons of cyder, however, are not a ſtomach-full. "Another man of the vale undertook, for a trifling wager, to drink "twenty pints, one immediately after another. He got down nine-"teen, (as the ſtory is gravely told,) but theſe filling the caſk to the "bung, the twentieth could not, of courſe, get admittance: ſo that a "Severn-man's ſtomach holds exactly two gallons three pints. But "the quantity drank in this extempore way, by the men, is trifling "compared with that which their maſters will ſwallow at a ſitting. "Four well-ſeaſoned yeomen, having raiſed their courage with the "juice of the apple, reſolved to have a freſh hogſhead tapped: and, "ſetting foot to foot, emptied it at one ſitting[1]." Hardyknute's horn would be a mere thimble-full to ſuch fellows as theſe.

rally a very good calculating head,) will ſeldom refuſe him that little which is requiſite till he can find a new maſter. There is commonly a ſtrong bond of union between the diſcharged labourer and the ale-houſe keeper: the former has uſually a long ſcore with the latter; who will not act like a prudent man, in compelling him to fly the pariſh. The fact is, he gene-rally reaſons like Baſſanio:

"When I had loſt one ſhaft
"I ſhot his fellow, of the ſelf-ſame flight,
"The ſelf-ſame way, with more adviſed watch,
"To find the other forth; and, by advent'ring both,
"I oft found both."

Viewed in this light, ale-houſes will appear to form a ſtrong intermediate link between the employer and employed. That they are often, like other good inſtitutions, perverted to bad purpoſes, more eſpecially in the metropolis, I have little doubt: but it is likewiſe well known to thoſe, who are well acquainted with the myſtery of thief-taking, that public-houſes are uſeful inſtruments of police: and that they not only facilitate the means of detecting thoſe whom they perhaps have corrupted, (which, it muſt be confeſſed, is a ſad conſequence of the progreſs of ſociety,) but even offenders of very different deſcriptions.

[1] Marſhall's Glouceſterſhire, i. 53.

In the midland counties [1], the improvident conſumption of malt liquor is no leſs remarkable. "Beer and ale are not only brewed unreaſonably ſtrong, but the quantity allowed to workmen is unneceſſarily great. That which is termed *beer*, or *ſmall beer*, is nearly equal in ſtrength to the harveſt *mild ale* of many counties. In hay and corn harveſt the cuſtomary allowance is a gallon of beer a man, (in hot weather they drink more,) and beſides this, mowers expect two quarts of ale, and never have leſs than one. Reapers have no regular allowance of ale; but, nevertheleſs, expect a little *drink*." Mr. Marſhall adds, that with ſome difficulty, he "got turnip-hoers to accept of two quarts of beer, and one of ale: they wanted two of beer and two of ale. During the Winter months, the quantity of ſmall beer drank is not much leſs than in Harveſt. Mr. William Moor, of Thorp, allows his labourers a gallon a day all the year round. Each man has his gallon bottle filled in the morning; and what he does not drink, he takes home to his family." His motive for eſtabliſhing this cuſtom was, that when beer was given them from the caſk by careleſs waſteful ſervants, they were apt to get ſo muddled and ſtupid as to be unfit for duty.

"It is uſual in farm-houſes to draw beer in a two-quart copper cann; and there are men, who will ſee the bottom ſingle handed. Two men ſeldom fail of emptying one of them at a draught [2]." From this account it would ſeem, that although the *quantity* of liquor waſted in the midland counties is leſs than in Glouceſterſhire, in *quality* and *coſt*, the beverage of farm labourers in the former diſtrict far exceeds the other [3].

It muſt be confeſſed, that the difficulty of introducing any ſpecies of food, which requires much culinary preparation, into the South of England, ariſes, in a great meaſure, from the ſcarcity and high price of fuel. It is owing to this cauſe that even the labourer's dinner, of

[1] The midland diſtrict conſiſts of Leiceſterſhire, Rutland, Warwickſhire, North part of Northamptonſhire, Eaſt part of Staffordſhire, and Southern extremities of Derbyſhire and Nottinghamſhire.

[2] Marſhall's Midland Counties, ii. 49. [3] Id. i. 132.

hot meat on a Sunday, is generally dreſſed at the baker's[1]; and that his meals during the reſt of the week conſiſt almoſt wholly of bread purchaſed from the ſame quarter. It may, however, be doubted, whether the ſame quantity of fuel, which is required to boil a tea-kettle twice a day, is not more than ſufficient, with proper management, to dreſs a potatoe ſoup, or an hodge-podge: but it is much to be regretted, that moſt of the habitations of the labouring claſſes are but ill adapted to culinary proceſſes. Count Rumford truly obſerves, that "their fire-"places are, in general, conſtructed upon the moſt wretched principles:" and that "the fuel they conſume in them, inſtead of heating their "rooms, not unfrequently renders them really colder, and more un-"comfortable, by cauſing ſtrong currents of cold air to flow from all "the doors and windows to the chimney." He thinks "this imper-"fection of their fire-places may be effectually remedied; theſe cur-"rents of cold air prevented; above half their fuel ſaved; and their "dwellings made infinitely more comfortable, merely by diminiſhing "their fire-places and the throats of their chimnies, juſt above the "mantle-piece; which may be done at a very trifling expence, with a "few bricks, or ſtones, and a little mortar, by the moſt ordinary brick-"layer. And with regard to the expence of fuel for cooking," he ſays, "ſo ſimple a contrivance as an earthen-pot, broad at top, for receiving "a ſtew-pan, or kettle, and narrow at bottom, with holes through it's "ſides near the bottom, for letting in air under a ſmall circular and iron "grate, and other ſmall holes near the top for letting out the ſmoke, "may be introduced with great advantage. By making uſe of this "portable furnace, which is equally well adapted to burn wood or coals, "one-eighth part of the fuel will be ſufficient for cooking, which "would be required were the kettle to be boiled over an open fire. To "ſtrengthen this portable furnace, it may be hooped with iron hoops,

[1] Baking meat appears to me to be the worſt of all modes of cookery: the nouriſhing parts are dried up, and exhaled, and the bones turned to no account: whereas in a ſoup, or a ſtew, marrow, griſtle, ſkin, and even bones themſelves, if broken into ſmall pieces, may be made to ſupply many ſavoury and nutritious ingredients. This, however, it is obvious, can only be effected through the means of *water* as well as *fire*. They are certainly the beſt cooks, who can moſt apply the liquid element to the purpoſes of nutrition.

" or bound round with ſtrong iron wire [1]. No preſent, that could be " made to a poor family, could be of more eſſential ſervice to them " than a thin, light ſtew-pan, with it's cover, made of wrought, or " caſt, iron, and fitted to a portable furnace, or cloſe fire-place, con- " ſtructed to ſave fuel; with two or three approved receipts for making " nouriſhing and ſavoury ſoups and broths at a ſmall expence." There is alſo a good account and plate of a ſteam-diſh, for making a potatoe paſty, in the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures, iv. 384. The author of this account, which was written in March 1796, ſays, this diſh would cook an excellent meal for a family at leſs than 3d. a head.

Fire-balls, of which Count Rumford takes notice, were, I am perſuaded, formerly more uſed in England than they are at preſent. I accidentally met with the two following receipts to make them, in the Britiſh Muſeum, and flatter myſelf the inſertion of them will not be unacceptable to the Reader.

" *Artificiall Fire or Coale for Rich and Poore.*

" This being the offer of an excellent new invention by Mr. Richard " Goſling, ingineer, (late deceaſed,) but now thought fit to be put in- " practiſe——

" Read—Practice—Judge.

" Firſt, provide a peece of ground where the ſun lies upon it, and for " the better ordering, take a brick-maker or a labourer to doe it: doe " thus.

" Take three load of red mortar, ſuch as you make your bricks with " double loads, half a chaldron of good ſea-coales of the ſmalleſt and " beſt, three ſack-fulls of the beſt ſmal coale, foure buſhels of ſaw-duſt, " foure truſſes of ſtraw chopped; worke all theſe together with water " ſtiffe as bricks; then when it worked all together very well, take " foure ſacks of the duſt of ſmal coale, and with that uſed as they do the

[1] Eſſays, 174. The Public may expect further elucidation of the important ſubjects of fuel and chimney fire-places, from this intereſting author, as he has promiſed an eſſay on cottage fire-places; in which he expects to be able to ſhew, that *three quarters* at leaſt of the fuel, which cottagers now conſume in cooking their victuals, and in warming their dwellings, may, with great eaſe, and without any expenſive apparatus, be ſaved. Eſſays, 366.

" ſand

" ſand for caſting of brick; then caſt the ingredients as you caſt " bricks, but halfe ſo thick, and dry it as brick is dryed; or you may " make it up in round balls not too big, with charcoale, or ſmalcoale " duſt, on the outſide, and ſo laid to dry; when they be thorow dry, " burn them with a little Scotch coale or wood, or any combuſtible " matter to fire it, or with two or three wooden chips to kindle your fire " withall, and to keepe in the life of the fire, and theſe caſt a moſt ex- " cellent heat, and keepe fire for any uſe, to roſt, boile, or bake, for the " richer ſort; but be ſure you lay them not too cloſe on the fire, but as " you ſee pattern upon this paper, mingled with a Scotch coale or two.

" For the poorer ſort, cow-dung mingled with ſaw-duſt and ſmal- " coale, made up into bals, or in a ſquare like a tile, not too thick, and " dryed, make a very good fewell, but ſomething noiſome. Alſo that " which comes out of the paunches of beaſts killed, it being dryed, is " excellent fire.

" Horſe-dung in balls, with ſaw-duſt, or the duſt of ſmal coale, or " charcoale duſt, dryed, is good fewell, but the ſmell is offenſive.

" Greenwich Heath, or Hounſlow Heath, turf, well dryed, is very " good fewell, with a little Scotch coale burnt with it.

" Peate, if well dryed, but well fatted with ſeggy or flagge roots " from fenny places, is a very good firing, mingled with coale when it is " burnt.

" Some make an oven with kennell durt, with a hole at the top for " the heat and ſmoke to aſcend up in the chimny, and with ſix or ſeven " bricks raiſe the bottome and make up the ſhed, and then daube up the " oven, leaving the hole at top, and before put in a few Scotch coale, " and after it is kindled well, keepe fire a weeke, every two dayes " putting addition of the kennell durt to keep it whole, and putting ſea " coal, or Scocth[1] coale as the fire declines; this is a fire which caſts a " good heat at the mouth and top, but not commendable nor fit to roſt[2]."

Good

[1] Scotch.

[2] Printed in 1644. See Miſcellaneous Printed Papers in the Britiſh Muſeum, marked 4 * 21. The other piece, intituled, *Good News for the Poor*, &c. it is probable, was printed about the ſame time. See another receipt of the ſame kind in the Britiſh Muſeum; Harl. MSS. No. 6210. The ſcarcity and high price of proviſions during the Civil Wars, turned the attention of the Public to many very important ſubjects of domeſtic economy. We have not,

Good News for the Poor; or, *An Expedient humbly offered for ſupplying the Want, and bringing down the Price of Coles.*

" 'Tis certain neceſſity is moſt times the parent of ingenuity. To " pay forty or fifty ſhillings for a chaldron of coals went deep in a poor " tradeſman's pocket; eſpecially thoſe that were forced to uſe great " quantities. Whereupon ſome plodding induſtrious heads, that had " ſeen fires of turfe, or peat, in the country, or been in Holland, where " (as one ſaith pleaſantly,) they fetch fire out of water, burning a kind " of mud taken out of their ditches, and dryed; began to think of " mixing clay with their coals, which they found ſucceed ſo well, that " ſeveral eminent victuallers, and coffee-houſes, (particularly near the " Royal Exchange,) make it now their common fuel, to their great ad- " vantage. The manner of doing it is thus:

" Take two load, that is to ſay, a chaldron of coals, and cauſe them " to be ſifted in a wide-hole ſeive; that ſo all the duſt and ſmall coals " may go through, and the great round coals remain behind. Then take " a load of clay, (for the ſiftings of a chaldron of coals are generally " enough for ſo much,) and cauſe it to be mixed well together with " the ſaid duſt or ſmall coals; for which purpoſe, if your clay be not " moiſt enough to work up well, you may wet it a little; then make " them up, either in round balls, or like bricks, but let them not be " above half ſo big every way; or in what other faſhion ſoever you " think moſt convenient for your grates or fire-irons; and then letting " them lie for ſome time to dry well, they will be fit for uſe: for, having " laid a ſmall thin bottom of coals, you muſt then lay on theſe " pieces, intermixing now and then one of your great round coals " among them: this ſhall produce you a moſt rare fire, burning more " clear, and caſting a greater heat than all coals: it ſhall continue freſh " and in good order, with very little trouble, a whole day, and is not " offenſive in ſmoak, ſmell, or otherwiſe.

" Nor let any think this to be a trouble of too much trouble or " charge: for, firſt, you may have a load of clay brought home to any

not, however, the conſolation to know, that theſe diſaſtrous times have effected, (what has often been the reſult of that activity, which a calamitous period excites,) any very important diſcovery in the uſeful arts.

" place

" place in London for four ſhillings and ſixpence. And any common " labouring man will ſift your coales, and make it all up in balls as " aforeſaid, in three days at furtheſt; which, at one ſhilling ſixpence " per day, is but four ſhillings ſixpence; ſo that the whole charge " will amount to nine ſhillings. And this being done, it ſhall do you " more ſervice, burn better, and laſt longer, than any three chaldron of " coals you can buy. You may eaſily work them in a cellar or ſhed; " and when they are made up, they will lie conveniently in ſmall room, " provided it be but dry.

" Some have thought it convenient to put in a matter of two ſacks " of ſaw-duſt, (which may eaſily be procured,) to the aforeſaid quantity " of clay and coals, and upon experience find it does very well, drying " the clay, and making it the ſooner fit for preſent uſe. By the ſaid " proportion of a load of clay to two loads of coals, you may eaſily gueſs " how to mix them in any greater or leſſer quantity."

The *kindling balls* [1], which Count Rumford recommends, I ſhould imagine might be uſed with great advantage for lighting fires, particularly in London, where the expence of billet-wood, which is uſed for this purpoſe, is very great.

Balls of ſmall coal, mixed with clay, are very much uſed all over South Wales, particularly in the counties of Pembroke and Carmarthen. They are formed about the bigneſs of a man's fiſt; great in the middle, and verging ſmaller towards the ends. They are generally made up and put upon the fire quite wet, in the form of a pyramid; and when thoroughly lighted, make a moſt brilliant appearance. One of theſe fires, if made up with ſkill, will laſt ten or twelve hours. Thoſe who live near the ſea, inſtead of clay, uſe mud taken from under flood-mark at low-water; which, from the quantity of ſalts it contains, makes the aſhes a valuable article in agriculture to the huſbandman, and in horti-

[1] He ſays: *Kindling-balls* ſhould " be compoſed of equal parts of coal, charcoal, and clay; the two former reduced to a fine powder, well mixed and kneaded together with the clay, moiſtened with water, and then formed into balls of the ſize of hens' eggs, and thoroughly dried." They " may be made ſo inflammable as to take fire in an inſtant, and with the ſmalleſt ſpark, by dipping them in a ſtrong ſolution of nitre, and then drying them again; and they would neither be expenſive, nor liable to be ſpoiled by long keeping." Eſſays, 364.

culture

culture to the cottager; for every cottager in South-Wales has a little garden, in which he grows his own leeks for pottage, and his potatoes, cabbages, cole-worts, peaſe, &c. for hodge-podge, &c. The balls mixed with mud emit no diſagreeable ſmell in burning.

The providing ſuitable and comfortable dwellings for the labouring claſſes, is a ſubject highly worthy the conſideration and inveſtigation both of thoſe who, in the capacity of employers, are called on to promote the comforts of the employed, and of thoſe, whoſe practical experience in ſubjects of this nature renders them better qualified than I can poſſibly be ſuppoſed to be, to offer uſeful ſuggeſtions to the Public, on the means of meliorating the condition of the people, as far as it depends on their being lodged in warm, wholſome, and commodious habitations. It would anſwer many beneficial purpoſes to aſcertain the comparative advantages of the different ſorts of houſes, which we ſee are inhabited by labourers in different parts of the kingdom. Houſes of clay [1], of brick, and of ſtone, have, no doubt, their reſpective advantages and diſadvantages: the cottage of wattle and dab, as it is called, is perhaps the warmeſt; that of brick, the drieſt; and that of ſtone, the ſtrongeſt dwelling. There are, however, no doubt, peculiar excellen-

[1] Of the mode of building mud-houſes in the county of Dumfries, the Author of the Statiſtical Account of the pariſh of Dornock, in that county, gives the following account: "The "farm-houſes in general, and all the cottages, are built of mud or clay; yet, theſe houſes, "when plaiſtered and properly finiſhed within, (as many of them are,) are exceeding warm and "comfortable. The manner of erecting them is ſingular. In the firſt place, they dig out the "foundation of the houſe, and lay a row or two of ſtones; then, they procure, from a pit "contiguous, as much clay or brick-earth as is ſufficient to form the walls: and, having pro-"vided a quantity of ſtraw, or other litter, to mix with the clay, upon a day appointed, the "whole neighbourhood, male and female, to the number of 20 or 30, aſſemble, each with a "dung-fork, a ſpade, or ſome ſuch inſtrument. Some fall to the working the clay or mud, by "mixing it with ſtraw; others carry the materials; and four or ſix, of the moſt experienced "hands, build, and take care of, the walls. In this manner, the walls of the houſe are finiſhed "in a few hours; after which, they retire to a good dinner, and plenty of drink, which is "provided for them, where they have muſic and a dance, with which, and other marks of "feſtivity, they conclude the evening. This is called *a dauking*, and in this manner they "make a frolic of what would otherwiſe be a very dirty and diſagreeable job." Statiſt. Acc. of Scotland, ii. 22.

cies, not only in the materials, but in the mode of building, and in the internal ſtructure and accommodations of cottages in various parts of the kingdom, highly deſerving of being remarked. There are, likewiſe, peculiar defects, not only in ſome [1], but in all dwellings of this ſort, which might eaſily be corrected. Such, for inſtance, is the injudicious conſtruction of fire-places, which is juſtly remarked by Count Rumford, in a paſſage I have before noticed, to be productive of great waſte in fuel, and many other inconveniencies. It ſeems likewiſe deſerving of conſideration, whether the improvements which have of late years taken place in the uſeful arts, offer any means of ſupplying the labourer with a cheaper, though not leſs comfortable, dwelling, than that which he at preſent inhabits. It cannot be denied, that the article of expenditure of a poor working family, which, though not the heavieſt in amount, is in effect their heavieſt diſburſement, is their rent. It is an article of expence that has all the inconveniencies of a direct tax; and is often called for at the moment when it is moſt inconvenient to pay it.

The diverſity is not greater between the labourers in the North and South of England, with reſpect to the manner in which their food is prepared, than with regard to the modes they adopt of ſupplying themſelves with cloathing. In the midland and ſouthern counties, the labourer, in general, purchaſes a very conſiderable portion, if not the whole, of his cloaths, from the ſhop-keeper. In the vicinity of the metropolis, working-people ſeldom buy new cloaths: they content themſelves with a caſt-off coat, which may be uſually purchaſed for about 5s. and ſecond-hand waiſtcoats and breeches. Their wives ſeldom make up any article of dreſs, except making and mending cloaths for the children. In the North, on the contrary, almoſt every article

[1] Thatched cottages are liable to many objections, ſome of which have already been noticed. A reed roof, where it can be obtained, ſeems to be in many reſpects an eligible covering for cottages. Mr. Marſhall remarks, in his Account of Norfolk, that a reed roof, properly laid, will lie fifty years without touching; and thirty or forty more, with only adjuſting it, and levelling the hollows with a little freſh reed. At an hundred years old, it may be re-laid; and will then, if laid upon the upper parts of the roof, laſt through a conſiderable part of another century. Norfolk, i. 19.

of dreſs worn by farmers, mechanics, and labourers, is manufactured at home, ſhoes and hats excepted: that is, the linen thread is ſpun from the lint, and the yarn from the wool, and ſent to the weaver's and dyer's: ſo that almoſt every family has it's web of linen cloth annually, and often one of woollen alſo, which is either dyed for coats, or made into flannel, &c. Sometimes black and white wool are mixed; and the cloth which is made from them receives no dye: it is provincially called *kelt*. Although broad cloth[1], purchaſed in the ſhops, begins now to be worn by opulent farmers, and others, on Sundays; yet there are many reſpectable perſons, at this day, who never wore a bought pair of ſtockings, coat, nor waiſtcoat, in their lives: and, within theſe twenty years, a coat bought at a ſhop was conſidered as a mark of extravagance and pride[2], if the buyer was not poſſeſſed of an independent fortune. There are, however, many labourers ſo poor, that they cannot even afford to purchaſe the raw material neceſſary to ſpin thread or yarn at home; as it is ſome time before a home manufacture can be rendered fit for uſe. It is generally acknowledged, that articles of cloathing can be purchaſed in the ſhops at a much lower price, than thoſe who make them at home can afford to ſell them for; but that, in the wearing, thoſe manufactured by private families[3] are very ſuperior both in warmth and durability.

Some years ago clogs were introduced into the county of Dumfries from Cumberland, and are now very generally uſed over all that part of the country, in place of coarſe and ſtrong ſhoes. The perſon who makes them is called a *clogger*. "All the upper part of the clog,

[1] Of the great increaſe in the quantity of broad and narrow cloths manufactured in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, the Reader will find an account in the Appendix, No. xvii. As the paper, from which this account was taken, contains ſome curious particulars relative to county expenditure, I have inſerted the whole of it.

[2] A *ſeap'd ſark*, (i. e. a ſhirt waſhed with ſoap inſtead of chamber-lie, which is generally uſed in the moſt Northern, as it was two centuries ago in the Southern, counties,) *a ſhop coat*, (i. e. a ſuit not manufactured at home, but purchaſed at the ſhop,) and *money buckles*, (i. e. ſilver buckles,) is an old Cumberland proverb, which is often applied to a village beau, and ſtrongly marks the uſual cuſtoms reſpecting dreſs in that county.

[3] Many of the ancient Statutes notice the home-made woollens of the North of England, or huſwives cloth, as it was called. See 5 Eliz. c. 4. §32, &c.

"comprehending what is called the upper leather and heel quarters, is "of leather, and made after the ſame manner as thoſe parts of the ſhoe "which go by the ſame name. The ſole is of wood. It is firſt neatly "dreſſed into a proper form; then, with a knife made for the purpoſe, "the inſide is dreſſed off, and hollowed ſo as eaſily to receive the foot. "Next, with a different kind of inſtrument, a hollow, or guttin, is run "round the outſide of the upper part of the ſole, for the reception of "the upper leather, which is then nailed with ſmall tacks to the ſole, "and the clog is completed. After this they are generally ſhod, or "plated, with iron, by a blackſmith. The price of a pair of men's clogs, "(in Dumfries-ſhire,) is about 3s. including plating; and, with the ſize, "the price diminiſhes in proportion. A pair of clogs, thus plated, will "ſerve a labouring man one year; or, if good care is taken of them, "an year and a half; and at the end of that period, by renewing the ſole "and plating, they may be repaired ſo as to ſerve an year longer. Whe-"ther conſidered with reſpect to the price or utility, they are certainly" (as the Author of this account juſtly obſerves,) "preferable to ſhoes. "They keep the feet remarkably warm and comfortable, and entirely "exclude all damp, and thence are thought to contribute highly to the "healthineſs of the labouring part of the community[1]."

The following ſhort account of the prices of a few home-made articles in Cumberland, will, I truſt, prove not unacceptable to the Reader.

The uſual price of a hat worn by labourers is about 2s. 6d.: a coat purchaſed, (4 yards,) coſts about 2s. 6d. a yard: a waiſtcoat takes a yard and a half: a pair of leather breeches coſts 3s. 6d: labourers ſometimes wear breeches of flannel or coloured cloth. A tailor charges 5s. for making a whole ſuit. A linen ſhirt takes 3¼ yards, at 17d. a yard: this is ſtrong, and wears well. About 11 oz. of wool, at 8d. the pound, will make a pair of ſtockings. They are almoſt invariably ſpun and knit at home.

Women's dreſs generally conſiſts of a black ſtuff hat, of the price of 1s. 8d.: a linen bed-gown, (ſtamped with blue,) moſtly of the home ma-

[1] Statiſt. Acc. of Scotland, xiii. 262.

nufacture;

nufacture; this uſually coſts in the ſhops about 5s. 6d.: a cotton or linen neck-cloth, price about 1s. 6d.: two petticoats of flannel[1], the upper one dyed blue; value of the two about 11s. 6d.: coarſe woollen ſtockings, home manufacture, value about 1s. 8d.: linen ſhift, home manufacture, $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards, at 1s. 5d. the yard. Women generally wear ſtays, or rather boddice, of various prices. Their gowns are ſometimes made of woollen ſtuff; 6 yards, at 1s. 6d. the yard. The women, however, generally wear black ſilk hats, and cotton gowns, on Sundays and holidays.

The following are the prices of cloaths, as ſold in a ſlop-ſhop in the neighbourhood of London:

		s.	d.
Men.—	A good foul-weather coat, (will laſt very well two years,) - - - -	13	0
	A common waiſtcoat - - -	6	6
	A pair of ſtout breeches, (one year,) -	3	9
	Stockings, the pair - - -	1	10
	A dowlas ſhirt - - - -	4	6
	A pair of ſtrong ſhoes - - -	7	0
	A hat, (will laſt three years,) - -	2	6
Women.—	A common ſtuff gown - -	6	6
	Linſey-woolſey petticoat - -	4	6

[1] In Cumberland, ſeveral ſorts of woollen are called cotton; the etymology of which word is thus, in ſome parts rather fancifully, given by a correſpondent of the Britiſh Critic:

"The original word, which has been thus transformed, was *coating*, which, when haſtily "pronounced, has a ſtrong reſemblance, in reſpect to ſound, to *cotton*; and that this is really "ſo, admits of the cleareſt proof, ſeeing that at this hour a very coarſe kind of woollen cloth, "that is the ſtaple manufacture of Kendal, in Lancaſhire, is known by no other name but "that of *Kendal cotton*, inſtead of *Kendal coating*. That theſe Kendal cottons are made of "ſheep's wool only, without the ſmalleſt admixture of cotton wool, properly ſo called, you "may eaſily ſatisfy yourſelf by going into one of the numerous warehouſes in this metropo-"lis, where this kind of cloth is ſold, and which you will frequently ſee advertiſed in the "newſpapers. That ſuch are the *Mancheſter cottons*, mentioned by Cambden, is clear from "the very words you quote, (p. 46:) 'tum *lanearum pannorum* honore *Mancheſter cottons* "'vocant:' for theſe he ſpecifies to be expreſsly *woollen cloths*, in contradiſtinction to cloths "made of any other materials." Britiſh Critic, viii. 575.

A ſhift

		s.	d.
Women.—A ſhift	- - -	3	8
A pair of ſhoes[1]	- - -	3	9
Coarſe apron	- - -	1	0
Check apron	- - -	2	0
A pair of ſtockings	- - -	1	6
A hat, the cheapeſt ſort; (will laſt two years,)		1	8
Coloured neck-handkerchief	- -	1	0
A common cap	- - -	0	10
Cheapeſt kind of cloak, (will laſt two years,)		4	6
Pair of ſtays, (will laſt ſix years,)	- -	6	0

In the Highlands of Scotland, every peaſant makes his own ſhoes, of leather of his own tanning. They are ſewed with thongs of calf-ſkin, inſtead of hemp; both becauſe there grows very little hemp in the country, and becauſe the leather is more durable than the thread of hemp, not being ſo liable to rot from being frequently wet. They are in general made with a ſtrength, elegance, and lightneſs, which one who has never ſeen them will not be eaſily perſuaded to believe. It is to be lamented, that, after two or three Highland cottagers have joined together in purchaſing and dreſſing a hide, one of them ſhould be often obliged to loſe one or two days' work, beſides tear and wear of cloaths, in going 20 or 30 miles to inform an exciſe-officer of it, and to pay him the ſtated duty; or to run the riſk of being thrown in gaol, and ſeverely fined, beſides forfeiting the hide. No clogs are uſed in the North of Scotland. In a country where there is ſo much walking up and down hill, they would not anſwer. Few regular mechanics, of any kind, are employed by the labouring claſſes in the Highlands. Every man there is Jack of all trades; and yet, where the *good-man* of the houſe is but tolerably dexterous, ſo convenient, in general, and ſo well adapted to all *really uſeful* purpoſes, are their cloaths, furniture, and implements, that the want of regular tradeſmen and mechanics ſeems to be

[1] Shoes are a very heavy article of expence in the South: in Appendix, No. xii. in the account of labourers in Hertfordſhire, the Reader will ſee, they ſometimes amount to £3. annually for one family.

but

but little felt. Many a ſhepherd and *cotter*, with his wife and children, appear at *kirk and market*, neat, tidy, and even fine, in cloaths which have been touched by no hand but their own, ſince they were ſhorn from the ſheep, and ſown in the flax-fields; except that the man has given 1s. 6d. (once in about three years) for his bonnet, and about a ſhilling to a tailor for making his *coat*. Nor has there, perhaps, been a ſingle bought article uſed in preparing them, except the awl, needle, thimble, cauldron [1], and a very few parts of iron-work in the weaving-loom. The women extract the *dyes* from trees, ſhrubs, and herbs, of their own culling or rearing. The buds and tender twigs of the alder, heath, in different ſtates of verdure, and woad, are very much uſed. They have no occaſion for the aſſiſtance of fullers, ſhoemakers, maſons, carpenters, turners, coopers, dyers, and very little for that of tailors and blackſmiths: weavers are more employed, becauſe the women do not, in general, now work at the loom, as they formerly did. The only model which now remains in the Highlands, of the ancient *beart*, or loom, is that uſed for the weaving of broad garters and belts. It is much the ſame with the ſimpleſt kind of thoſe we meet with on Grecian and Roman marbles, and not much adapted to expedition, though it did very well in a ſtate of ſociety in which women had little elſe to do, while the men were abroad at war or at the chaſe; and where it was reckoned a degradation to a man to purſue any ſuch effeminate occupation. A few of the females ſtill weave: but the loom now in uſe is of ſuch a conſtruction as in a great meaſure to preclude the ſex from that uſeful, elegant, and venerable branch of female employment; as it obliges them to lean very much forward over a large beam, to which they muſt ſit quite cloſe. Spinning upon the *cuigil*, *rock*, or diſtaff, is ſtill pretty much in uſe in the Highlands. It is ſlow, but makes an excellent thread, and is ſo eaſy an employment, that it ſeems peculiarly fit for children and feeble old women. Any old woman that has the uſe of her hands, and can ſit in an elbow chair, or on a low ſtool, may ſpin at the diſtaff; and accordingly we rarely meet with an old woman in the North of Scotland, that is not otherwiſe employed, but who has got a diſtaff ſtuck in her girdle, and a ſpindle in her hand.

[1] For dyeing.

" Still

"Still thrift, induſtrious, bides her lateſt days,
"Tho' age her fair dow'd[1] front wi' wrinkles wave,
"Still frae the ruſſet lap the ſpindle plays,
"Her e'ening ſtent[2] reels ſhe as weel's the lave[3].
"On ſome feaſt day, the wee-things buſkit[4] braw[5]
"Shall heeze[6] her heart up wi' a ſilent joy,
"Fu' cadgie[7] that her head was up, and ſaw
"Her ain ſpun cleething on a darling oy[8],
"Careleſs tho' death ſhould mak' the feaſt her foy[9]."

FERGUSSON's Farmer's Ingle.

In conſequence of the very great price of bread-corn during the whole of the laſt year, the diſtreſſes of the Poor were unuſually great, and the ſums expended for their relief far beyond all former example. If we, however, except the late period of ſcarcity, (which was ſuch as had not occurred for near a century before,) I believe no period during the preſent reign can be adduced, in which the condition of day-labourers was not much more comfortable than that of the ſame claſs of people in what are often called the "good old times" of former reigns.

It has, indeed, been very confidently aſſerted, by ſome political writers, that the induſtrious labourer is leſs able to ſupport himſelf by his induſtry than formerly; and that, inſtead of being able to provide for his family by the hard-earned wages of labour, he is more or leſs ſupported by the occaſional charity of the opulent claſſes of the community. This is, however, a poſition which I am by no means prepared to aſſent to: nor can I think that the inſtances, which have been adduced, of the ſuperior advance in the price of proviſions within the laſt fifty years, in compariſon with that of labour, are either ſufficiently numerous or authentic to juſtify general concluſions on the ſubject. The common argument made uſe of to demonſtrate that labourers cannot ſupport themſelves now, as well as they could in ſome remote period of our hiſtory, is, that the price of wheat has riſen in a greater degree than the price of labour. The price of wheat, I conceive, is no criterion of the ability of a man to ſubſiſt by his labour, unleſs it can be ſhewn that this grain is wholly and

[1] Decayed; worn with care.
[2] Day's taſk; from the Saxon *Stintan*, to ſtop; to limit one as to quantity.
[3] The reſt. [4] Dreſſed out. [5] *Brave*; fine. [6] Raiſe; make *high*.
[7] Blythe; chearful. [8] Grandchild; from the Gaelic *ogha*.
[9] A *foy*, is the feaſt a perſon who is about to leave a place, in order to go and ſeek his fortune, gives to his friends before his departure. The metaphorical application of the word in the above paſſage is eminently beautiful and happy.

entirely his ordinary food. But at no period of our hiſtory has this been the caſe. To argue from ſuch *data* would warrant us in ſuppoſing that a labourer muſt have been under an abſolute impoſſibility of ſubſiſting in 1595, when wheat was above £2. the quarter, and the wages of ordinary agricultural labourers not more than 4d. or 5d. the day, without diet[1]; and that 8d. the day was a miſerable pittance in 1682, when wheat was nearly at the ſame price. But the truth is, that at neither of theſe periods did wheat conſtitute a part of the diet of either the peaſant or artificer in many parts of England. From the houſhold book of Sir Edward Coke, from which the Reader will find a few extracts in the Appendix to this Volume, it appears, that, in 1596, rye-bread and oat-meal formed a conſiderable portion of the diet of ſervants even in great families. In 1626, barley-bread is ſtated, in a grant of a monopoly from King Charles, to have been the uſual food of the ordinary ſort of people[2]. Of the relative proportion of wheat conſumed in this kingdom, about the Revolution, we may form a tolerable idea from an eſtimate of the produce of the arable land, by Gregory King, whoſe ſchemes, Dr. Davenant ſays, are all of them ſo accurately done as not to be controverted[3].

	Buſhels.		Per Buſhel.	Value.
Wheat[4]	14,000,000	at	3s. 6d.	£2,450,000
Rye	10,000,000	—	2 6	1,250,000
Barley	27,000,000	—	2 0	2,700,000
Oats	16,000,000	—	1 6	1,200,000
Peaſe	7,000,000	—	2 6	875,000
Beans	4,000,000	—	2 6	500,000
Vetches	1,000,000	—	2 0	100,000
In all	79,000,000	Medium	2 $3\frac{45}{79}$	£9,075,000

[1] See Appendix, No. i. p. lxiii. and Appendix, No. iii. p. xci. [2] See p. 163.

[3] Eſſay upon the Probable Methods of making a People Gainers in the Balance of Trade Whitworth's edit. ii. 217.

[4] The yearly produce of wheat, a few years ago, was ſaid to be 4,000,000 quarters. *YOUNG's Northern Tour*, iv. 349.

Since the commencement of the preſent century, wheaten-bread has been gradually introduced among the labouring claſſes. It appears from the "Account of ſeveral Work-houſes," publiſhed in 1725, that, at that period, bread made from this grain was uſed in many work-houſes in the Southern parts of the kingdom. It was ſtill, however, far from being a very general article of diet; and, even as late as the beginning of the preſent reign, it appears, from the Supplement to Three Tracts on the Corn Trade, that above one-third of the nation eat bread made of oats, rye, or barley. The ſtatement of this well-informed Author forms ſo proper an addition to Gregory King's Eſtimate, that I ſhall make no apology for inſerting it. He ſays: "it is certain that bread made of "wheat is become much more generally the food of the common people "ſince 1689, than it was before that time; but it is ſtill very far from "being the food of the people in general; and ſome who have con-"ſidered this matter with great attention, and are better informed in "regard thereto than moſt enquirers generally be, were inclined to "think, that, in the year 1764, one half of the people could not be "ſuppoſed to feed on ſuch bread.

"In order, therefore, to get at all poſſible certainty in this matter," he ſays, "no pains have been ſpared, and from a conſideration of the "ſeveral ſorts of grain with which the London market is ſupplied from, "and ſends to, the diſtant parts of the kingdom, after many enquiries "made of, and many converſations had with, many who travel into, "and have lived, or live, in, ſeveral of the diſtant counties; particularly "the labouring people who are beſt acquainted with the bread they eat, "and calculating the number of mouths from the number of houſes, "there is reaſon to think that more than half the people do live on "ſuch bread.

"This work," (he ſays,) "would be too tedious to inſert, but an "abſtract follows; in which, though there may be ſome ſmall difference "as to the numbers of houſes, as a full copy was not permitted, but "only the total number, and ſome extracts, yet the whole number "agrees with the account of 1758, and, if any thing, the number, who "eat wheat, is ſet rather too low.

"The

"The kingdom, with Wales, is divided into ſix parts, taking thoſe "counties which lie moſt contiguous, as may be ſeen in the map.

"Part the Firſt contains

1 London, with Middleſex and Southwark
2 Eſſex
3 Kent
4 Surrey
5 Suſſex
6 Hants
7 Berkſhire
8 Buckingham
9 Hertford
10 Bedford
11 Cambridge
12 Huntingdon
13 Suffolk
14 Norfolk.

"Part the Second contains

15 Wilts
16 Somerſet
17 Dorſet
18 Devon
19 Cornwall.

"Part the Third contains

20 Monmouth
21 Glouceſter
22 Oxford
23 Hereford
24 Worceſter
25 Warwick
26 Northampton
27 Salop
28 Stafford
29 Leiceſter
30 Rutland.

"Part the Fourth contains

31 Cheſter
32 Derby
33 Nottingham
34 Lincoln
35 Lancaſter.

"Part the Fifth contains

36 York
37 Weſtmoreland
38 Durham
39 Cumberland
40 Northumberland.

" Part the Sixth contains

" Six counties in South, and ſix counties in North, Wales[1]. The ac-
" counts of each part ſtand as follows:

Parts.	Number of Houſes.	Number of Souls, ſix to each.	What Number in the whole eat Wheat.	Barley.	Rye.	Oats.
1	348,187	2,089,122	1,866,405	36,741	185,976	
2	150,689	904,134	682,815	221,319		
3	170,746	1,024,476	691,258	159,136	156,237	17,845
4	123,025	738,150.	200,339	128,621	118,795	290,395
5	148,760	892,560	283,996	37,196	285,382	285,986
6	45,075	270,450	29,344	127,585	113,521	
	986,482	5,918,892	3,754,157	710,598	859,911	594,226

" Say the whole number (of people) is 6,000,000, and that of thoſe

" who eat Wheat is	-	3,750,000
" Barley	-	739,000
" Rye -	-	888,000
" Oats -	-	623,000
" Total	-	6,000,000

About 50 years ago, ſo little was the quantity of wheat uſed in the county of Cumberland, that it was only a rich family that uſed a peck of wheat in the courſe of the year, and that was uſed at Chriſtmas. The cruſt of the gooſe-pye, a diſh with which almoſt every table in the county at that ſeaſon is ſupplied, was made of barley-meal: one of wheaten-flour was conſidered as a great delicacy; but is now getting into very general uſe: the barley-pye, however, is not yet entirely excluded from the Chriſtmas fare of ſome families. The uſual treat for a ſtranger, 50 years ago, in Cumberland, was a thick oat-cake, (called *haver bannock*,) and butter. Puddings and dumplins, made of oat-meal and ſuet, were a common diſh at rural entertainments. An old labourer of 85 remarks, that, when he was a boy, he was at Carliſle market with his father; and wiſhing to indulge himſelf with a penny loaf made of wheat-flour, he ſearched for it for ſome time, but could not procure a piece of wheaten-bread at any ſhop in the town.

[1] Three Tracts on the Corn Trade.

In 1661[1], the daily pay of labourers in Eſſex, as rated by the Juſtices, were—In ſummer, with diet - - £ 0 0 8
without - - 0 1 2
In winter, with diet - - 0 0 6
without - - 0 1 0

About 1668[2], the yearly wages of a maid ſervant, employed to look after a rabbit warren, were - - 2 10 0

Of the warrener - - - - - 10 0 0

In 1682[3], the yearly pay of labourers in Suffolk, as rated by the Juſtices, were—In ſummer, with diet - 0 0 6
In winter, with diet - 0 0 5
In ſummer, without diet 0 1 0
In winter, without diet 0 0 10

1688[4]. The ordinary income of labourers and ſervants was eſtimated by Gregory King, for each family, which he ſuppoſed to conſiſt, one with another, of $3\frac{1}{2}$ perſons, at - - - - - - - 15 0 0

1698[5]. Full weekly wages of a labourer in Devonſhire, were - - - - - - 0 2 8

1725[6]. Daily pay of the beſt huſbandry labourer in Lancaſhire, as rated by the Juſtices—In ſummer, with diet 0 0 6
Ditto, without diet - 0 1 0
Ditto In winter, with diet 0 0 5
Ditto, without diet - 0 0 10

Daily pay of ordinary labourers—In ſummer, with diet 0 0 5
Ditto, without diet - 0 0 10
Ditto In winter, with diet 0 0 4
Ditto, without diet - 0 0 9

The following minutes, which are the reſult of enquiries made about the month of January laſt, will afford ſome additional information on this ſubject. The prices, (unleſs it is otherwiſe ſpecified,) relate to that

[1] See Appendix, p. cii. [2] England's Improvement, p. 168. [3] See Appendix, p. ciii. [4] See p. 253. Sir M. Hale's calculation is, in effect, the ſame as Gregory King's. See p. 252-3. [5] See p. 252. [6] See Appendix, p. cvii.

period,

period, and will enable us to form ſome idea of the circumſtances of labourers during the laſt winter:

BEDFORDSHIRE.

N. W. Extremity.—In the neighbourhood of Harrold, day-labourers receive 1s. 2d. the day, beſides a liberal allowance of ſmall beer. Two guineas were given for the laſt harveſt. The women, who are moſtly lace-makers, can, if expert in this buſineſs, maintain themſelves, even in the preſent dear times. Ordinary lace-makers earn 6s. a-week: and boys and girls, from 3 to 4s. Bacon is 10d. the lb.; candles, 9d. the lb.; cheeſe, 6d. the lb.; wheat 12s., and barley about 4s. 9d. the buſhel. The rent of cottages is from £1. to £1. 10s. per annum. Pariſh allowances in this country are liberal. To a man, his wife, and 4 children, 11s. a-week are ſometimes allowed.

CUMBERLAND.

Dalſton Pariſh.—Conſtant wages in harveſt are 1s. 6d. the day: occaſional wages 2s.: high wages are ſuppoſed to be owing to a cotton manufactory. Two Friendly Societies.

Neighbourhood of Cockermouth.—Common wages 1s. 8d. the day. In harveſt 2s. No Friendly Society. Regular employment not always to be had in winter.

In the neighbourhood of Carliſle, 50 years ago, reapers received 4d. a-day and diet; or 6d. a day and dinner. Common labourers in huſbandry, 60 years ago, were paid 1s. 6d. and 2s. a week, and board; they now receive 10d. and 1s. a day, and diet. A farmer's maid-ſervant, 60 years ago, was paid from 40 to 50s. a year, with diet; a man-ſervant from £4. to £6. a year, with diet: he was uſually hired by the half-year. At preſent, maid-ſervants, with farmers, receive from £6. to £8. a-year, with diet; and men-ſervants from £15. to £20. a year, with diet. Maſons, 50 years ago, had, in winter, 6d. a day, and board; and 1s. without board; in ſummer, 8d. a-day, and board; and 1s. 2d. without board. At preſent they receive 1s. 4d. a-day with board, and from 2s. to 2s. 6d. a-day without board. Wages of carpenters, 50 years ago, were 1d. a-day leſs than thoſe of maſons: they are now 2d. a-day leſs.

Spinners

Spinners of lint for the manufacturers have hardly experienced any fluctuation in their wages, during the laſt thirty years: their price for ſpinning a hank, has continued from 4d. to 5d.

An old man, of great credibility, and good memory, in a village a few miles to the Eaſt of Carliſle, ſays, that, 60 years ago, the common daily wages of labourers in huſbandry, from Martinmas to Chriſtmas, were 3d. and victuals; and 4d. with victuals in the ſummer: that reaping was 6d. the day, and a dinner; or 4d. and the day's diet. Women, about 70 years ago, he ſays, earned 2d. a day and board, for weeding, ſpinning wool, ſpreading peats, ſcaling [1] manure, &c.: and it was rare that a woman, hired by the half-year, had more than 20s. for that period. 70 or 80 years ago, he ſays, butter was 2d. the lb., (or at that rate: for neither butter nor butcher's meat were weighed, nor milk meaſured;) barley, 3s. 6d. and 4s. the Carliſle buſhel, (3 Wincheſter buſhels;) oats, 2s. ditto; rye, 5s. ditto; wheat, from 7s. to 8s. ditto; mutton was then uſually ſold at Carliſle, by the quarter; and a quarter, which would now coſt 3s. ſold then for 1s.; and a fat calf, three weeks or a month old, from 4s. 6d. to 5s. Agricultural wages have riſen very ſlowly, till of late years; men's work, in reaping, threſhing, &c. did not exceed 6d. a day and board, till within the laſt thirty years, when they roſe to 8d. and continued at that rate till about 4 years ago; when 10d. were given by ſome farmers; and, laſt year, 1s. was very generally allowed.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

In the neighbourhood of Glouceſter.—Labour by the piece, 1s. 6d. the day: common day-labour, 1s. and liquor; and generally two meals a-week. Bread and water almoſt the only diet of labourers' wives and children. Butter, from 10d. to 16d. the lb.; little milk to be had, owing to the great demand for veal. Bacon, (alive,) 10s. the ſcore. Wheat, which, in 1789, was, on an average, about 6s. 6d. the buſhel, is now 12s. Cheeſe, 40s. the cwt.; labourers' ſhoes, 7s. 6d. the pair. In the neighbourhood of Briſtol, common wages, 30 years ago, were 6s. the week: they are now 9s.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

At Cheſhunt.—40 years ago, day-labourers received 6s. a-week, and

[1] Scattering or ſpreading.

in

ſome inſtances, but not univerſally, beer was allowed them. Houſe-ſervants, in gentlemen's families, received from £ 4. to £ 6. a-year. At that period, wheaten-bread was uſually 6½d. the quartern-loaf; butter, 6½d.; meat, 3½d. or 4d. the lb.; cheeſe, 3½d.; candles, 6½d. the lb.; ſoap, £ 2. 12s. the cwt. At that period, harveſt wages were £ 2. for the month, and diet; now £ 3. 15s. are given for the harveſt month, with ale and beer; but labourers find themſelves in meat.

I extract the following particulars, from a farmer's book, relative to wages at Sheep-hall:

1783.	A day-labourer received by the week -	£	0	8	0
	By the day, from 1s. 2d. to - -		0	1	4
	A threſher, by the day - - -		0	1	6
	A mower, by the day - -		0	1	6
	Waſhing and ſhearing 8 ſheep - -		0	1	8
	A woman raking clover one day -		0	0	10½
1784.	Day-labourers the ſame as laſt year.				
	Threſhing barley the quarter - -		0	1	3 and beer 2d.
	A woman for picking ſtones the day -		0	0	6
	Labourers, by the week - - -		0	8	0 and beer 8d.
	Thatcher, the day - - - -		0	1	6
	Hoeing turnips, the acre - -		0	4	0
	Labourer, one month in harveſt -		1	19	0
	Girls, hay-makers, the day - -		0	0	4
1785.	Plough-boy, half-a-year - -		1	10	0
	Threſhing barley, the quarter, (Jan.) -		0	1	3 and beer 2d.
	Binding a load of hay - - -		0	1	6
	A pair of hedging gloves - -		0	0	8
	Mowing, the acre - - -		0	1	9
	Ditto - - - -		0	2	0
	Boy, watching birds, the day - -		0	0	4
	Barley, the quarter, threſhing, (Dec.) -		0	1	4
1786.	Barley, the quarter, threſhing - -		0	1	2 and beer 2d.
1787. 1788.	Much the ſame as the preceding years.				

1789.

1789.	Threſhing wheat the load, (5 buſhels,)	£0	1	3	and beer 2d.
	Woman weeding, the day - -	0	0	6	
	Labourer in harveſt, one day - -	0	2	6	
	Labourer, one month in harveſt -	3	10	0	
	Labourer by the week - -	0	8	0	
1796.	Day-labourers have now, the day -	0	1	6	

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

Buckden.—Shepherds, on an average, receive 6s. a week, for ordinary wages: on an average throughout the year, their wages amount to more than 7s. a-week; other labourers receive, for ordinary work, more than 7s. a-week; and full 8s. 6d. on the average of the whole year. Harveſt wages are from £2. to £2. 12s. 6d. with perquiſites, which amount to 5s. or 10s. more. In the preſent winter, labourers have eaſily obtained work: laſt winter it was ſeldom to be procured. Wheat is 12s., barley 5s., potatoes 2s., the buſhel. The price is nearly doubled ſince 1792; for, in that year, the price of theſe articles was, reſpectively, 6s. 8d.—3s. 6d.—1s. the buſhel. Bacon, which was then 7½d. is now 9½d. the lb.; meat, which was 4d. is 5½d. and 6d.: coal is from 1s. to 1s. 6d. the buſhel.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

Neighbourhood of Mount Sorrel.—Common wages are 10s. 6d.—9s. —and 8s. a-week, without diet: ſome labourers are allowed 6s. a-week, and maintenance. In harveſt, wages, without diet, are from 14s. to £1. 1s. a-week, and with diet, 8s. a-week: conſtant work in winter. Friendly Societies are numerous. Moſt of the Poor have little gardens, in which they chiefly cultivate potatoes. Gardens are found to be great incitements to induſtry; and accordingly, in ſome pariſhes, the Poor have 4 or 5 acres each aſſigned them for a garden, at a very moderate rent. This ſupplies them with cheeſe, butter, and milk, at an eaſy rate.

Kegworth.—Common wages, from 1s. 6d. to 2s. the day; harveſt wages, about 2s. 6d. the day. In the ſtocking-weaving line, a good workman may earn from 14s. to £1. a-week. Labourers, in general, ſeem comfortable. There are two Friendly Societies here for males, and one for females.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

Eaſtern part of Lindſey.—Common wages, 2s. a-day, at a medium throughout the year: in harveſt, 3s. 6d. the day. Work can generally be had in winter, if the weather is tolerably mild. In hard froſts, labourers are generally obliged to apply to their pariſhes. In ſummer, they frequently work by the piece; when they can earn, by mowing, 2s. 9d.—3s.—and 3s. 6d. the acre; by reaping, 9s.—10s.— and even 12s. an acre. It is not uncommon for an induſtrious man to earn, in this way, from 5s. to 7s. 6d. the day; and even now in the winter, when ditchers work by the meaſure, they can frequently earn from 1s. 6d. to 2s. the day. The wages of labourers near Spilſby, Alford, and upon the Wolds, are, throughout the year, conſiderably lower than thoſe given in the Marſh. Many labourers have their rents paid by the pariſh: others have a cow, or pig, kept for them: and ſome are ſupplied with coals by the pariſh. In many parts of this diſtrict, ſods, or turf, which coſt 5s. the 1000, are the uſual fuel conſumed by labourers. 5000 or 6000 are ſuppoſed to be equal to a chaldron of coals. Wheat coſt, in 1792, (taking the average of January, June, Auguſt, and November,) 5s. 1d.; in 1793, 6s. 2d.; in 1794, 6s. 3d.; and in 1795, 8s. 10½d. the buſhel. In the ſame periods reſpectively, barley coſt 2s. 11½d.—4s. 1d.—4s. 1d.—and 5s. the buſhel: rye, 3s. 10½d.—5s. 2d.—5s. 0½d.—and 6s. 5½d.:—coals, £1. 6s.—£1. 10s. 6d.—£1. 9s. 6d.—and £1. 12s. 6d. the chaldron, (including carriage, 3s. 6d. the chaldron.) Since 1792, pork, for ſalting, has riſen from 5s. to 6s. 6d. the ſtone, of 14lb.; potatoes, from 1s. to 2s. the buſhel; and meat, from 3d. to 5½d. the lb.

Iſle of Axholme.—Common wages, 1s. 6d. the day: harveſt wages, 2s. 6d. Poor's Rate in ſome pariſhes has nearly doubled ſince 1790, with reckoning the rate for raiſing men for the navy laſt year, which in ſome places was 8d. in the pound. Whether labourers can obtain employment in the winter, depends on the quantity and quality of hemp and flax; of which there is a great deal cultivated in this part of the county. Wheat, in 1792, coſt 5s. 6d. the buſhel; in 1793, 6s.; —in 1794, 6s.;—in 1795, 10s.:—Barley, in thoſe periods, 3s. 6d.—4s.—

4s.—4s. 6d.—5s. :—Potatoes, 1s.—1s.—1s.—1s. 4d. :—Bacon, the lb. 8d.—9d.—9d.—9d. :—Meat, the lb. 3½d.—3½d.—4d.—4½d. The only fuel uſed by labourers is turf: it may be termed cheap.

NORFOLK.

Diſs.—Common labour, from 14d. to 18d. the day: wages, during the harveſt month, from £ 4. to £ 4. 4s. One Friendly Society; not in a flouriſhing ſtate. Wheat, in 1792, was 5s. 0¾d. the buſhel; in 1795, 10s. 4½d. :—Rye, in 1792, 3s. 1d.; in 1795, 3s. 11¼d. :—Bacon, in 1792, 6d. the lb.; in 1795, 8d. :—Meat, in 1792, 4½d. the lb.; in 1795, 5d. :—Coals, in 1792, £ 2. the chaldron; in 1795, £ 2. 5s. 6d. Uſual ſize of farms, from £ 50. to £ 100. per annum.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Between Wellingborough and Northampton.—Common wages, 7s. the week, ſmall-beer, and one meal, each working-day: harveſt-wages, from £ 2. 2s. to £ 2. 10s. and board. Farms, from £ 120. to £ 250. per annum. Conſtant work in winter.

A few miles to the North of Northampton, common wages, in 1792, and 1793, were 1s. 2d.; in 1794, 1s. 4d.; and are now 1s. 6d. the day, beſides a meal, and ſmall-beer. In 1792, harveſt-wages were £ 2. 2s.: they are now £ 3. 3s., beſides board, during the harveſt-month. Roundſmen very common: the old and infirm, who ſubſiſt in this way, in ſome pariſhes, receive 4d. the day from the pariſh, and 6d. from the employer. Farms in the neighbourhood of Northampton are, in general, large: £ 200. a very common ſize.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

About 60 years ago, reapers, in this county, received 4d. a-day and victuals; 40 years ago, they received 6d. a-day, and diet: theſe wages continued for ſeveral years much the ſame. A. Young, in his Northern Tour, ſtates agricultural wages to have been, 30 years ago, from 5s. 2d. to 8s. 9d. (Lett. xxxi.) Wages kept advancing, irregularly, till laſt year, when they were generally 2s. a-day, without victuals. An old tailor, in the neighbourhood of Morpeth, who is now upwards of 90, ſays, that when he was between 20 and 30

years of age, 4d. per day were the common wages for men in his line of buſineſs, with diet: that, a few years afterwards, they roſe to 6d., which were the higheſt day-wages he ever took for ſewing: common tailors, in Morpeth, now receive 1s. a-day, and their victuals. He adds, that although the uſual day's pay for a reaper, when he was young, was 4d.; he and a partner, being remarkably good reapers, demanded 6d. the day; which their employer at laſt agreed to give, although his wife grumbled at what ſhe thought was extravagance: however, to reconcile matters, the tailor propoſed that he and his partner ſhould do as much work in a day as three of the farmer's beſt reapers uſually performed; which was aſſented to. Common labourers, 60 years ago, barely received 4d. a day, and victuals: they have now 10s. a-week, with a houſe and fuel, but no board. Spinners of wool, 30 years ago, had 2d. a-day, and board: they have now 4d. a-day, and victuals. About 50 years ago, they only received 9d. a-week, and diet. Women, working in the fields, as weeders, &c. 30 years ago, had 4d. a-day, without diet: they have now double that ſum. Maſons, in Newcaſtle, 40 years ago, were paid 1s. 4d. and 1s. 6d. a-day: they now receive 2s. 6d. and 2s. 9d. A maſon's labourer, 40 years ago, had 1s.: he has now 1s. 6d. a-day.

OXFORDSHIRE.

Nuneham.—The ordinary wages of labourers are: for men, 8s. the week; and 12s. the week in harveſt, together with three pints of beer: women, in common, have 3s. the week; and 6s. in harveſt: children, above 9 years of age, can earn from 1s. to 3s. the week. Men, by ordinary work, can earn from 10s. to 12s. the week; and from 16s. to 18s. in harveſt. Each cottage has a ſmall garden, which ſupplies the family with potatoes. A conſiderable quantity is alſo diſtributed among the Poor, every winter, by Lord Harcourt. He likewiſe allows ſuch families as behave well, a guinea a year, for every fourth child, till the child is ten years old; and when it goes to ſervice, ſome cloaths are uſually given. Poor families are alſo enabled to ſend their children to ſchool, without any expence: and various other charities are beſtowed by Lord and Lady Harcourt on the pariſh. Every pariſhioner is allowed to purchaſe flour, one-third

of

of barley, and two-thirds of wheat, at 7d. the quartern-loaf; and to buy at this price as many half-peck loaves, every week, as there are perſons in the family. Such flour, as the above, is ſold them at 2s. 4d. the peck: potatoes coſt 2s. the buſhel; bacon, 9d. the lb.; and meat, 5d. the lb.

Elsfield, near Oxford.—Common wages, 8s. the week, in winter; 9s. in ſummer: threſhing, mowing, &c. are commonly done by the great, by which 11s. or 12s. a-week may be earned. A man and his wife, by reaping, may earn £1. 7s. a-week: for pitching, and making up ricks, 9s. a-week, with meat and beer, are the uſual wages. Work may be had during the winter. Cottages are moſtly rent-free: there are ſeveral potatoe-gardens. Firing is given to moſt poor families; and they are, in other reſpects, aſſiſted by charitable farmers and landlords. Women earn, by ſpinning, from 2s. to 2s. 6d. the week. There are no Friendly Societies in the pariſh. There is a great appearance of poverty. The Rates, in 1792, were 1s. 9d. in the pound; in 1794, 2s.; in 1795, 2s. 3d.; and in the year ending at Eaſter 1796, (including the quota for the Navy,) 4s. The largeſt farm is 300 acres; the ſmalleſt 70.

SUFFOLK.

Hundred of Colneis and Carlford.—In various parts within this diſtrict, wages, within the laſt 12 months, have riſen from 1s. 2d. the day and beer, to 1s. 4d. and beer: beſides which, moſt farmers allow their labourers all ſorts of grain, at reduced prices: permitting them to buy, at this price, half-a-ſtone, or peck, per head in family. Thoſe who do not grow corn, pay their labourers 1s. 6d. the day; and allow them two buſhels of malt, every three months, for three quarters of the year; and three buſhels, for the harveſt quarter. The Rates have increaſed, ſince 1787, three-fourths of the original aſſeſſments, which was then aſſeſſed on the incorporated pariſhes within this diſtrict[1].

[1] For prices in this diſtrict, ſee Appendix, No. xiii.

YORK-

YORKSHIRE.

East Riding. Neighbourhood of Hornsey.—Common wages, with diet, from Martinmas to Lady-day, 5s. the week; ditto, from Lady-day to Midsummer, 6s.; ditto, from Midsummer to Michaelmas, 9s.; ditto, from Michaelmas to Martinmas, 6s. Common wages, without diet, 9s. the week, in winter; and 12s. in summer. In harvest, men receive 12s. and 14s. the week, and victuals; and women, 6s. and 7s. the week, with beer, but no meat. There is very constant employment in the winter. The labourers are, in general, supplied by their employers with corn, &c. much below the market price. The rents of cottages vary according to the quantity of land annexed; and are from £1. to £1. 10s. Many of the cottages on this coast are miserable hovels; built of mud and straw. Such habitations are sometimes granted by the parish to poor families; and sometimes the parishes supply their poor inhabitants with fuel. Many cottagers cultivate potatoes in their garths or gardens: some have a pig; and a few keep cows.

From the preceding statements, the Reader will, I trust, be enabled to form some general idea of the present condition and circumstances of the labouring classes of the community. That they have, during the last two years, been subjected to great distress, from a rise, unexampled within the present century, in the price of the necessaries of life, every one will readily acknowledge. It is not, however, from a view of their situation, in a period of scarcity, that we are to estimate the comparative ability of a man to support himself by his labour, in modern, and in ancient times. Still less is a period of War to be selected, as the moment of ascertaining the ordinary comforts and gratifications of the peasant or working manufacturer. It does not fall within my plan to enter into minute comparative estimates relative to the progress of society in England; but there can be little doubt, that the ten years ending in January 1793, exhibit the most flattering appearances, in every circumstance that has been considered, by political economists, as demonstrative of national prosperity. The demand for employment,

and

and a conſequent advance in income, have riſen in a progreſſive ratio: and to thoſe who inveſtigate the ſtate of the nation, without a diſpoſition to blame the preſent, and admire the paſt, which too often influences even "perſons endued with the profoundeſt judgment, and "moſt extenſive learning[1]," both theſe and other ſymptoms of increaſing induſtry and wealth muſt have been perfectly ſatisfactory. It may, indeed, be contended, that the rapid advance in the Poor's Rate is an unequivocal proof of the inability of labourers to maintain themſelves, on the ordinary wages of labour. But before this can be admitted, it ſhould be proved, that more perſons are maintained by the preſent Poor's Rate, which probably exceeds three millions ſterling, than were by half that ſum twenty years ago. Even allowing this to be the fact, it by no means proves, that the able-bodied labourer, whom it has been the faſhion of late years, upon benevolent, though miſtaken, principles of policy, to quarter on the pariſh, would, if unaſſiſted by the overſeer, have been unable to benefit himſelf, whilſt his employer was getting riches by his labour.

The fact ſeems to have been, that, inſtead of an advance in wages, proportioned to the increaſed demand for labour, the labourer has received a conſiderable part of that portion of his employer's capital, which was deſtined for his maintenance, in the form of Poor's Rate, (the very worſt that it could aſſume,) inſtead of being paid it as the fair, well earned, recompence of equivalent labour. This is a deplorable evil, which has fallen heavier on the Poor than on the Rich; and it has been conſiderably aggravated by the very injudicious ſteps which have been adopted for adminiſtering relief to thoſe whom the preſſure of the late ſcarcity had incapacitated from ſupporting themſelves and families, in the way to which they had been accuſtomed. Many inſtances might be adduced, of the ill effects of the indiſcriminating charity of individuals, and of the no leſs ill effects of the diſcriminating interference of magiſtrates and pariſh-officers; but, that I may not ſwell this work to too great a length, I ſhall content myſelf with offering a a ſhort ſtatement, (which was obligingly communicated to me by a gentleman, who himſelf ſerved the office of overſeer in his own pariſh,)

[1] Hume.

of

of the proceedings which took place in a ſingle county for the relief of the Poor laſt year.

The very great price of the neceſſaries of life, but more particularly of bread-corn, during the whole of laſt year, produced numberleſs extraordinary demands for parochial aſſiſtance. In many pariſhes in the county of Berks, relief from the Poor's Rates was granted, not only to the infirm and impotent, but to the able-bodied and induſtrious, who had, very few of them, ever applied to the pariſh for relief; and then only during temporary illneſs or diſability. There was no doubt, but that the circumſtances of the times required an increaſe in the income of the labourers in huſbandry, who, in this county at leaſt, compoſe the moſt numerous body of thoſe liable to want aſſiſtance from the pariſh. But there exiſted a difference of opinion, reſpecting the mode of making ſuch increaſe. In order to apply ſome adequate remedy to the evil, a meeting of the magiſtrates for the county was held about Eaſter 1795, when the following plans were ſubmitted to their conſideration:— 1ſt, that the magiſtrates ſhould fix the loweſt price to be given for labour, as they were empowered to do by the 5th Eliz. c. 4.: and, 2dly, that they ſhould act with uniformity, in the relief of the *impotent* and *infirm* Poor, by a Table of univerſal practice, correſponding with the ſuppoſed neceſſities of each family. The firſt plan was rejected, by a conſiderable majority; but the ſecond was adopted, and the following Table was publiſhed as the rule for the information of magiſtrates and overſeers.

FIRST

FIRST CALCULATION.

This shews, at one view, what should be the weekly Income of the Industrious Poor, as settled by the Magistrates for the county of Berks, at a meeting held at Speenhamland, May the 6th, 1795.	Income should be for a Man.	For a single Woman.	For a Man and his Wife.	With one Child.	With two Children.	With three Children.	With four Children.	With five Children.	With six Children.	With seven Children.
When the gallon loaf is	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1 0	3 0	2 0	4 6	6 0	7 6	9 0	10 6	12 0	13 6	15 0
when - 1 1	3 3	2 1	4 10	6 5	8 0	9 7	11 2	12 9	14 4	15 11
when - 1 2	3 6	2 2	5 2	6 10	8 6	10 2	11 10	13 6	15 2	16 10
when - 1 3	3 9	2 3	5 6	7 3	9 0	10 9	12 6	14 3	16 0	17 9
when - 1 4	4 0	2 4	5 10	7 8	9 6	11 4	13 2	15 0	16 10	18 8
when - 1 5	4 3	2 5	6 2	8 1	10 0	11 11	13 10	15 9	17 8	19 7
when - 1 6	4 6	2 6	6 6	8 6	10 6	12 6	14 6	16 6	18 6	20 6
when - 1 7	4 9	2 7	6 10	8 11	11 0	13 1	15 2	17 3	19 4	21 5
when - 1 8	5 0	2 8	7 2	9 4	11 6	13 8	15 10	18 0	20 2	22 4
when - 1 9	5 3	2 9	7 6	9 9	12 0	14 3	16 6	18 9	21 0	23 3
when - 1 10	5 6	2 10	7 10	10 2	1 6	14 10	17 2	19 6	21 10	24 2
when - 1 11	5 9	2 11	8 2	10 7	13 0	15 5	17 10	20 3	22 8	25 1
when - 2 0	6 0	3 0	8 6	11 0	13 6	16 0	18 6	21 0	23 6	26 0

SECOND CALCULATION, which was adopted.

This shews, at one view, what should be the weekly Income of the Industrious Poor, as settled by the Magistrates for the county of Berks, at a meeting held at Speenhamland, May the 6th, 1795.	Income should be for a Man.	For a single Woman.	For a Man and his Wife.	With one Child.	With two Children.	With three Children.	With four Children.	With five Children.	With six Children.	With seven Children.
When the gallon loaf is	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1 0	3 0	2 0	4 6	6 0	7 6	9 0	10 6	12 0	13 6	15 0
when - 1 1	3 3	2 1	4 10	6 5	8 0	9 7	11 2	12 9	14 4	15 11
when - 1 2	3 6	2 2	5 2	6 10	8 6	10 2	11 10	13 6	15 2	16 10
when - 1 3	3 9	2 3	5 6	7 3	9 0	10 9	12 6	14 3	16 0	17 9
when - 1 4	4 0	2 4	5 10	7 8	9 6	11 4	13 2	15 0	16 10	18 8
when - 1 5	4 0	2 5	5 11	7 10	9 9	11 8	13 7	15 6	17 5	19 4
when - 1 6	4 3	2 6	6 3	8 3	10 3	12 3	14 3	16 3	18 3	20 3
when - 1 7	4 3	2 7	6 4	8 5	11 6	12 7	14 8	16 9	18 10	20 11
when - 1 8	4 6	2 8	6 8	8 10	11 0	13 2	15 4	17 6	19 8	21 10
when - 1 9	4 6	2 9	6 9	9 0	11 3	13 6	15 9	18 0	20 3	22 6
when - 1 10	4 9	2 10	7 1	9 5	11 9	14 1	16 5	18 9	21 1	23 5
when - 1 11	4 9	2 11	7 2	9 7	12 0	14 5	16 10	19 3	21 8	24 1
when - 2 0	5 0	3 0	7 6	10 0	12 6	15 0	17 6	20 0	22 6	25 0

The arguments in favour of adopting the regulations preſcribed by the Statute 5 Eliz. c. 4. went no farther than this: that, by enforcing a payment for labour, from the employers, in proportion to the price of bread, ſome encouragement would have been held out to the labourer, as what he would have received, would have been payment for labour. He would have conſidered it as his right, and not as charity; and the ſpirit of independence, now almoſt extinct, would have been preſerved and cheriſhed. But the adoption of the regulations of this Statute was rejected, and the ſecond part of the plan only was carried into execution.

"What had been, is unknown: what is, appears." Although the principles on which the Poor Laws have been adminiſtered, have been, (of late years, at leaſt,) always ſimilar to thoſe which directed the publication of the Table; yet, perhaps, no perſon, entruſted with the adminiſtration of them, had ever conſidered the enormous tendency of thoſe principles, till the period in which the Table was publiſhed, and, (unfortunately for the country, in many inſtances,) made the rule to direct the conduct of the magiſtrates and the overſeers. This Table is evidently founded on the ſame principles which regulated the mode of relief, previous to the preſent high price of proviſions.

The *ſyſtem* of the adminiſtration of the Poor Laws has ſuppoſed, that a man can only maintain himſelf, his wife, and two children, by the wages of labour, when the price of labour is 1s. 4d. per day, and bread 1s. 1d. per gallon, (or a half-peck[1];) and that every addition to the number of his children, or to the price of bread, being beyond what his income would ſupport, he muſt rely on charity to afford him a ſubſiſtence. The fallacy of this ſyſtem is evident, becauſe the facts, on which it relies, are contrary to experience; there being, to the honour of the labouring poor, frequent inſtances of numerous families educated and maintained, without the leaſt relief from the pariſh, when wages were at a lower rate than the ſum above ſtated[2]. Such, however, was the theory:—let us now conſider the practice.

[1] Weighing 8 lb. 11 oz.

[2] Above 60 premiums have been given by the Berkſhire Agricultural Society, to labourers who brought up large families on 8s. a week. That perſons in humble life often maintain their independence upon ſtill ſmaller pittances, the following village anecdote, which was communicated to me by a friend, is an additional proof:

"Anne

In a family of eight, (viz. a man, his wife, and ſix children,) if bread is at 1s. per gallon, 13s. 6d.[1], including the man's wages, appear no very diſproportionate allowance; but when the price of bread is, (as it frequently was during the laſt winter,) at 2s. £1. 3s. 6d., (of which, even if you deduct the man's earnings, 9s., there remain 12s. 6d.)

"Anne Hurſt was born at Witley in Surrey: there ſhe lived the whole period of a long life; and there ſhe died. As ſoon as ſhe was thought able to work, ſhe went to ſervice: there, before ſhe was twenty, ſhe married James Strudwick; who, like her own father, was a day-labourer. With this huſband ſhe lived a prolific, hard-working, contented wife, ſomewhat more than fifty years. He worked more than threeſcore years on one farm; and his wages, ſummer and winter, were regularly a ſhilling a day. He never aſked more; nor was ever offered leſs. They had between them ſeven children; and lived to ſee ſix daughters married, and three of them the mothers of ſixteen children; all of whom were brought up, or are bringing up, to be day-labourers. Strudwick continued to work till within ſeven weeks of the day of his death: and at the age of fourſcore, in 1787, he cloſed, in peace, a not inglorious life; for, to the day of his death, he never received a farthing in the way of parochial aid. His wife ſurvived him about ſeven years; and though bent with age and infirmities, and little able to work, excepting as a weeder in a gentleman's garden, ſhe alſo was too proud either to aſk or receive any relief from her pariſh. For ſix or ſeven of the laſt years of her life, ſhe received twenty ſhillings a year from the perſon who favoured me with this account, which he drew up from her own mouth. With all her virtue, and all her merit, ſhe yet was not much liked in her neighbourhood: people in affluence thought her haughty; and the Paupers of the pariſh, ſeeing, as they could not help ſeeing, that her life was a reproach to theirs, aggravated all her little failings. Yet, the worſt thing they had to ſay of her was, that ſhe was proud; which, they ſaid, was manifeſted by the manner in which ſhe buried her huſband. Reſolute, as ſhe owned ſhe was, to have the funeral, and every thing that related to it, what ſhe called decent, nothing could diſſuade her from having handles to his coffin, and a plate on it, mentioning his age. She was alſo charged with having behaved herſelf croſsly and peeviſhly towards one of her ſons-in-law, who was a maſon; and went regularly, every Saturday evening, to the ale-houſe, as he ſaid, *juſt to drink a pot of beer*. James Strudwick, in all his life, as ſhe often told this ungracious ſon-in-law, never ſpent five ſhillings in any idleneſs; luckily, (as ſhe was ſure to add,) he had it not to ſpend. A more ſerious charge againſt her was, that, living to a great age, and but little able to work, ſhe grew to be ſeriouſly afraid, that, at laſt, ſhe might become chargeable to the pariſh, (the heavieſt, in her eſtimation, of all human calamities;) and that thus alarmed, ſhe did ſuffer herſelf more than once, during the exacerbations of a fit of diſtempered deſpondency, peeviſhly, (and, perhaps, petulantly,) to exclaim, that God Almighty, by ſuffering her to remain ſo long upon earth, ſeemed actually to have forgotten her."——Such are the ſimple annals of Dame Strudwick; and her hiſtorian, partial to his ſubject, cloſes it with lamenting, that ſuch village memoirs have not oftener been ſought for, and recorded!

[1] See the Table.

was a ſum much exceeding the neceſſities of any individual. The price of labour does not depend on the price of bread-corn. The natural effect which the price of any article of proviſions has upon it's conſumption, is to diminiſh it. The conſumer ſubſtitutes other food in lieu of it; and this will always be the caſe with thoſe who are dependent ſolely on their own induſtry and prudence. This diminution would, in a ſhort time, reduce the price; and the evil would gradually remedy itſelf. But this natural operation was counteracted by the ſyſtem, which directed the formation of the Berkſhire Table; becauſe bread was kept at the ſame price to the conſumer, by the extraordinary relief granted to him by the pariſh; and he had no inducement to ſubſtitute other articles in lieu of wheaten bread; though the ſubſtitutes for it were cheap, obvious, and plentiful; and no leſs nutritious, palatable, and wholſome, than his ordinary food. It is evident, from the inequality in the conſumption of bread-corn, by families containing an equal number of perſons of equal ages, (the conſumption of the profligate family always exceeding that of the prudent,) that the price of bread-corn is not commenſurate with the price of labour.

Another circumſtance, of great importance, is the relative local ſituation of every country or diſtrict, with reſpect to the export or import of bread-corn: this circumſtance will always tend to diminiſh or enlarge the ſuppoſed ratio between the price of labour and of bread-corn.

Theſe are general facts, drawn from common obſervation, which, in my humble opinion, ought to have prevented the publication, or the enforcement, of that paper, *â priori*. Many particular facts may be adduced, to confirm the fatal tendency of the ſyſtem, *â poſteriori*. Firſt, the relief held out, was beyond the wants of the Poor. When the Table was publiſhed, and of great notoriety, in general, though not in particular, the Poor began grievouſly to complain, and to fly for redreſs to the magiſtrates. The Gentleman, who communicated this account, was then acting as overſeer in his pariſh; and, knowing that the ratio of relief was too great, he called ſeveral individuals together, and requeſted them, (this was during the higheſt price of bread,) to ſtate their actual wants, according to their utmoſt deſires: he ſaid he would allow them accordingly: the reſult was as follows:

		Actual Allowance, as demanded by the Poor.			Justices' Allowance, according to the size of their Families.			Difference.		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1.	W. E.	6	4	2	7	6	1	1	1	11
2.	G. S.	7	10	0	13	13	3	6	3	3
3.	T. H.	2	17	0	6	8	9	3	11	9
4.	T. W.	2	2	0	3	7	9	1	5	9
5.	J. B.	3	3	0	6	8	5	3	5	5
								£15	8	1

In these five instances, therefore, had the Justices' regulations taken place, according to the directions laid down in the Table, the parish at large would have paid to it's labourers £15. 8s. 1d. not only beyond their necessities, but even beyond their desires. This, then, would have been a tax on the capital of the employers, in favour of the employed, which, carried universally, as it was too generally, into execution, might have been, and indeed was, pregnant with dreadful mischief.

2d, It's operation was unequal and partial with respect to the employers; for instance:—R. F. had employed W. E. as a labourer, for some years, at the rate of 8s. per week, while bread continued at the price of 1s. or 13d. per gallon. W. E., the labourer, received no relief from the parish, and never applied for any; the fair conclusion, therefore, is, that 8s. per week were adequate to the support of himself, his wife, and two children. In the hard winter of 1795, a subscription was entered into, in the parish of P. to reduce the price of bread to the Poor: when the winter was over, and the money raised by the subscription was expended, it was thought adviseable to continue the same mode of relieving the Poor, from the Rates, as had been adopted by subscription, viz. paying the difference in the price of bread above 14d., according to the consumption of the families.

W. E. received from this mode of relief - - -	£1 10 0
After harvest, when the Justices' Table was universally adopted, W. E. received, according to that allowance - - - - - -	6 14 10
Total -	£8 4 10

R. F., the conſtant employer of W. E., pays $\frac{17}{115}$ of the Rates, i. e. if the money to be collected is £115. 1s. R. F. pays £17. 6s. 6d. As 115 is to 17, ſo is £8. 4s. to £1. 4s.—From - - 8 4 0

Deduct - 1 4 0

The ſaving to R. F. from his labourer being paid by the pariſh, is - - - - £7 0 0

But W. E. was the only labourer in P. pariſh, who was relieved ſtrictly according to the Table. G. S. was relieved according to his own deſires only, which, as I have above ſtated, were much below the Juſtices' paper.

G. S. has received, in bread allowance - -	£2	16	4
Relieved according to his own wants - -	7	10	0
	10	6	4
R. F. paying as before $\frac{17}{115}$ has advanced towards the maintenance of this man, his conſtant labourer	1	10	0
Saving to R. F. -	8	16	4
T. H. has received, in bread allowance - -	2	0	0
Actual allowance - - - - -	2	17	0
	4	17	0
R. F.'s proportion of the Poor's Rate - -	0	14	0
Saving to R. F. - - - -	4	3	0
Saving to R. F. from W. E. - - -	7	0	0
from G. S. - - -	8	16	4
from T. H. - - -	4	3	0
So that, from three labourers only, the ſaving to R. F. has amounted to - - - -	£19	19	4

Here, then, from a ſtatement of facts, is a glaring proof of the inequality of this mode of adminiſtration, which acts adverſe to the natural operation of cauſes and effects. Had political regulations not interfered, the demand for labour would have raiſed it's price, not only in a ratio merely

merely adequate to the wants of the labourer, but even beyond it; and that price would have been advanced by the individual who employed him; inſtead of being a general tax on thoſe who are liable to be rated, and who are not all employers of labourers. The capital which employs labour has increaſed; the demand for labour would conſequently increaſe: it did increaſe, for the ſituation of the labouring Poor in Berkſhire was never better than during the laſt hard winter; but they received theſe advanced wages in the way moſt prejudicial to their moral intereſts: they received it as charity; as the extorted charity of others; and not as the reſult of their own well exerted induſtry; and it was paid them, not by their immediate employers, but by thoſe who were in many inſtances not the employers of any labourer. If capital and labour are exactly balanced, the wages of labour will be exactly equal to the real wants of the labourer: if capital exceeds labour, the labourer will receive more than adequate to his real wants: if labour exceeds capital, in ſpite of all political regulations, the labourer muſt ſtarve.

3d. The publication of this Table diminiſhed the quantity of work done; and, in that light, was productive of a national loſs. A. a labourer was ſettled and reſided in the pariſh of P. and maintained a wife and three children by working at a farmer's in the pariſh of U. at 1s. 4d. per day. The price of bread riſes from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per gallon:—he applies to the farmer, for whom he works, for an increaſe in the price of day labour: the farmer offers him taſk-work, by which he may earn 12s. per week. As, however, the printed Table is of public notoriety, and as the idle and profligate of his own pariſh, of the ſame number in family, are allowed 14s. 6d. per week, he applies to the overſeer of his own pariſh to allow him 2s. 6d. per week to make the ſum of his earnings 14s. 6d. The overſeer, (a farmer alſo in want of hands,) exerciſing a ſort of perverted law, ſays, If you will work in your own pariſh for me at day-work, I will give you 9s. per week, and the remaining 5s. 6d. ſhall be paid by the pariſh, i. e. by people who reap no advantage from your labour: the conſequence is, the man working only at day-work, the work done is diminiſhed 1-4th in the proportion of 12 to 9; the employers pay $\frac{11}{29}$, or nearly one-third more than he earns; and, what is of more conſequence, the man's ſpirit of independence is loſt for ever. Had the paper never been publiſhed, or, more ſtrictly ſpeaking, had the

ſyſtem

ſyſtem which gave riſe to the publication never been adopted, the labourer, finding 12s. equal to his wants, would have continued to work for his old maſter, and the exiſtence of thoſe wants would have ſtimulated his exertions. I am confident that 12s. would have been equal to his wants; for the Gentleman from whom I received this account, employs many labourers; and, although they were preſſed to return and work in their pariſhes, yet they never did, becauſe, in times of plenty, his ſervice had advantages beyond the wages of common labour. He never gave any, even artiſts, more than 12s. in kind and money together. Further to explain this third grievance, I will ſtate the evil done to the community by the deduction of grain from the market. The very high price of grain tempted every farmer to ſend as much grain as poſſible to market: it could not be made fit for the market without the aſſiſtance of the labourer; and the high demand for labour would have increaſed, to the induſtrious labourer, the price of taſk-work, (threſhing is generally taſk-work;) but as by this ſyſtem the wants of the labourer were ſupplied without exertion, I believe a calculation might be made of the quantity of grain withheld from the market by the want of threſhers.

I have thus ſtated a few obſervations on the effects of this paper, or rather of the principles which directed it's publication. If the effects of thoſe principles had been beneficial to the labourer and juſt to the employer, I ſhould have regarded them as the reſult of natural equity, and not have conſidered whether they were agreeable to that written ſyſtem of proviſion for the Poor as contained in the 43 Eliz. c. 2. but when they are found ruinous and deſtructive, I have recourſe to the ſtatutes to ſee if the evils complained of could be remedied by their abrogation. From the language of the various Statutes concerning the Poor, which paſſed during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and which, being *in pari materiâ*, explain each other, either in matter of law, or illuſtrate each other in matter of fact, it may fairly be implied to prove that the relief of the *able-bodied Poor*, with or without families, was no part of the original ſyſtem of the Poor Laws.

The 3 W. & M. c. 11. § 11. corroborates this idea: which is put out of doubt by the preamble to Stat. 8 and 9 Will. 3. c. 30. § 2.[1]

[1] To the end that the money raiſed be *only for the relief of ſuch as are as well impotent as poor*, &c.

Had

Had relief of the able-bodied Poor been in the contemplation of the framers of the 43d Eliz. or had it been expected that the Rates would have been that enormous tax on the landed property which they now are, the clauſe, which directs the aſſeſſment to be made by the overſeers, would not have been ſo looſely worded as to leave it a matter of doubt whether perſonal property ſhould or ſhould not be rated.

The Poor Laws, as delivered by the Statute 43 Eliz. c. 2. and the preceding Statutes, appear to have had two objects in view, 1. the relief of the impotent Poor; and, 2. the employment of the able-bodied and idle. In conſidering the firſt diviſion of the ſyſtem, we enter on an inveſtigation connected with the niceſt principles of juriſprudence. Whether compulſive charity can be juſtified; or whether the refinements of morality can be enforced by the ſanction of poſitive law, are queſtions which admit of conſiderable doubt. A diſtinction is juſtly made by Monteſquieu, between the duties of religion, the infringements of which are puniſhable only in a future world, and the moral duties, which are (if I may uſe the expreſſion,) more tangible in this, or more amenable to human laws. But, whatever may have been the intention of the Legiſlature with reſpect to the enforcement of that moral, and (as deſcribed in the New Teſtament) that divine charity, the overt act, which conſiſts in the giving alms, was the only part of it that could be enforced. The impracticability of compelling this charity according to every man's ability, is the only reaſon why perſonal property is not aſſeſſed: the preſumption of the Law is, that it ſhould be aſſeſſed. This impracticability is a material argument againſt the whole of the ſyſtem; but the wealth and the humanity of this nation would never have ſuffered this queſtion to have been agitated, if the execution of this part of the Poor Laws had been as confined as it's deſign. It is not preciſely known how ſoon after the promulgation of the Poor Laws the two parts of the ſyſtem were blended; but it may be ſuſpected that the evil had grown to ſome enormity when it became neceſſary that the ſettlement of Paupers ſhould be aſcertained with accuracy and preciſion. But if the firſt part was objectionable on grounds of more recondite law, the ſecond part proceeded upon the ſuppoſed exiſtence of facts in political economy, which was doubtful at the time, but which experience has ſince proved to be miſtaken. The framers of the Poor Laws conceived that the

capital of individuals was inadequate to the employment of the labouring Poor of the kingdom, and that it was neceſſary to provide a public ſtock for their employment. This miſtake was then more excuſable, becauſe, ſince that time, and even to the preſent, moſt of the theoretic ſyſtems for the employment and maintenance of the Poor have proceeded on the ſame, or ſimilar, principles. It is a moſt ſatisfactory circumſtance, however irreconcilable with the deductions of viſionary ſpeculatiſts, to have the proofs of this miſtake in our poſſeſſion; to ſhew that the capital ſtock of the Public cannot enter into competition with the capital, and well-exerted induſtry, of individuals; and that the Poor, even when working in public eſtabliſhments for little or no wages, cannot earn ſufficient for their own ſupport. In gaols, every thing is in favour of public capital with reſpect to health and ſtrength, in compariſon with the infirm Poor of a work-houſe: but, (as it is juſtly obſerved by Sir George Paul, in his Addreſs to the Magiſtrates of the county of Glouceſter,) "the working by machine in almoſt every branch of hard labour, that requires no ſkill, has ſo completely undervalued ſuch work by hand," (and the ſame remark will apply to various kinds of work which require conſiderable ſkill,) "that the public expectation ſhould not be raiſed too high, relative to the *productive* conſequences of *forced* labour."

By the blending theſe two ſyſtems in practice, a kind of glare, which obſcures the truth, has been thrown upon work-houſes and houſes of induſtry, where, I am induced to believe, from experience and actual obſervation, the ſaving ariſes from the decreaſed expence, in accommodations, which takes place in conſequence of a number of Poor being collected together. The advantages, therefore, are only negative; and ſo far, and no farther, have they merit. This is the merit of the public kitchen of Munich, and of the much-vaunted work-houſe of Shrewſbury.

If a ſyſtem of national maintenance of the infirm and impotent has failed, or been perverted, we have ſurely ſome reaſon to heſitate on the adoption of a ſyſtem of national education, which is founded on one of the principles of the Poor Law. Mr. Pitt is too good a political economiſt, not to know that the waſte of capital is a national, as well as an individual, loſs; and he muſt look forward to this national loſs, when

national

national education is made a part of the law of the land. The maxim "pas trop gouverner," was never more fully illuſtrated than in the review of the ſyſtem of the Poor Laws. A ſmall attention to the practice of miniſterial powers will convince us of the caution with which they ſhould be delegated; and of the difficulty, (I had almoſt ſaid the impracticability,) of laying down any regulations of poſitive law, for the relief and inſtruction of the Poor, which ſhall not degenerate into abuſe.

The Poor ſhould not be deceived: the beſt relief they can receive muſt come from themſelves. Were the Rates once limited, the price of labour would neceſſarily advance. To expend what labour actually produces, in the moſt beneficial manner for the labourer, depends entirely on good management and economy.

"This economy in all caſes is the more to be urged, becauſe the difference in comforts of the ſame families, at the ſame expence, well or ill conducted, is greater often than that of different families at different expences. There is more difference, comparatively, in the mode of living from economy, than from income; the deficiency in income may poſſibly be made up by increaſe of work or wages; but the want of economy is irremediable, and the leaſt income in queſtion *with it*, will do more than the greateſt *without it*. No maſter can in the firſt place afford wages; next, no overſeer can make allowance; laſtly, no magiſtrate can order relief, enough, on any calculation but that of their being ſeverally well managed. If the Poor do not prudently ſerve themſelves, none can effectually aſſiſt them; if they are not their own friends, none can ſufficiently befriend them: the idle in procuring, or the waſteful in uſing, the means of ſubſiſtence, have neither merit in themſelves to deſerve, nor have others power to grant them, that ſupply, which is alone due, and can be alone afforded, to the honeſt, induſtrious, and prudent. It highly then intereſts all converſant with the Poor, who ought to be literally all, and it is hoped are moſt, to conſult and co-operate with them in the practice of economy; it is far more uſeful to teach them to ſpend leſs, or to ſave a little, than to give them much more [1]."

[1] Annals of Agric. xxv. 359. 361.

The ſingular economy and good management which are to be found among Quakers, are highly deſerving of general imitation: it may, however, be doubted, whether the accounts which are uſually given reſpecting the Poor, that are to be found among this reſpectable order, are altogether correct. Dr. Lettſom, in his Memoirs of Dr. Fothergill [1], obſerves, that "what is familiar and near us excites little ſcrutiny or "inveſtigation; but the time may come, when a wiſe Legiſlator may "deſcend to enquire, by what medium a whole ſociety, in both the old "and new world, is made to think and act with uniformity for upwards "of a century;—by what polity, without emolument from Govern-"ment, they have become the only people on earth free from poverty;— "by what economy they have thus prevented beggary and want among "any of their members, whilſt the nation groans under taxes for the "Poor."

The above is certainly a very ſtriking paſſage, and well deſerves that attention and conſideration which it ſeems to ſolicit. It is to be regretted, that this pleaſing writer did not ſee fit to give his Readers ſome detail of that polity which he appears ſo juſtly to admire, and which it is ſo much the intereſt of all orders and claſſes to emulate. Much as it falls within the ſcope of this Work to go into the diſcuſſion, *data* ſeem to be wanting for it to all but the immediate members of the ſociety in queſtion. Quakers only can know, or inform others with accuracy, how far it is, or is not, true, that there neither are, nor have been, any Quaker beggars; nor, what is neither leſs extraordinary nor leſs commendable, any Parochial Poor, of their ſect. They, however, will forgive one, who, far from entertaining any ill-will towards their ſociety, has a very ſincere reſpect for it; yet doubts, whether there may not be ſomething like a fallacy in the foregoing extract. There is reaſon to believe that the people of this ſociety advert, with great care and ſtrictneſs, to the moral conduct, as well as to the religious faith, of their members: and conſidering, with great propriety, the want of induſtry, frugality, and economy, (thoſe inſtances of miſconduct which moſt generally lead to poverty,) as the leaſt pardonable moral delinquencies, they rarely fail to check their weaker brethren in their firſt deviations

[1] P. 100.

into

into idleneſs and extravagance, by admonitions of ſingular earneſtneſs and weight. If, after ſuch warning, the delinquents are incorrigible, and, continuing to be profligate, become alſo poor, they are then looked upon as irreclaimable offenders, unworthy of being any longer regarded as *Friends;* and ſo, in the phraſeology of the Society, are *read out*, i. e. are expelled. Hence, there is reaſon to believe, that, though it may be true, that there *are* no Quaker beggars, nor any Quakers who receive parochial aid, there may be, and no doubt are, many under both theſe deſcriptions, who *have been* Quakers. As, however, neither the members of the National Church, nor the people of the nation at large, have any ſuch coercive authority over diſorderly perſons, to check them in their progreſs to ruin, they are forced, in ten thouſand inſtances, to ſee them firſt become ſpendthrifts, and then Paupers. And, having no power of rejection, any more than they have of reſtraint, like the net thrown into the ſea, they muſt needs receive all who offer; and, among others, no doubt, ſometimes reprobate Quakers.

Still, however, the caſe does not ceaſe to be extraordinary; and, as ſuch, it ſtill merits conſideration. For, admitting the fact to be as it is here ſuggeſted, that the Quakers really have not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, any Poor among them, the means they take to prevent it, ſhew very clearly, that they conſider the want of induſtry, and the want of frugality, not only as the natural fore-runners, but as the general cauſes, of poverty. The inſtruction, therefore, conveyed to us by this ſtriking fact, is, that, inſtead of exerting ourſelves, as hitherto has been the caſe, only to relieve indigence and diſtreſs, however produced, it might not be beneath legiſlative wiſdom to emulate the better policy of this prudent ſect, and, if poſſible, fall on ways and means to prevent them.

CHAPTER III.

Of Friendly Societies.

IF the merit of political inſtitutions is to be appreciated from ancient precedent, and long practice, there are, perhaps, few ſocial contrivances, which have a better claim, on this account, to approbation and ſupport, than thoſe ſimple eſtabliſhments called Benefit Clubs, or Friendly Societies, whoſe object is to exemplify one of the wiſeſt political maxims, "that, by an aſſociation of the *many*, the *few* may be aſſiſted;" and to promote the moſt laudable of charities,—that of ſecuring to the induſtrious, from the ſurplus, or a part of the ſurplus, of their earnings, an equivalent reſource during their incapacity to labour. Theſe uſeful aſſociations, if their vanity could be flattered, (as is too commonly the caſe with nations themſelves,) by marks of antiquity, might eaſily trace their origin to the earlieſt periods of the Engliſh hiſtory: for that thoſe writers are miſtaken, who ſuppoſe that the introduction of gilds, or fraternities, (which, poſſeſſing a ſtronger tincture of religion, were in many other reſpects ſimilar to the modern clubs,) was ſubſequent to the Conqueſt[1], is evident from ſeveral curious Saxon deeds, (now preſerved in the Muſeum,) which Dr. Hickes has tranſcribed and inſerted in his learned work on Northern Literature.

There is ſuch an extraordinary coincidence between the rude ſimplicity which pervades the ordinances of two of the Saxon Gilds, and ſome of the modern Friendly Societies, that, I perſuade myſelf, a tranſlation from the Saxon copies, in Dr. Hickes's Theſaurus, will not be unacceptable to the Reader.

[1] See Anderſon's Hiſtory of Commerce, i. 132; and Madox's Firma Burgi, c. i. § 9.

" In this writing is contained an account of an inſtitution eſtabliſhed " by the members of the Society (Gilde) of Noblemen in Cambridge [1].

" 1. It is ordained, that all the members ſhall ſwear by the Holy Re- " liques [2], that they will be faithful to each of their fellow members, as " well in religious as in worldly matters; and that," (in all diſputes,) " they will always take part with him that has juſtice on his ſide.

" When any member ſhall die, he ſhall be carried by the whole ſo- " ciety to whatever place of interment he ſhall have choſen: and who- " ever ſhall not come to aſſiſt in bearing him, ſhall forfeit a ſextarium of " honey; the ſociety making up the reſt of the expence, and furniſhing " each his quota towards the funeral entertainment; as alſo two-pence " for charitable purpoſes; out of which, as much as is meet and conve- " nient, is to be beſtowed upon the church of St. Etheldred.

" When any member ſhall ſtand in need of aſſiſtance from his fellow " members, notice thereof ſhall be given to the reeve or warden [3] who " dwells the neareſt to that member, unleſs that member be his imme- " diate neighbour [4]: and the warden, if he neglect giving him relief, " ſhall forfeit one pound. In like manner, if the Preſident of the ſo- " ciety ſhall neglect coming to his aſſiſtance, he ſhall forfeit one pound [5], " unleſs he be detained either by the buſineſs of his lord, or by ſickneſs.

" If any one ſhall take away the life of a member, his reparatory fine " ſhall not exceed eight pounds: but if he obſtinately refuſe to make " reparation, then he ſhall be proſecuted [6] by, and at the expence of, " the whole ſociety; and if any individual undertake the proſecution, " then each of the reſt ſhall bear an equal ſhare of the expences. If, " however, a member, who is poor, kill any one, and compenſation muſt

[1] See Hickes's Theſaurus, 1ſt vol. Diſſert. Epiſt. 20; and Bibl. Cott. Tib. E. 5. fol. 75.

[2] Probably of their tutelary Saint. Every Gild was denominated from ſome favourite Saint or Feſtival: as St. George's Gild; Trinity Gild; Holy Croſs Gild, &c. See Dugd. Warw. 1 ed. 122. and 522.

[3] Officers (I ſuppoſe,) of the Society, ſubordinate to the Preſident.

[4] Becauſe in this caſe the warden might be preſumed to be acquainted, (without notice,) that violence was offered to his next-door neighbour.

[5] An Anglo-Saxon pound contained as much ſilver as is now coined into £2. 16s. 3d. ſterl. See Folkes's Tables of Ancient Coins, and Clarke on Coins, 199.

[6] Theſe proſecutions, it is probable, were literally carried on by *force and arms*.

" be-

" be made, then, if the deceaſed was worth 1200 ſhillings, each mem-
" ber of the ſociety ſhall contribute half a mark [1]; but if the deceaſed
" was a hind, each member ſhall contribute two *oræ* [2]; if a Welſh-
" man, only one. If any member ſhall take away the life of another
" member, he ſhall make reparation to the relations of the deceaſed;
" and, beſides, make atonement for his fellow member by a fine of
" eight pounds, or loſe his right of fellowſhip in the ſociety. And if
" any member, excepting only in the preſence of the king, or of a biſhop
" or ealderman, ſhall eat or drink with him that hath taken away the
" life of his fellow member, he ſhall forfeit one pound, unleſs he can
" prove by the evidence of two witneſſes-upon-oath, that he did not
" know the perſon.

" If any member ſhall treat another member in an abuſive manner,
" or *call him names* [3], he ſhall forfeit a quart of honey; and if he ſhall
" be abuſive to any other perſon that is not a member, he ſhall likewiſe
" forfeit a quart of honey [4], unleſs he can clear himſelf upon the evi-
" dence of two witneſſes-upon-oath.

" If any knight (i. e. ſervant at arms,) ſhall draw his ſword, his
" lord ſhall forfeit one pound, which he may by every poſſible means
" recover from the offender, and which the whole ſociety ſhall aſſiſt
" him in the recovery of. And if one knight ſhall wound another, the
" wounded perſon's lord, in concert with the whole ſociety, ſhall
" avenge the wrong, and ——— proſecute the offender to death.

[1] A mark was two-thirds of a Saxon pound; and equal, in weight of ſilver, to about £1. 17s. 9d. of our preſent money. See Henry's Hiſt. of Gr. Br. 8vo. iv. 259.

[2] An ora was one-eighth part of a mark; and nearly equal in weight to 4s. 8¼d. of our preſent money. Id. 265.

[3] So, in the Weaver's Company at Newcaſtle, a member was fined 6s. 8d. for calling a brother "Scot," or "manſworn." See Brand's Hiſt. of Newc. ii. 339.

[4] Honey was an article that would keep, and therefore very proper for a fine: it was probably uſed for metheglin; or in ſome other way, for the feaſts of the ſociety. In one of the fraternities at Newcaſtle, it was ordered that the corpſe of every brother, who during his life-time had paid his month-pence, ſhould be preceded to church, at his burial, by the common lights of the ſociety: funeral honours were in like manner paid to members' wives. The wax and oil, which were given by new members, on their admiſſion, were, no doubt, for the uſe of the ſociety, in theſe, and other, proceſſions. Brand's Hiſt. of Newc. ii. 226. 315. 339.

" A knight

" A knight, for way-laying any man, ſhall forfeit a ſextarium of honey ; " and if he ſet any trap or ſnare for him, the penalty ſhall be the ſame.

" If any member, being at a diſtance from home, ſhall die, or fall ſick, " his fellow members ſhall ſend to fetch him, and convey him, either " alive or dead, to whatever place he may have wiſhed, or be liable to " the ſtated penalty : but if any member ſhall die at home, every mem- " ber who ſhall not go to fetch his corpſe, and every member who " ſhall abſent himſelf from his obſequies, ſhall forfeit a ſextarium of " honey."

The rules of the other Society, noticed by Hickes, are as follows :

" This meeting is held, in the city of Exeter, for the ſake of God and " our own ſouls, that we may make ſuch ordinances as tend to our wel- " fare and ſecurity, as well in this life, as in that future ſtate which " we wiſh to enjoy in the preſence of God, our Judge. Being, therefore, " here aſſembled together, we have decreed,

" That three ſtated meetings ſhall be held every year : the firſt on the " feſtival of St. Michael the Archangel; the ſecond on the feſtival of " St. Mary, next following the Winter Solſtice; and the third on the " feſtival of All Saints, which is celebrated after Eaſter.

" That, at each meeting, every member ſhall contribute two ſextaria " of barley-meal [1], and every knight one, together with his quota of " honey.

" That, at each of theſe meetings, a prieſt ſhall ſing two maſſes ; the " one for living, and the other for departed members. Every lay brother " ſhall likewiſe ſing two pſalms ; the one for living, and the other for " departed members. Every one ſhall, moreover, in his turn, procure " ſix maſſes and ſix pſalms to be ſung at his own proper expence.

" That when any member is about to go abroad, each of his fellow " members ſhall contribute five-pence ; and, if any member's houſe ſhall " have been burnt, one penny [2].

" That if any one ſhall neglect the ſtated times of meeting ; for the " firſt neglect, he ſhall be at the expence of three maſſes ; for the ſe-

[1] Mealtes (i. e. of meal,) Hickes tranſlates by the Latin word *polenta*.

[2] The Saxon penny was the twentieth part of an ora. See Henry's Hiſt. of G. B. iv. 269.

" cond, of five; and if, after being warned of the conſequence, he ſhall " abſent himſelf a third time, he ſhall not be excuſed, unleſs he has been " hindered either by ſickneſs, or by the buſineſs of his lord.

" That if any one ſhould by chance neglect the ſtated time of meet- " ing, his quota of regular contribution ſhall be doubled.

" That if any member ſhall treat another member in an abuſive " manner, his reparatory fine ſhall be thirty pence.

" And finally, we beſeech every member, for God's ſake, to obſerve " thoſe things which are ordained in this Society, in every thing, as we " have ordained them. And may God help us to obſerve them[1]!"

From theſe curious deeds, it would appear, that Gilds were originally inſtituted by the mutual agreement of friends and neighbours, and had no further object than the relief of the brethren in times of diſtreſs, and perhaps the protection of the aſſociated members againſt the lawleſs attacks of powerful neighbours. Some pious offices, however, were the never-failing concomitants of theſe inſtitutions. After the Conqueſt, Gilds were eſtabliſhed for the expreſs promotion of religion, charity, or trade[2]: and it is from theſe fraternities, ſimple as they may originally have been, that the various companies and city corporations in this kingdom are derived[3]. They were uſually founded by licence from the king, and ſupported either by ſpecific contributions from the members in money or goods, or by lands aſſigned to them by the founder[4]: The rules of ſeveral of theſe inſtitutions are preſerved; and ſome of them might, I think, be adopted, with advantage, in Friendly Societies. Among others, the following ordinances of St. Catherine's Gild at Coventry, (founded in the reign of Edward the Third,) are well deſerving the attention of village legiſlators. They are cited at length by Dugdale, who ſpeaks of them as very memorable, and " manifeſting " the decent government, ceremony, devotion, charity, and amity of " thoſe times[5]."

[1] Hickes's Theſaurus, i. Diſſ. Epiſt. 22. and Bibl. Cott. Tib. E. 5. fol. 76. See likewiſe Bibl. Cott. Titus, D.

[2] Blomefield's Norf. iii. 494.

[3] Dugd. Warw. 125.

[4] Blomef. Norf. iii. 494. See, likewiſe, Dale's Dover Court; and Newton's Maidſtone.

[5] Warwickſhire, 122.

If a member ſuffer from fire, water, robbery, or other calamity, the Gild is to lend him a ſum of money without intereſt.

If ſick or infirm through old age, he is to be ſupported by his Gild according to his condition.

No one notorious for felony, homicide, lechery, gaming, ſorcery, or hereſy, is to be admitted.

If a member falls into bad courſes, he is firſt to be admoniſhed; and if found to be incorrigible, he is to be expelled.

Thoſe who die poor, and cannot afford themſelves burial, are to be buried at the charge of the Gild.

The chaplain is not to frequent common taverns.

The maſter of the Gild was uſually the perſon who had been mayor of Coventry the year before. He ſeems to have been the treaſurer; as he ſwore to pay arrears on quitting office, and to inſpect the tenements of the Society.

Maſs was ſaid every day; and there were four ſolemnities, (or feaſts,) every year.

The Gilds ſeem to have been encouraged by perſons of rank. The Earl and Counteſs of Northumberland, and their eldeſt ſon, were members of St. Chriſtopher's Gild at York; and paid annually, each, 6s. 8d. They each received yearly from the Gild two yards of cloth[1]: but whether this was an article uſually allowed to the members of ſuch Societies, or whether it was merely a compliment to a perſon of high diſtinction, I cannot pretend to determine.

The ancient aſſociations, whether diſtinguiſhed by the name of Gild, Fraternity, Myſtery, Company, or Brotherhood, ſeem to have been no leſs addicted to feaſting and conviviality than the modern village clubs. They generally aſſembled once a year for the purpoſe of acting ſome interlude or pageant. There is a curious account, in the Liber Niger[2], of the anniverſary feaſt of the Gild of the Holy Croſs at Abingdon; from which Blomefield probably took the following account, which he has given us, of that feſtival. He ſays, the "Fraternity held their feaſt

[1] North. Houſh. Book, 347. They alſo paid 3s. 4d. each yearly to a brotherhood at Knareſborough. Ibid.

[2] Edit. by Hearne, p. 598.

"yearly, on the third of May, the Invention of the Holy Croſs; and "then they uſed to have 12 prieſts to ſing a *dirige*, for which they had "given them four-pence a-piece; they had alſo 12 *minſtrels*, who had "2s. 3d. beſides their dyet and horſe-meat. At one of theſe feaſts, 23 "of Hen. 6th. they had 6 calves, valued at 2s. 2d. a piece; 16 lambs, "12d. a piece; 80 capons, 3d. a piece; 80 geeſe, 2d. *ob.* a piece; 800 "eggs, which coſt 5d. the hundred; and many marrow-bones, creame, "and floure, beſides what theyre ſervants and others brought in; and "pageants, plays, and may-games, to captivate the ſenſes of the zealous "beholders, and to allure the people to the greater liberality; (for they "did not make their feaſts without profit; for thoſe that *ſat* at dyner paid "one rate, and thoſe that *ſtood* pay'd another.) Theſe plays were "hiſtories of the Old and New Teſtament; the perſons therein men- "tioned being brought upon the ſtage, whom the poet, according to "his fancy, brings in, talking to one another. A ſpecimen of one of "theſe plays, called *Corpus Chriſti*, may be ſeen in Stephen's Additions "to the Monaſticon. Theſe Gilds alſo gave annual charity; ſtipends "to poor perſons; found beds, and entertainments, for poor people that "were ſtrangers; and had people to keep and tend the ſaid beds; and "did other works of charity [1]."

As the Gilds were more or leſs connected with eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſh- ments, and were uſually enabled, by licence from the Crown, to purchaſe and receive gifts of lands, they inſenſibly acquired ſuch extenſive poſ- ſeſſions, as to be thought worthy of being included in the plunder which the avarice of Henry the Eighth attempted to juſtify under the ſpecious name of reformation; and accordingly, by an Act paſſed in 1545[2], all gilds, hoſpitals, patentees, or brotherhoods, were diſſolved, and their lands veſted in the king.

Notwithſtanding this unjuſtifiable confiſcation of property, which in many inſtances was excluſively, and in all, (in which Gilds were con- cerned,) was more or leſs, appropriated to the purpoſes of charity, it would ſeem, that the convenience of individuals would not permit the entire extinction of inſtitutions ſo much calculated for mutual benefit; and though, perhaps, ſome of thoſe fraternities, which were not endowed

[1] Blomef. Norf. iii. 494. [2] By 37 H. 8. c. 4. See likewiſe 1 E. 6. c. 14.

with

with lands, but were ſupported merely by the ſubſcriptions of the members, were ſeized on for the little perſonal property which they poſſeſſed, there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe, that private aſſociations[1], on a more contracted ſcale than the ancient Gilds, which were patronized by Noblemen, and continued to exiſt in various parts of the kingdom. Mr. Blomefield, in his Hiſtory of Norfolk, notices a Gild which was erected in 1628, at Atleburgh in that county, and at which, on Midſummer-day 1630, above 2000 of the country folks were hoſpitably entertained[2]. That many of theſe Societies, even after the confiſcation of their lands at the diſſolution, continued their ſtated meetings in the common room, or hall, for the purpoſes either of charity, or of conviviality, is extremely probable. The above-mentioned Author informs us, that the furniture of a Gild, (in a village in Norfolk,) whoſe lands had been ſeized by Henry the Eighth, remained in their hall till 1650, when it was ruined, and the utenſils belonging to it were ſold: they conſiſted of 30lb. of pewter veſſels, 92lb. of lead; four ſpits, that weighed 169lb.; a metal pot, that weighed 44lb; two pots of braſs, of 89lb.; and a braſs pan, of 9lb. "A plain proof," Mr. Blomefield adds, "of the jolly doings at theſe Gilds. But as the Poor of the pariſh "always were partakers with them, I much queſtion, whether their "revenues were not better ſpent then, than they have been ſince "they were rapaciouſly ſeized from the pariſhes to which they of right "belonged[3]."

[1] Of the many private aſſociations, in country places, which aſſembled merely for conviviality and mutual aſſiſtance, without thinking it neceſſary to ſolicit the King for a licence of incorporation, the Reader will find an account in many parts of Blomefield's Hiſtory of Norfolk. In corporate towns, however, the ancient Gilds, having in the courſe of time obtained excluſive privileges, were jealous of all new, however harmleſs, inſtitutions. Dugdale, in his Account of Coventry, obſerves, that, in the reign of Henry the Fifth, "the young "people, viz. journeymen of ſeveral trades, obſerving what merry-meetings and feaſts their "maſters had, by being of thoſe fraternities, and that they themſelves wanted the like pleaſure, "did, of their own accord, aſſemble together in ſeveral places of the city, which occaſioned "the Mayor and his Brethren to complain thereof to the King; alledging, that the ſaid jour-"neymen, in theſe their unlawful meetings, called themſelves St. George his Gild, to the "intent that they might maintain and abet one another in quarrels, &c. had made choyce "of a Maſter, &c. to the prejudice of the other Gilds, &c." Warw. 125.

[2] Blomef. Norf. i. 362. [3] Blomef. Norf. iii. 185.

It

It is obſerved, that "the little Parochial Gilds were ſometimes "ſo poor, that they could not afford to have a room of their own, "but met at the members' houſes. In general, however, they "were in a better condition, and poſſeſſed or hired a houſe near the "the church, which was called the Guild-hall, or Church-houſe. This "ſituation," Sir John Cullum adds, "was convenient for them, as "their buſineſs was to pray, as well as eat[1]." They ſeem to have been very convenient inſtruments for the diſtribution of charity before the eſtabliſhment of a Poor's Rate; and uſually employed no inconſiderable portion of their revenues (which were in ſome inſtances extremely ſcanty,) in relieving indigent pariſhioners, and treating poor ſtrangers with hoſpitality. Their feaſts, however, it is juſtly obſerved, "ended "frequently in a manner not very conſiſtent with their beginning[2]."

Nor were the Gild-halls, of which veſtiges may be found in many of our moſt inſignificant villages, excluſively appropriated to thoſe feſtivities which were ſolemnized there, at the expence, and under the patronage, of the Gilds. As moſt of theſe common halls were well provided with all kinds of houſhold utenſils, and more eſpecially with thoſe requiſite for culinary purpoſes, it was not uncommon for the inhabitants of a village, upon weddings and chriſtenings, which they conſidered as public occaſions that at leaſt juſtified, if they did not call for, feſtivity and merriment, to hold their feaſt at the Gild-hall: and I have very little doubt but that theſe public meetings often promoted many laudable acts of charity. The cuſtom of a general feaſting at weddings and chriſtenings is ſtill continued in many villages, in Scotland, in Wales, and in Cumberland; diſtricts, which, as the refinements of legiſlation and manners are ſlow in reaching them, are moſt likely to exhibit veſtiges of cuſtoms deduced from remote antiquity, or founded on the ſimple dictates of nature: and indeed it is not ſingular, that marriages, births, chriſtenings, houſe-warmings, &c. ſhould be occaſions in which people of all claſſes and all deſcriptions think it right to rejoice and make merry. In many parts of theſe diſtricts of Great Britain, as well as in Sweden and Denmark, all ſuch inſtitutions, now rendered venerable by long uſe, are religiouſly obſerved. It would be deemed ominous,

[1] Cullum's Hawſted, p. 20. [2] Cullum's Hawſted, p. 21.

if

if not impious, to be married, have a child born, &c. without ſomething of a feaſt. And long may the cuſtom laſt: for it neither leads to drunkenneſs and riot, nor is it coſtly; as, alas! is ſo commonly the caſe in convivial meetings in more favoured regions. On all theſe occaſions, the greateſt part of the proviſions is contributed by the neighbourhood; ſome furniſhing the wheaten flour for the paſtry; others, barley or oats for bread and cakes; ſome, poultry for pies; ſome, milk for the frumenty; ſome, eggs; ſome, bacon; and ſome, butter; and, in ſhort, every article neceſſary for a plentiful repaſt. Every neighbour, how high or low ſoever, makes it a point to contribute ſomething. At a *daubing*, (which is the erection of an houſe of clay,) or at a *bride-wain*, (which is the carrying of a bride home,) in Cumberland, many hundreds of perſons are thus brought together; and as it is the cuſtom alſo, in the latter inſtance, to make preſents of money, one, or even two, hundred pounds are ſaid to have, ſometimes, been collected. A deſerving young couple are thus, by a public and unequivocal teſtimony of the good-will of thoſe who beſt know them, encouraged to perſevere in the paths of propriety; and are alſo enabled to begin the world with ſome advantage. The birth of a child alſo, inſtead of being thought or ſpoken of as bringing on the parents new and heavy burthens, is thus rendered, as no doubt it always ought to be, a comfort and a bleſſing; and, in every ſenſe, an occaſion of rejoicing. I own I cannot figure to myſelf a more pleaſing, or a more rational, way of rendering ſociableneſs and mirth ſubſervient to prudence and virtue. In doing a deed of charity, motives of benevolence, as well as delicacy, ſuggeſt the propriety of it's being done, not by directly furniſhing the money that may be wanted on the occaſion, but by leading and enabling the object, who wants relief, to relieve himſelf. And the true principle of national interference with reſpect to the Poor, and, (as it might, perhaps, be added,) the only one that is juſtifiable in the eye either of reaſon or religion, is, by no means to think of maintaining the Poor as a nation, or a public, or even to contribute largely, as is now the caſe, towards their maintenance; but to enable them to maintain themſelves. This principle is clearly recognized and proved to be not only perfectly practicable, but popular alſo, in the inſtitution of Friendly Societies; and in it's degree it is alſo manifeſted by the ſimple, but ſignificant, cuſtom above noticed, and of

which

which the Reader will find an inſtance in my account of the pariſh of Cumwhitton[1].

Since the commencement of the preſent century, Friendly Societies have been gradually extended to moſt parts of Great Britain[2]. In the North of England, inſtances may be found, of Clubs of this kind, which have exiſted above an hundred years. Their utility has, at length, been ſo fully recognized, that various benevolent writers, within the laſt fifty years, have ſuggeſted ſchemes for extending their operation to every village in the kingdom. Mr. Alcock, in his Obſervations on the Poor Laws, publiſhed in 1752, mentions ſeveral confraternities of this kind, conſiſting of tradeſmen and manufacturers, particularly in the Weſt of England[3]. In 1786, Mr. Acland publiſhed a plan for rendering the Poor independent by contributions founded on the baſis of Friendly Societies; but, as hath already been obſerved[4], his ſchemes appear to be ill calculated to effect this laudable purpoſe. It was part of Mr. Gilbert's original plan, to encourage Friendly Societies by occaſional relief from the pariſh fund. For this purpoſe, he propoſed to enact, that, in all caſes where Friendly Clubs or Societies had been eſtabliſhed, under ſuch rules, orders, and regulations, as ſhould be approved by the county committee; after they have been tranſmitted to them by the preſident, maſter, ſteward, or other perſon who ſhould then be at the head of ſuch club or ſociety, the county committee (to be appointed by his Act,) ſhould have power to order ſuch ſum as they ſhould think proper, not exceeding one ſhilling a week, to be paid to every poor perſon who ſhould

[1] See the Second Volume, p. 74.

[2] The Reader will find much (though perhaps not ſufficiently detailed,) information in the Statiſtical Account of Scotland, relative to Friendly Societies. It is pleaſing to think, that theſe beneficial eſtabliſhments are increaſing in number very faſt in North Britain. They are ſaid to be of great ſervice in preventing labourers and working manufacturers from becoming a burthen to the Public; which the indigent in Scotland certainly are, though, in general, they are not ſupported by a regular Poor's Rate. Some of the Scotch Clubs are very different from ours. At Galſton, in the county of Ayr, there is a Society for the relief of the Poor, which is conſtituted upon a very ſimple principle. It conſiſts of about 50 members: and is called the Penny or Halfpenny Society. It has no funds, which can be embezzled; but when a brother is confined to bed by ſickneſs, every member pays him a penny weekly; and if he is able to go about, but not to work, an halfpenny. Statiſt. Acc. of Scotland, ii. 82.

[3] P. 37.

[4] See p. 382.

have contributed to the fund belonging to the Society whereof he had been a member, for years or more, ſo long as ſuch poor perſon ſhould, from ſickneſs, lameneſs, or other infirmities, by the rules of the ſaid Society, be entitled to a weekly allowance out of the fund of ſuch Society, over and above the allowance which he ſhould receive from the Society; and ſhould direct the ſame to be paid by their treaſurer, out of the caſual or contingent fund, ariſing from a tax on dogs, Sunday tolls, and fines, amercements, and recognizances taken and laid by Juſtices of the Peace, or in courts of aſſize, gaol delivery, or quarter ſeſſions, in each county.

He likewiſe propoſed, as a further encouragement to Friendly Societies, that, as ſoon as any new Club or Society ſhould be eſtabliſhed, conſiſting of one hundred members or more, and the rules and orders made for the government of them ſhould be tranſmitted to, and approved by, the county committee; they might direct their treaſurer to pay to the ſteward of every ſuch Society, any ſum they ſhould think fit, not exceeding , on having ſecurity given for the due application thereof, in aid of the benevolent purpoſes of ſuch Society.

And in order to render the rules of Friendly Societies effective and compulſory on the members, he propoſed, that, after the rules were confirmed by one of his Majeſty's Judges of Aſſize, power ſhould be given by his Act, for the relief of the Poor, to the Preſident, or other perſon at the head of a Friendly Society, to enforce the payment of fines and penalties incurred by members for a breach of the rules; and to recover from the treaſurer, or other perſon authorized to receive money for the uſe of the Society, all ſums due from them to the Society, by diſtreſs or ſale of the goods and chattels of the perſons ſo indebted, by virtue of a warrant from a Juſtice of the Peace, after the party had been ſummoned, and the debt duly proved; which ſummons and warrant the Juſtice ſhould be authorized to grant.

The benevolent views of Mr. Gilbert have been moſtly provided for, in the Act which paſſed in 1793[1], for the encouragement of Friendly Societies.

[1] 33 Geo. 3. c. 54. This Act effectually removed many difficulties which Friendly Societies were ſubject to, whenever they have choſen to avail themſelves of the benefits held

Societies. With regard, however, to promoting the eſtabliſhment of theſe uſeful inſtitutions by premiums, the Legiſlature has hitherto, (and in my humble opinion, very wiſely,) abſtained from creating a new branch of public expenditure, the extent of which could not poſſibly be foreſeen, and the neceſſity of which does not as yet ſeem to have been ſatisfactorily demonſtrated. Some Agricultural Societies, however, (and particularly that eſtabliſhed at Bath,) have given premiums to Clubs,

out to them by the Legiſlature. Before this Act paſſed, it frequently happened, that the minority of a Club, (which by the rules was often competent to make laws,) expelled all the abſent members on ſlight pretences, in order to favour the views of ſome intereſted ale-houſe keeper. Perſons thus injured were left without the means of redreſs. The inability to ſue and be ſued, (which numerous bodies of men having one common intereſt often feel, but which I believe was not much felt by Friendly Societies,) is alſo effectually removed; and the Clubs can now, if it ſhould be neceſſary, eaſily enforce payment from the officers to whom they have entruſted their funds. Another great and eſſential advantage conferred on ſuch of theſe inſtitutions as had their rules confirmed by the Juſtices, was the privilege of carrying on their occupations and trades in the moſt convenient place, without being ſubject to be removed to their legal ſettlements. This encouragement, however, is in a great meaſure done away by the Act paſſed laſt year, (35 Geo. 3. c. 101.) for preventing the removal of poor perſons till they become actually chargeable. This Act, however, in order to relieve the pariſh, in which the party is allowed to reſide, from incidental burthens, provides, (as the Friendly Society Act had done in the caſe of members of Societies who had taken the benefit of the Act,) that no perſon ſhall gain a ſettlement by notice, or by payment of Pariſh Rates for a tenement *not being of the yearly value of ten pounds*. Theſe twelve laſt words are not in the Friendly Society Act.

I will here take the opportunity of remarking, that, as a long reſidence under the 35 Geo. 3. may preclude the poſſibility of aſcertaining the ſettlement when a perſon becomes chargeable, the eaſe of pariſhes would have been greatly promoted by the introduction of clauſes ſimilar to the 19th, 20th, and 21ſt ſections in the Friendly Society Act; concerning which, the Gentleman, who framed the Bill, makes the following judicious obſervations, in a little pamphlet well worthy the attention of every Benefit Club. He ſays:

"Various regulations and proviſions are introduced into the Act for the purpoſe of re-
"lieving the pariſh, in which the party ſhall be allowed to reſide, from any incidental bur-
"thens; ſuch as, enabling the pariſh to aſcertain and fix the place of ſettlement to which
"the party may be removed, when he ſhall become actually chargeable. It appears to have
"been the intention of the Legiſlature to have done this formerly in the caſe of ſoldiers and
"mariners: examinations were allowed to be taken of the ſettlement of the party, which
"became evidence in favour of the pariſh wherein he ſhould reſide, againſt the pariſh charged;
"but the latter had no means of conteſting the truth of that examination, until the party
"ſhould

Clubs, which have been formed in conformity with the conditions they preſcribe [1]. If a premium were wanting, for any purpoſe connected with Friendly Societies, it would ſeem, that it might be judiciouſly applied, in forming a fund for the relief of members, during the interval between their entrance into the Society, and admiſſion as a free member, which, in ſome Clubs, is three; in others two, years; (periods of proſpective advantage, much too remote to intereſt the general claſs of people, who are likely to become ſubſcribers;) and in none, that I am acquainted with, leſs than one.

There are great objections to all compulſory ſchemes for erecting Friendly Societies: whatever benefit is intended the Poor, obliging them to ſubſcribe, is, in effect, taxing them; nor can I imagine a ſeverer tax, in the preſent confined ſtate of financial reſource, than a twenty-fourth, or thirty-ſixth, of a man's daily earnings, impoſed as a direct tax. It may be ſaid, perhaps, that this cannot, with propriety, be conſidered as a tax; it is only forcing him to do, what, in many inſtances, he willingly does;—to ſecure himſelf a comfortable maintenance through life. This is, however, an argument, which in ſome meaſure ſhews that coercion is unneceſſary. Why uſe force, when mutual convenience will probably make that palatable, which legiſlative direction

"ſhould be actually removed, when perhaps all other teſtimony might be loſt. This inconvenience is remedied by the preſent Act, as it requires that the pariſh charged with the ſettlement of the party ſhall have immediate notice of the examination, ſo that the point may be put in a train of inquiry, if it ſhall be neceſſary, whilſt complete evidence reſpecting it may be obtained on both ſides; and it ſeems that the only material alteration made by this Act, from the general law reſpecting the ſettlement of Paupers, is, that this inquiry may take place without the actual removal of the individual whoſe ſettlement is in conteſt, and conſequently at leſs expence and inconvenience; but, in all other reſpects, with equal advantages to the litigating parties."

[1] One of theſe conditions is ſo judicious, that it is to be wiſhed a rule, of the ſame tenor, were adopted in every Benefit Club, and more eſpecially in thoſe eſtabliſhed in the metropolis: "that no Society ſhall be entitled to this premium, unleſs there be a clauſe inſerted in their articles, that no part of their ſtock ſhall ever be laid out in the purchaſe of LOTTERY TICKETS, or in any other way which may riſque any part of their property in games of chance." Bath Papers, iii. 353. To this, I think, the following addition might be made with great propriety—"and that every member ſhall be excluded, who ſhall be proved to have laid out any money in the purchaſe of Lottery tickets, or in any other way connected with the Lottery, or any other game of chance, ſince his admittance into the Society."

may render nauſeous? Few of us will be driven, but moſt of us may be led. He muſt know little of human nature, who is ſurpriſed, that the Czar Peter's order to his ſubjects, to cut their beards, was received with diſſatisfaction; although it was nothing more than obliging them to be clean and comfortable; or that, notwithſtanding a law againſt long-pointed ſhoes, they ſhould remain in faſhion above three centuries. I moſt heartily concur in opinion with thoſe writers, who think that Clubs would be more beneficial, if the ſubſcribers contributed the whole of what they could ſpare from their weekly earnings to form a fund, from which they might receive a proportionable benefit, inſtead of paying perhaps 1s. a month to the box, and 2d. or 3d. more to be expended in ale. The queſtion, however, ſeems to be, whether, if they were prohibited, (provided it were poſſible,) from tippling in the ale-houſe on their club nights, they could be prevailed on to ſubſcribe at all? I do not think the practice of our anceſtors, the Germans, worthy of imitation; who ſelected the moments of conviviality as thoſe beſt fitted for important diſcuſſions: but I believe that the relaxation which a village meeting, or a city feaſt, is productive of, although not the parent of virtue in general, is not unfavourable to the exertion of the firſt of Chriſtian duties, charity. Such at leaſt, in general, ſeems to be the opinion of Gentlemen, who conduct ſubſcriptions for charitable purpoſes in this great metropolis. A collection at St. Paul's, or Bow Church, in the morning, generally falls ſhort of the ſum received after dinner at Merchant Tailors' Hall, or the London Tavern.

There are other great objections to the compulſory ſyſtem. Suppoſe every labourer is to pay a thirty-ſixth part of his earnings, how are they to be aſcertained? In moſt parts of England, work is now done by the piece; a circumſtance which renders it extremely difficult to obtain any probable account of his earnings.

Let any perſon go to Bradford, to Frome, to Sheffield, or Mancheſter, and aſk a journeyman-manufacturer what his labour produces, he will anſwer,—the uſual wages of weavers, &c. are ſo much per week; and ſo much by the piece-work; but that the annual or weekly earnings by piece-work are extremely irregular and uncertain. He will not be

ſo

ſo explicit to the collector of his forced weekly contribution to a box-club. As to penalties for neglect, expulſion from the Society may be what he will wiſh for: pecuniary fines cannot operate on a man who has nothing; and, as to ſending him to the houſe of correction, this will ſtill more leſſen the ſtock of the Society. As to compelling the employer to be anſwerable, this ſeems to be equally viſionary. A man will often work with ſix different perſons in a week; ſometimes with ſeveral even in a day.

If the plan is confined to pariſhes; ſuppoſe a labourer goes from Middleſex into Northumberland; is the capital ſtock which employs him there to contribute towards the parochial fund in Middleſex? Such a transfer would not be effected without much difficulty and expence.

Notwithſtanding theſe and other objections which might be pointed out againſt compulſory meaſures for providing relief for the Poor, the Legiſlature ſeems to have recognized the expediency of inſtitutions founded on ſuch principles in an Act (paſſed in 1757,) for the "relief "of the coal-heavers working upon the Thames; and for enabling "them to make a proviſion for ſuch of themſelves as ſhall be ſick, lame, "or paſt their labour; and for their widows and orphans [r]." The 4th ſection of this Act, (which in many other reſpects ſeems to have been repugnant to the ſound principles of commercial policy,) is as follows:

"Whereas many of the labourers now exerciſing the buſineſs of un-"loading coal ſhips and veſſels, have voluntarily agreed to ſet apart two "ſhillings in the pound out of all their future earnings, to erect and "keep a perpetual fund, ſufficient to anſwer the extraordinary expences "that will neceſſarily attend the regulation hereby eſtabliſhed; and alſo "for enabling them to provide a competent ſubſiſtence for labourers that "ſhall fall ſick or lame, and for ſuch as ſhall be grown old and paſt "their labour, or be diſabled from working by any other unavoidable "accident; and alſo for the ſupport of the widows and orphans of de-"ceaſed labourers; and a proviſion for the burial of their dead; which "expences now generally fall heavy upon the pariſhes to which they "reſpectively belong: be it therefore enacted by the authority aforeſaid,

[r] See 31 Geo. 2. c. 76.

" That the perſon or perſons to be appointed for ſtationing the labour-
" ers regiſtered as aforeſaid, and paying them their wages as aforeſaid,
" or ſuch other perſon or perſons as the ſaid Alderman[a] ſhall think pro-
" per to appoint for that purpoſe, ſhall, at all times hereafter, retain
" at the rate of two ſhillings in the pound out of the earnings of all
" and every ſuch labourer and labourers, who ſhall be regiſtered as
" aforeſaid, to conſtitute the fund above-mentioned; out of which,
" after payment of the neceſſary expences incurred in and about the
" obtaining and paſſing this Act of Parliament, all ſalaries to the ſeve-
" ral perſons to be employed by the ſaid Alderman as aforeſaid, and all
" other neceſſary expences attending the regulation hereby eſtabliſhed,
" ſhall be paid and diſcharged; and the remainder thereof ſhall, from
" time to time, be applied to the charitable uſes aforeſaid, in the propor-
" tions herein after mentioned, if ſuch fund ſhall prove ſufficient to
" anſwer the ſame; that is to ſay, to every labourer who ſhall be ſick
" or lame, or rendered incapable of working by any other unavoidable
" accident, the ſum of ſeven ſhillings per week during the time he ſhall
" remain under ſuch incapacity; to every labourer who ſhall be ren-
" dered totally incapable of working through old age, the ſum of ſix-
" pence per day during the remainder of his natural life; for the burial
" of every labourer, not leaving ſufficient effects to defray the expences
" of his funeral, over and above the goods or furniture of his houſe or
" lodging, the ſum of forty ſhillings; to the widow of every labourer,
" the ſum of five pounds; and towards making ſome proviſion for every
" child of a deceaſed labourer, being under the age of ten years at the
" time of his death, the ſum of forty ſhillings: and in caſe the ſaid fund
" ſhall at any time hereafter prove inſufficient to anſwer the full ſums
" herein above appointed for each of the charitable donations aforeſaid,
" then, and in ſuch caſe, an abatement ſhall be made in proportion out of
" each of the ſaid ſeveral ſums above ſpecified. Provided always, that the
" ſeveral payments laſt above-mentioned, ſhall not take place and be
" made (the burial of the dead only excepted,) till the expiration of
" one whole year."

The 5th ſection enacts, " That the perſon or perſons who ſhall be

[a] One of the Aldermen of the city of London.

" intruſted,

" intruſted as aforeſaid, with the receipt of the ſaid monies, and making " the payments thereout, ſhall keep a true and juſt account, in writing, " of the receipt and expenditure of ſuch monies; which accounts all " perſons ſhall have liberty to inſpect at ſeaſonable times, paying for " each inſpection the ſum of ſixpence; and all ſuch perſons ſo intruſted " ſhall give ſuch ſecurity for the due execution of their offices, as the " ſaid Alderman ſhall direct; and ſhall deliver true copies of ſuch ac- " counts, under their hands, to the ſaid Alderman, once in every year, " on the twenty-ninth day of September, or within ten days thereafter, " and at ſuch other times as he ſhall require."

This Act was repealed in the year 1770[1].

If it ſhould ever appear adviſable to the Legiſlature, (what, I truſt, will never be the caſe,) to require a ſubſcription to Friendly Societies from labourers of every deſcription, by means of compulſory regulations, no better model, perhaps, could be deviſed for rendering ſuch an obligation palatable to thoſe for whoſe benefit it would moſt aſſuredly be framed, than the plan which has been carried into execution under an Act, (paſſed in the year 1792,) intituled, " An Act for eſtabliſhing a permanent fund for the relief and ſupport of ſkippers and keelmen employed in the coal trade on the river Wear, in the county of Durham, who, by ſickneſs, or other accidental misfortunes, or by old age, ſhall not be able to maintain themſelves and their families; and alſo for the relief of the widows and children of ſuch ſkippers and keelmen."

The Act recites, that " the ſkippers and keelmen employed in navi- " gating keels in the coal trade upon the river Wear, are very nume- " rous, and, from the nature of their employment, are obliged to reſide " moſtly in the ſame pariſh or townſhip; ſo that when they or their fa- " milies become objects of parochial relief, either the pariſh or town- " ſhip in which they are ſettled is grievouſly burthened, or ſufficient " proviſion is not made for their ſupport; and whereas great benefit " will reſult to the ſaid ſkippers and keelmen, and their families, and a " reduction of the Poor Rates in the pariſhes or townſhips where they " are ſettled will be effected, by forming ſuch ſkippers and keelmen

[1] By 10 Geo. 3. c. 53.

" into

" into a Society, and eſtabliſhing a permanent fund, by the allowance of " a ſmall ſum out of their reſpective wages, which they are willing to " make, to be applied for the relief and ſupport of themſelves and fami- " lies, in caſe of ſickneſs, old age, or infirmity, and of their widows " and children :" and enacts, that the ſkippers and keelmen navigating keels in the coal-trade upon the river Wear, ſhall be formed into a Society.

The 2d § appoints 41 guardians of the Society, who are to continue in office one year, and till a new election takes place in the manner preſcribed by the Act.

By the 3d §, the guardians are conſtituted a body politic and corporate: and are likewiſe empowered, (without licence in mort-main,) to purchaſe or receive ſuch lands or tenements as may be wanted for the eſtabliſhment of an hoſpital, with it's neceſſary offices and appurtenances.

The 4th § enacts, " that the ſaid guardians, and their ſucceſſors, to be " elected as herein-after directed, ſhall and may, and they are hereby " authorized and empowered to, provide an hoſpital for the reception " and maintenance of ſuch ſkippers and keelmen, employed, or to be " employed, in the coal trade, on the river Wear, as ſhall, by ſickneſs, " or other accidental misfortunes, or by becoming decrepit, or worn out " with age, be rendered incapable of maintaining themſelves or their " families; or ſhall provide for ſuch ſkippers or keelmen, by allowing " them certain penſions, or otherwiſe, as to the ſaid guardians and their " ſucceſſors ſhall ſeem meet, and moſt for the advantage of the intended " charity; and alſo to relieve the widows and children of ſuch ſkippers " and keelmen, provided ſuch children be not of the age of 12 years; " or if of that age, or upwards, not capable of getting a livelihood, by " reaſon of lameneſs, blindneſs, or other infirmities, ſo far forth as the " income and revenues, which ſhall or may be veſted in the ſaid " guardians, and their ſucceſſors, will extend, for the purpoſes aforeſaid."

§ 5. " Provided always, that no ſkipper or keelman ſhall be entitled " to any of the benefits of this Act, unleſs he ſhall produce, or cauſe to " be produced, to the ſaid guardians, or their ſucceſſors, a certificate " from the ſtewards of the ſaid Society of keelmen, herein-after men- " tioned, and their ſucceſſors, to be elected as herein-after directed, or

" any

"any five or more of them, in writing under their hands, declaring "such skipper or keelman to be a fit object of the charity, and entitled "to the benefit thereof; and that no widow, child, or children, of any "skipper or keelman, shall be relieved, or entitled to any allowance "under this Act, unless he, she, or they, or some person on his, her, or "their behalf, shall produce a certificate to the said guardians, or their "successors, from the said stewards, or their successors, or any five or "more of them, in writing under their hands, signifying that such widow "was the lawful wife, and is the widow, and that such child or children "was or were the lawful child or children of such skipper or keelman, "and is or are under the age of 12 years; or if of that age or up-"wards, incapable of getting a livelihood, by reason of lameness, "blindness, or other infirmity, and that such widow, or child or chil-"dren, respectively, is or are proper objects of the said charity."

§ 6. "Provided also, that no skipper or keelman, nor any widow or "children of any skipper or keelman, shall have, receive, or enjoy, "any benefit or provision under this Act, unless such skipper or keel-"man shall have contributed his quota towards the fund hereby directed "to be raised, for the space of one entire year, without wilful or in-"tentional interruption. And provided also, that no skipper or keel-"man, nor the widow or children of any skipper or keelman, who "shall have contributed his quota towards the fund aforesaid for the "space of one entire year, but shall afterwards cease to be employed as "a skipper or keelman on the said river Wear, shall be entitled to "any relief whatsoever from the said fund, unless such skipper or "keelman, respectively, shall, from the time of his ceasing to be so "employed, pay or contribute, towards the said fund, such sum or sums "of money as the said guardians, or their successors, or the major part "of them, shall direct or appoint, not exceeding, in the whole, four-"pence per week, weekly and every week, during the time he shall "continue unemployed, except where the cessation of employment "shall be occasioned by his being impressed into his Majesty's service, or "by old age, sickness, or other infirmity."

The 7th § enacts, "That any three or more of the said guardians "for the time being shall be a committee, and shall meet from time "to time, upon the first Tuesday in every month, in the vestry-room of

"the pariſh church in the town of Sunderland aforeſaid, or at ſuch "other place or places within the pariſhes of Sunderland or Biſhop "Wearmouth, and at ſuch other time or times, as they ſhall think fit to "appoint; and ſuch committee ſhall have power, when aſſembled as "aforeſaid, in the name of the ſaid corporation, and on their account, "to apply the monies ariſing and to be received by virtue of this Act, "and veſted in the ſaid corporation, for the relief and ſupport of ſuch "ſkippers and keelmen, and their widows and children, as are before "deſcribed; and to elect and appoint, and at their pleaſure to remove, "diſplace, and ſupply, any officers, ſervants, or other perſon or perſons "to be employed in the buſineſs of the ſaid corporation, (other than "and except the ſtewards of the ſaid Society herein-after appointed, and "ſuch officers and perſons as ſhall have been appointed by a majority "of the guardians of the ſaid Society;) and to direct and appoint ſuch "ſalaries and perquiſites, or other rewards, for their labour or ſervice "therein, as the ſaid committee ſhall approve or think proper; and to "do, manage, tranſact, and determine all ſuch other matters and things "as to them ſhall appear neceſſary and convenient for effecting the "purpoſes of this Act."

§ 8. "Provided always, That the management, tranſactions, and "accounts, of ſuch committee, ſhall be from time to time, and at all "times hereafter, ſubject and liable to ſuch audit and inſpection, al-"lowance, diſallowance, and controul of all or ſuch of the guardians "of the ſaid hereby erected corporation, as by any bye-laws or ordi-"nances of the ſame corporation ſhall be for that purpoſe directed and "appointed."

The 9th § enacts, "That each reſpective coal fitter or fitters, or "copartnerſhip of fitters, upon the river Wear, ſhall, on the twenty-"firſt day of December, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-two, "or within ten days next before the ſaid twenty-firſt day of December, "appoint a place and time, and duly give notice thereof to the ſeveral "ſkippers and keelmen then bound or belonging to him or them, or "employed on his or their work, for a general meeting of all his or "their ſkippers and keelmen; who ſhall, at the time and place ſo to "be appointed, meet and aſſemble together; and after having choſen a "chairman of ſuch meeting, they, or the greater number of them ſo

"aſſembled

" aſſembled, ſhall proceed to name or elect one ſkipper belonging to " ſuch work, who ſhall be and become a ſteward of the ſaid Society of " keelmen, until the twenty-firſt day of December then next follow- " ing; and on the twenty-firſt day of December in every year for " ever thereafter, or within ten days next before ſuch twenty-firſt day " of December, a new choice or election of ſtewards, for each work, " ſhall, in like manner, be had and taken by the ſaid ſkippers and keel- " men, of each reſpective work, or the greater part of them preſent at " ſuch meeting to be appointed as aforeſaid, for the year then next fol- " lowing; each of which ſtewards ſhall continue and remain a ſtew- " ard, for the work for which he ſhall be ſo elected, until the next an- " nual election of ſtewards ſhall take place, in manner aforeſaid; and, in " caſe of an equality of votes for ſuch chairman, ſhall have and exer- " ciſe a double, or caſting, vote."

The 10th § enacts, " That the ſaid ſtewards ſo to be elected and " appointed as laſt mentioned, ſhall, on the firſt day of January, in the " year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-three, and " on the firſt day of January in every year for ever thereafter, (except " in any year when the firſt day of January ſhall fall on a Sunday, and " then, the Monday next following,) meet and aſſemble together, at " ſome convenient place in the town of Sunderland aforeſaid, at ten of " the clock in the forenoon, and, after having appointed a chairman " of ſuch meeting, they, or the greater number of them then aſſem- " bled, ſhall proceed to name and elect forty-one perſons to be the " guardians of the ſaid Society for the year enſuing, of which number " the ſeveral Repreſentatives in Parliament for the county of Durham, " and for the city of Durham aforeſaid, for the time being, and two " of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace of and for the ſaid county of " Durham, being acting magiſtrates at the town of Sunderland aforeſaid, " ſhall be ſix, and the remaining thirty-five of which number ſhall be " coal-fitters trading upon the river Wear aforeſaid; which ſaid forty- " one perſons, ſo to be elected, ſhall be and continue guardians of the " ſaid Society until the next annual election ſhall take place in manner " aforeſaid; and in caſe of an equality of votes, ſuch chairman ſhall " have and exerciſe a double, or caſting, vote; and in caſe of the death " of any of the guardians ſo to be elected, the vacancy or vacancies,

"thereby occaſioned, ſhall not be ſupplied until the next annual day of "election; yet the corporation hereby eſtabliſhed ſhall be deemed full "and complete, notwithſtanding ſuch vacancy or vacancies."

The 11th § enacts, "That it ſhall and may be lawful for the ſaid "guardians for the time being, or any twenty-one or more of them, "to make, ordain, and conſtitute ſuch and ſo many bye-laws, orders, "ordinances, and conſtitutions, as to them, or any twenty-one or more "of them, ſhall ſeem neceſſary and convenient for the eſtabliſhing of "the ſaid hereby-erected corporation, and carrying on the affairs there-"of, and for appointing a collector, officers, ſervants, and others to be "employed therein, and for the better applying of the money hereby "directed to be raiſed and received, and providing for the perſons en-"titled to the benefits of this Act, and for auditing the accounts, and "controlling, allowing, or diſallowing the tranſactions of the ſaid "committee, and the ſame bye-laws, orders, ordinances, and conſtitu-"tions ſo made, to put in uſe accordingly; and at their will and plea-"ſure to revoke, change, and alter the ſame; ſo always as ſuch bye-"laws, orders, ordinances, and conſtitutions, be reaſonable, and not "repugnant to the laws, cuſtoms, and ſtatutes of this realm, nor any "of the expreſs proviſions or regulations of this Act."

§ 12. "And for raiſing a fund for the good intents and purpoſes "aforeſaid, be it enacted, That each and every perſon who ſhall be em-"ployed as a ſkipper or keelman, for the purpoſe of navigating and "conducting a keel, by any fitter, or copartnerſhip of fitters, upon the "ſaid river Wear, ſhall, during ſuch his employment, pay, contribute, "or allow ſuch ſum or ſums of money as the ſaid guardians, or their "ſucceſſors, or the major part of them, ſhall from time to time direct "or appoint, not exceeding in the whole the ſum of one halfpenny for "each and every chaldron of coals which ſhall be carried in each ſuch "keel; which ſaid ſum or ſums of money ſuch fitter, or copartnerſhip "of fitters, or other perſon or perſons employing each ſuch ſkipper or "keelman, ſhall be at liberty, and is hereby authorized and required, to "deduct and retain out of the wages due to ſuch ſkipper or keelman "reſpectively, and pay over the ſame to ſuch officer or officers as ſhall "be appointed under this Act for collecting and receiving the ſame."

The 13th § orders, "That all the ſtoppages, allowances, or pay-

"ments,

" ments, which ſhall become due by virtue, or in purſuance of, this Act,
" ſhall be paid to, and collected by, the perſon or perſons to be appointed
" to receive the ſame, as aforeſaid, on the firſt Thurſday in the month
" of January, and the firſt Thurſday in the month of July, in each
" and every year; the firſt payment thereof to be made on Thurſday
" the fourth day of January 1793, for the ſix months then immediately
" preceding, according to a written muſter-roll or particular to be
" kept by each fitter, or copartnerſhip of fitters, or other perſon or per-
" ſons by whom ſuch ſkippers and keelmen are reſpectively employed,
" containing the number of keels employed by each of them reſpectively,
" and alſo the number of ſkippers and keelmen belonging thereto, and
" what number of tides have been gone or performed by ſuch keels
" reſpectively, and ſuch other particulars as ſhall be ſufficient to aſcer-
" tain, with accuracy, what ſtoppages or allowances ought to be kept
" or retained by ſuch fitter, or copartnerſhip of fitters, or other perſon
" or perſons reſpectively, and paid over according to the directions of
" this Act; and that the perſon or perſons ſo employed to collect ſuch
" ſtoppages or allowances, as aforeſaid, ſhall be furniſhed or ſupplied
" with a duplicate of ſuch muſter-roll or particular, properly authen-
" ticated, under their hands, by ſuch fitters or other perſons reſpective-
" ly, or their reſpective clerks or agents."

The 14th § empowers any " two or more of his Majeſty's Juſtices
" of the Peace in and for the ſaid county of Durham, and they are "
thereby " required, at the requeſt of the guardians of the ſaid Society
" for the time being, or any five or more of them, by warrant under
" their hands, to ſummon ſuch fitters and collectors reſpectively before
" them, and to examine them upon oath reſpectively as to the truth of
" the copy or duplicate of the ſaid muſter-roll or particular, and as to
" the ſums of money paid and received for, or on account of, the ſtop-
" pages or allowances ſo to be made as aforeſaid; and in caſe of any
" embezzlement or miſapplication of the money ſo received by them,
" by warrant under their hands, to levy ſuch ſum or ſums of money as
" ſhall appear to have been ſo embezzled or miſapplied, by diſtreſs and
" ſale of the goods and chattels of the perſon or perſons offending,
" together with the charges or expences neceſſarily incident thereto;
" and to pay the money ſo to be levied, after deducting thereout ſuch

"neceſſary charges and expences as aforeſaid, to the guardians of the "ſaid Society for the time being, or any five of them, to be by them "applied to the purpoſes of this Act; and if ſuch fitters or collectors, "or any of them, ſhall refuſe or neglect, when ſo ſummoned, to ap- "pear before the ſaid Juſtices, according to ſuch ſummons; or if "they ſhall appear, and refuſe to make a full and true diſcovery of the "matters aforeſaid, upon their ſeveral oaths; or if ſuch fitters ſhall "refuſe to pay the ſeveral ſum and ſums of money to accrue and be- "come due from the ſkippers employed in their reſpective works, then, "and in every ſuch caſe, all and every ſuch offender or offenders, for "every ſuch refuſal, ſhall forfeit and pay any ſum of money not ex- "ceeding one hundred pounds, nor leſs than £10. at the diſcretion of "ſuch Juſtices, according to the nature, quality, and extent of the "offence."

This inſtitution, in many particulars, appears to be conſonant to thoſe popular feelings in which wiſe Governments will always find their beſt reſources. It does not indeed conform to the firſt principle of Friendly Societies, which is, that they ſhall be governed by rules of their own formation, to which the members have individually conſented: but it gives them a certain degree of influence over their legiſlature (if I may ſo call it,) by the power which every member may, once a year, individually exerciſe in the appointment of ſtewards, by whom the guardians are to be choſen. This mode of creating a legiſlative body may, perhaps, recal to the Reader the French Conſtitution of 1789; which preſcribed the intervention of an elective body between the People and the National Aſſembly; to which there was the ſame objection as to the medium introduced into the Society of keelmen: "the firſt conſtituent voter has "no connection with the repreſentative legiſlator[1]." Nor are regular meetings of the members required, except for the purpoſes of election. This is an omiſſion, which, though perhaps not felt by keelmen, who, from the nature of their buſineſs, muſt often neceſſarily meet together, would diſcourage aſſociations in a country village, where labourers form Friendly Societies, not only in order to ſecure themſelves a competent ſupport in old age or ſickneſs, but likewiſe in order to ſpend a convivial

[1] Burke's Reflections.

hour

hour with their neighbours, and to hear what is often (as Goldſmith ſays,) "much older than their ale," and generally as harmleſs;—the news which has been collected by ruſtic politicians.

Whether Friendly Societies will or will not eventually contribute to reduce the Poor's Rate, the limited extent of my enquiries does not allow me peremptorily to decide. That, however, theſe inſtitutions increaſe the comforts of the labouring claſſes who belong to them, will be evident from comparing the condition of thoſe who are members of them, and of thoſe who, in the ſame village, are contented to rely on the pariſh for relief. The former are, in general, comparatively cleanly, orderly, and ſober, and conſequently happy and good members of ſociety; whilſt the latter are living in filth and wretchedneſs, and are often, from the preſſure of a caſual ſickneſs, or accident, which incapacitates them from working, tempted to the commiſſion of improper acts, (not to ſay crimes,) againſt which the ſure reſource of a Benefit Club would have been the beſt preſervative.

Although, however, I cannot ſpeak confidently on the probability of a great reduction in the Poor's Rate being the conſequence of an extenſion of Friendly Societies, (whilſt that national tax has no bounds aſſigned to it but what depend on the caprice, humanity, or diſcrimination of Overſeers, and Juſtices of the Peace,) I flatter myſelf the Reader will, in the courſe of the following pages, meet with ſome not unimportant information relative to the ſtate and progreſs of theſe uſeful inſtitutions[1]. I have been induced to detail the rules of Clubs in different parts of England, with a view of enabling thoſe, whoſe practical experience in matters of this nature authorize them to legiſlate for Friendly Societies, to conſtruct ſuch approved regulations, as might,

[1] In addition to the various Societies reported in the Second Volume of this Work, I will here notice a Club in the pariſh of Nuneham, Oxfordſhire, to which ſuch of Lord Harcourt's labourers, as are approved of by his Lordſhip, pay 1d. each per week; to which Lord Harcourt adds the like ſum. This forms a fund to which they may have recourſe upon any exigency: ſhould they miſconduct themſelves, or attempt to draw out their ſubſcription upon pretences, which, in the eye of their employer, were deemed frivolous, they could only take their own part without touching Lord Harcourt's. In caſe of death, their funeral expences are defrayed, and the remainder (which includes both the labourer's and Lord Harcourt's ſubſcription,) goes to the deceaſed's family. It is not uncommon for hard-working men to poſſeſs £5. or £6. in this fund.

with great propriety, be adopted by almoſt every Society, with ſuch alterations as their particular circumſtances and local ſituation might require.

In the following Tables, (which I believe are the firſt of the kind that have ever been laid before the Public,) the annual receipts, payments, mortality, &c. in ſeveral Clubs, ſince their inſtitution, are minutely and accurately particularized. I regret that they are not more numerous; and do not embrace a period of years ſufficiently long to enable us to determine, with tolerable preciſion, whether the allowances are, in general, too liberal, or too ſcanty, in proportion to the ſubſcriptions. Few, however, as they may be, they were not collected and conſtructed without conſiderable expence and trouble. The perſons who are entruſted with the management of the funds of a Box Club are even more reluctant than pariſh-officers to gratify that curioſity which ſolicits information concerning receipts and diſburſements. Nor are the books of a Friendly Society always intelligible to thoſe who can procure acceſs to them. The ſtatements, however, which I have obtained, will, I am perſuaded, as far as they go, be of uſe to thoſe who are more inclined, and better qualified, than myſelf, to enter into the intricacies of annuitant calculation; and may prove not unſerviceable appendages to Dr. Price's Tables[1], which have been formed upon *data* which the Public are unacquainted with.

Statement

[1] The following ſcheme of a Friendly Society is ſuggeſted by Dr. Price himſelf. He ſays: "Let the Society, at it's firſt eſtabliſhment, conſiſt of 100 perſons, all between 30 and 40; "and whoſe mean age may therefore be reckoned 36; and let it be ſuppoſed to be always "kept up to this number, by the admiſſion of new members, between the ages of 30 and 40, "as old members die off. Let the contribution of each member be four-pence per week, "making, from the whole body, an annual contribution of £85. 17s. Let it be further ſuppoſed, that ſeven of them will fall every year into diſorders, that ſhall incapacitate them for "ſeven weeks. £30. 12s. of the annual contribution will be juſt ſufficient to enable the "Society to grant 12s. per week, during their illneſſes: and the remaining £55. per annum, "laid up and carefully improved at 3½ per cent, will increaſe to a capital that ſhall be ſufficient, "according to the chances of life, in Tables V, VI, and VII. in the next Volume, to enable "the Society to pay to every member, *after* 67 years of age, or *upon* entering their 68th "year, an annuity, beginning with £5. and increaſing at the rate of £1. every year for ſeven "years, till, at the age of 75, it came to be a ſtanding annuity of £12. for the remainder of "life.

"Were

Statement of a Friendly Society of Shoemakers (at Newcaſtle upon Tyne,) inſtituted in 1719.

Subſcriptions, 1s. every ſix weeks; and 6d. extra, each, for the funeral of a deceaſed member.

Allowances, 6s. a week, for one year; afterwards, 3s. 6d. till well: this is the allowance to ſuperannuated members.

No perſon is allowed to work, whilſt he is on the box. No printed rules.

Years ending in	No. of Members.	Deaths.	State of Fund.
Oct. 1776	99	2	£108 4 8
1777	104	3	103 4 8
1778	108	2	112 19 7
1779	111	4	118 6 7
1780	118	10	118 3 2
1781	116	4	147 15 5
1782	120	4	151 7 2
1783	120	6	140 11 3
1784	115	4	122 11 10
1785	123	5	137 9 10
1786	133	3	
1787	131	3	
1788	135	2	
1789	141	3	
1790	150	3	
1791	152	6	
1792	153	3	
1793	153	4	
1794	151	7	
1795	161	8	
1796	160	4	350 0 0

"Were ſuch a Society to make it's contribution ſeven-pence per week, an allowance of 15s. "might be made, on the ſame ſuppoſitions, to every member during ſickneſs; beſides the pay- "ment of an annuity beginning with £5. when a member entereth his 64th year, and in- "creaſing for 15 years, till, at 79, it became fixed, for the remainder of life, at £20.

"If the probabilities of life are lower among the labouring Poor, than among the generality "of mankind, this plan will be ſo much the more ſure of ſucceeding." Obſ. on Rev. Paym. i. 140.

Another Club, conſiſting of perſons of every deſcription, was inſtituted at Newcaſtle in the year 1731. The regular payments (excluſive of fines,) amount annually to 8s. each member. The allowance to a ſick member is 5s. a week for four weeks; then 2s. 6d. a week for four weeks more: then 5s. a week for four weeks more; and then 2s. 6d. a week for four weeks more: after which, no member can receive any more within that year; nor can any member receive more than £12. in 15 years. To ſuperannuated members, the allowance is 1s. 6d. a-week. At the death of a member, his widow, or nominee, receives £7.; a member receives £2. 10s. (for his wife's funeral expences,) towards which each member contributes 6d.

Years.	Payments to Sick Members, &c.
1792	£56
1793	41
1794	31
1795	52

The fund, at preſent, amounts to £344. 16s. The number of members is 120. The average number of deaths, (of members' wives and widows,) during the laſt 10 years, has been 10 annually.

A Club of mechanics, labourers, and ſmall farmers, which was inſtituted at Corby, in the county of Cumberland, in the year 1766, has now £175. in hand. Each member pays 6d. into the box every ſix weeks. During the firſt 10 years, the average number of members was 40; during the ſecond 10 years, about 70; and the laſt 10 years, about 75. No regular accounts are kept: the annual receipts and payments, however, may be averaged from the above ſtatement. Allowing the average number of members, ſince the commencement, to have been 62, the annual payments to the box muſt have been about £13. 8s. 8d. which, in 30 years, would amount to £403.: conſequently £228. muſt have

been paid to ſick members, &c. beſides the intereſt of money lent out of the box, which might, perhaps, amount to £100. more. Ten deaths have happened ſince the inſtitution of the Club; and two of theſe happened before the parties had been members long enough to entitle their friends to receive any thing from the box. It appears that the average number of deaths is one in three years, or one in 186 members annually. It is thought that not more than one in 70 is the proportion of ſick members in this Club. A Society, however, of only 30 years ſtanding, can only be conſidered as a middle-aged Club. As the Clubs at firſt conſiſt entirely of young perſons, between twenty and thirty years of age, and conſequently, during the firſt ten or twenty years, the funds have increaſed very faſt, Societies have been led to require ſubſcriptions much too moderate for the allowances they make for ſickneſs and funerals; and many Clubs in the Northern counties, which have been eſtabliſhed 50 or 60 years, are now found to be declining very rapidly.

A Club at Carliſle, eſtabliſhed 24 years ago, and which now conſiſts of 220, or 230 members, has now about £400. in hand; but as the Club has advanced in age, the number of ſick is found to have increaſed ſo much, that the fund has been almoſt ſtationary for ſome time, and, it is expected, will ſoon decline.

At Wetheral, a neighbouring village, a Club was inſtituted in 1780, in which the average number of members ſince it's commencement has been 22. There are now 25 members. The payment to the box is 6d. every ſix weeks. The fund amounts to £63.: about £14. have been paid in allowances to ſick, principally in conſequence of a fever raging at Wetheral, about three years ago; and for one funeral.

State of a Friendly Society of Petty Shopkeepers, (in a Pariſh in the Suburbs of the Metropolis,) inſtituted in the year 1789.

To conſiſt of 61 members.

TERMS OF ADMISSION.

	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
The firſt month - -	10	6	The fourth month - -	0	16	0
The ſecond month -	12	0	The fifth month - -	0	18	0
The third month -	14	0	Ever afterwards to continue	1	1	0

The ſubſcription to be 5s. *per* quarter; each perſon to receive, when ſick, 10s. 6d. *per* week, if able to aſſiſt themſelves; if a nurſe is required, 16s. *per* week: if ſuperannuated, £10. *per annum;* if there be two, £10. each; if three, £7. each; if four, or more, on the ſuperannuated liſt, the ſum of £21. to be divided equally among them.

If any free member, not on the ſuperannuated liſt, ſhall die, the ſum of £10. to be allowed for his funeral; and the ſum of £5. at the deceaſe of his lawful wife. If a ſuperannuated member dies, the ſum of £3. to be allowed for his funeral. No member can be free unleſs he has belonged to the Club 12 months.

Years.	No. of Members.	Greateſt No. of Sick.	Feweſt No. of Sick.	Deaths.	Allowances to Sick.	Subſcriptions, Fines, Intereſt, &c.	State of the Fund.
1789	No Allowance made the firſt year.						£ 89 14 0
1790	60 & 61	4	3	3	£24 4 7	£60 5 0	112 8 7
1791	61	2	1	1	15 5 0	64 12 6	161 15 7
1792	60 & 61	4	2	3	31 8 2	64 3 0	170 14 5
1793	61	6	1	2	38 17 8	66 14 6	196 11 3
1794	60 & 61	3	1	3	27 1 8	68 1 0	221 10 7
1795	60 & 61	4	1	4	28 10 6	69 16 0	239 18 1

State

State of a Benefit Society of Journeymen Shoemakers, Tailors, &c. (in a Parish near the Tower,) instituted in the year 1780.

To consist of 80 members, under the following regulations:

Subscriptions.—Entrance, 2s. 6d.; monthly payment, 1s. 3d.: when the stock is under £20. the box to be declared shut; and 1d. per week extra to be paid to support the sick; and 1s. by each member on the half-yearly night.

Benefits.—Sick.—To the sick, when the stock is above £20., 7s. per week; when under £20., 4s. per week.

Superannuated.—A member, after being six months on the box, to be declared superannuated; and to receive 4s. per week for six months more: after that, if unable to work, to receive 2s. 6d. per week for life, or till recovered.

Death.—A member's funeral £7. and his wife or nominee £5. If the member is superannuated, only £3. for his funeral.

Years.	Number of Members.	Greatest No. of Sick.	Fewest No. of Sick.	Deaths.	Payments to Sick, Funerals, &c.	Subscriptions, Fines, Interest, &c.	State of Fund.
1780	35.42	No Allowance to be paid the first Year.					£29 0 0
1781	42.51	4	1	2	£27 17 9	£39 12 7½	40 14 10½
1782	54.56	6	2	3	54 16 6	53 7 8	39 6 0
1783	53.57	6	3	5	70 14 8½	58 9 3½	27 0 7
1784	57.59	7	2	4	58 12 4	63 4 6	31 12 9
1785	58.60	5	1	5	60 7 3	66 12 4½	37 17 10½
1786	61.58	6	3	6	58 18 8	65 9 0½	42 8 2
1787	60.56	7	1	2	60 18 8½	62 19 7½	45 9 0¾
1788	55.59	7	1	5	59 16 8	56 0 9	52 13 1¾
1789	56.58	5	0	1	26 13 11½	60 7 11½	86 7 1¾
1790	60.62	7	2	3	43 16 10	61 9 6	103 19 9¾
1791	63.61	6	1	4	55 19 3	67 14 10	115 15 4¾
1792	63.64	6	3	3	76 19 10	62 5 7	101 1 1¾
1793	61.64	7	1	3	51 17 3½	62 17 9	112 1 7¼
1794	64.62	6	2	6	72 19 6	70 8 5	109 10 6¼
1795	62.58	6	3	6	81 16 10	55 14 6	83 8 2¼

State of a Benefit Society of Journeymen, Day-Labourers, &c. (in a Parish in Westminster,) instituted 1769.

To consist of 101 members.

Terms of Admission.—To pay, the first 12 months, 5s.; afterwards, 10s. 6d.

Subscriptions.—1s. 6d. per month: fine 1s. if not cleared on the quarter-day; and if not paid on the half-yearly night, the offending member to be excluded.

Allowances.—12s. per week to a sick member for one year, if so long ill; afterwards to be considered as superannuated, and allowed 10s. per week for life, or till recovered.

Deaths.—£12. for the funeral of a free member; and to his wife, or nominee, £5. For the funeral of a superannuated member, £6. No member is free, or entitled to benefits, till he has subscribed to the box for 12 calendar months.

Years.	Number of Members.	Greatest No. of Sick.	Fewest No. of Sick.	Deaths.	Payments to Sick, Funerals, &c.	Subscriptions, Fines, Interest, &c.	State of the Fund.
1769	26. 48	No Allowance the first Year.			£ 38 6 0	£ 38 6 0	
1770	48. 64	2	0	2	£ 52 9 6	62 11 0	51 15 6
1771	64. 78	3	1	2	57 12 0	77 18 6	72 2 0
1772	77. 85	3	1	4	63 15 0	85 17 0	94 4 6
1773	83. 94	4	1	4	79 18 6	87 12 6	101 18 0
1774	92. 96	3	1	3	71 5 6	96 7 0	128 11 0
1775	96.101	3	0	5	85 10 0	103 0 6	146 2 0
1776	99.101	2	0	4	83 17 0	105 10 0	167 15 0
1777	98.100	5	1	5	94 14 6	104 3 6	177 4 0
1778	100.101	3	0	4	82 6 0	106 5 0	201 3 0
1779	97.101	4	1	5	90 8 6	104 7 0	215 1 0
1780	100.101	2	0	2	58 4 0	108 1 0	265 13 0
1781	99.101	4	2	4	91 7 0	109 2 0	283 8 0
1782	101. 99	3	1	3	78 14 6	110 15 0	315 9 6
1783	98.100	4	1	5	92 3 0	113 1 0	336 7 6
1784	101. 98	2	0	3	70 8 6	115 10 0	381 9 6
1785	99.100	3	1	4	90 12 0	114 18 0	405 15 6
1786	100. 98	4	1	4	89 17 6	118 6 0	434 4 0
1787	101. 97	6	2	5	113 16 0	116 12 6	437 0 6
1788	97.100	3	1	3	83 9 6	119 5 6	472 16 6
1789	101. 99	5	1	5	108 12 0	117 4 0	481 8 6
1790	98.101	3	0	4	95 18 6	120 2 6	505 12 6
1791	100.101	4	2	5	111 13 6	119 14 0	513 13 0
1792	101. 98	3	1	4	98 6 6	123 10 6	538 17 0
1793	99.101	5	1	4	104 15 0	122 15 0	556 17 0
1794	101. 97	6	2	3	107 8 6	124 6 6	574 3 6
1795	98.100	4	1	5	102 16 0	126 12 0	597 19 6

It is much to be wiſhed, that the Friendly Societies in different parts of the kingdom were furniſhed with approved models of printed forms, for admiſſions of new members; certificates of ſickneſs; entries of ſubſcriptions; fines, allowances, &c. I believe there are few Clubs in which the accounts are kept ſo methodically as to enable a man, who has been a member five or ſix years, to aſcertain from them the total amount of his payments and allowances. I will not, here, particularize the many important benefits which a Club would derive from a regular, though ſimple, mode of book-keeping [1]: but I cannot help obſerving, that, unleſs the receipts, payments, number of ſick members, of funerals, &c. are recorded for a long ſeries of years, it will be impoſſible hereafter to make either additions to, or deductions from, the allowances for penalties, old age, or funerals, upon juſt and equitable principles. The fund may have decreaſed; and yet the allowances in ſickneſs may have been too moderate, and thoſe for funerals too high, or *vice verſâ*. If a Club kept regular accounts, they might, likewiſe, adopt a rule, which appears to me to be very generally wanted. An artificer has ſubſcribed to a Friendly Society, five or ſix years: the manufacture he is engaged in falls into decay; and he can no longer get employment in his pariſh. If he removes to another, where there is a great want of workmen in his line, he muſt abandon all future benefit from his ſix years' ſubſcription, and commence ſubſcriber to another Society, in which he will be entitled to no advantage whatever till he has been a member a twelvemonth. It may, perhaps, be contended, that, in checking the reſtleſs ſpirit of wandering from pariſh to pariſh in ſearch of employment, theſe inſtitutions only act in conformity with the Laws of Settlement [2]. As, however, the Legiſlature have lately re-

[1] A collection of uſeful regulations; proper forms for the admiſſion of members; certificates of illneſs; tables of allowances, &c. might be compreſſed into a ſixpenny pamphlet; and would prove eſſentially ſerviceable to many Friendly Societies, who have not, always, the learning of Goldſmith's village ſchoolmaſter: who "could write and cipher too."

[2] After all which can be ſaid in favour of Laws of Settlement, there ſeems to be little danger, in an opulent Society, that the love of change, or the deſire of bettering their condition, ſhould often influence the labouring claſſes to wander from their uſual place of reſidence. Even in thoſe countries, in which the Law of Settlement does not prevail, we find abundant proof of the truth of Adam Smith's obſervation, that "a man is of all ſorts of luggage the moſt difficult to be tranſported."

cognized

cognized the propriety of permitting a man to carry his labour to the beſt market, by prohibiting the removal of ſuch perſons as are not actually chargeable [1], it would ſeem, that there are no reaſons of State policy, why Friendly Societies ſhould not adopt ſome regulation for permitting their members, under certain circumſtances, to transfer ſuch portion of the aggregate fund of the Society, as, upon a review of the books, they might be thought entitled to, to any other Society into which they could gain admiſſion, that would entitle them to an immediate allowance in caſe of ſickneſs or accident [2]. Another regulation much wanted in Friendly Societies, for making ſome allowance to ſick members before they are entitled to relief from the box. The ſhorteſt period in which a member becomes free is a twelvemonth; but it may often happen, that in this interval he may be incapacitated from working; and it is hard, not only to deny him aſſiſtance, but to require the continuance of his monthly payments at a time when he perhaps cannot earn them. The proſpect of receiving a benefit from an inſtitution after one year's ſubſcription, I am perſuaded, is often thought too remote an intereſt by thoſe who live from day to day; or, as the phraſe is, from *hand to mouth*. Various modes of remedying this defect might, I think, be ſuggeſted, without opening a door to frauds that might injure the funds of the Society.

In a Work like the preſent, I can only offer ſhort ſketches (and firſt ſketches, though uſeful, will often, neceſſarily, be very imperfect,) on many important ſubjects, intimately connected with the proper management of the Poor. Various points, of no ſmall moment, muſt be ſlightly touched on, or wholly paſſed over. Few writers on this branch of political economy have adverted to the circumſtances and ſituation of a claſs of our people, who form, perhaps, the moſt eſſential link in ſocial order and domeſtic happineſs: I mean the *wives* of labourers. Mr. Pitt has, indeed, in his celebrated ſpeech above alluded to, argued very forcibly on the propriety of turning the induſtry of children to profit: but it is to be regretted, that this great Stateſman has not favoured the

[1] By 35 Geo. 3. c. 101.

[2] I, however, doubt, whether Friendly Societies have any authority, under the 33 Geo. 3. c. 54. to make ſuch transfer.

Public

Public with his ſentiments on the actual ſtate and condition of *married women* in the labouring claſſes of the community. The ſubject is new and important; and highly merits the attention both of the politician and philanthropiſt. If the right, which every labourer poſſeſſes, of diſpoſing of the produce of his labour, is the great incentive to induſtry; is it either unfair or unreaſonable to preſume, that the incapacity which married women labour under, of acquiring property [1], is one of the principal cauſes why they contribute ſo little to the fund which is to maintain a family?

In the greateſt part of England, the acquiſition of the neceſſaries of life, required by a labourer's family, reſts entirely on the huſband. If he falls ſick, and is not a member of a Friendly Society, his wife and children muſt inevitably be ſupported by the pariſh. There is no other reſource; for, to whatever cauſe it is to be aſcribed, the wife, even in ſuch an exigency, can do nothing. I do not mean to contend, that, either with a view to national profit, or individual independence, it is

[1] There are, however, a few caſes, in which a married woman is preſumed to be capable of acquiring property: when her huſband has abjured the realm, or is baniſhed, ſhe may be ſued as a *feme ſole*, (Blackſt. Comm. i. 443.) and it has been lately decided, that a married woman, who is ſeparated from her huſband, and is allowed a ſeparate maintenance by deed, may, if ſhe contracts debts, be ſued as a *feme ſole*. (1 Term Rep. 5.) By the feudal law, the lands of an heireſs did not become the property of her huſband; but, on her death, deſcended to her child, or next heir. It is by a cuſtom, almoſt peculiar to England, and therefore called *the courteſy of England*, that a man, who marries a woman ſeiſed of an eſtate of inheritance, if ſhe has iſſue born alive, is, on the death of his wife, entitled to hold her lands for his life. (Co. Litt. § 35. Blackſt. Comm. ii. 126.)

As a married woman has ſeldom an immediate intereſt in acquiring property, it is not often that ſhe adds much, by her perſonal exertions, to the common ſtock of the family; except ſhe may be ſaid to do ſo in the ſenſe of the old proverb, (a penny ſaved is a penny got:—) by an economical management of the acquiſitions of her huſband. A married man, on the contrary, is abſolute maſter of all he gets: this is the great ſpur to induſtry; for whilſt his earnings ſupply him with the means of ſubſiſtence, they inveſt him with patriarchal power and authority.

I cannot avoid here obſerving, that the very inconſiderable number of female convicts, in proportion to males, who have been convicted of depredations on private property, appears to me to be principally aſcribable to the different rights, and conſequently the different propenſities, with which our civil inſtitutions have inveſted the two ſexes, with regard to the acquiſition and enjoyment of property. In the commiſſion of crimes, which are produced by the vindictive paſſions of the human breaſt, the balance of criminality is more equal.

deſirable that the female part of a labourer's family ſhould perform the toilſome duties of porters and ploughmen, as is the caſe in Liege and Switzerland, and even in ſome parts of Scotland; or that they ſhould employ thoſe hours, which they can ſpare from the management of domeſtic concerns, in a ſedentary and unwholſome manufacture, as is the caſe with the lace-makers in Buckinghamſhire and Northamptonſhire. The labours of the field, it is ſaid, are adverſe to child-bearing; and this is one of the reaſons which I have heard aſſigned for the infecundity of the negroes in the Weſt-Indies. I am not phyſiologiſt enough to ſay, how far this opinion is, or is not, well founded: but, I own, I ſuſpect it to have been advanced on but ſlight grounds. There are, however, various occupations, which the wife of a peaſant or artificer would, it is probable, be often inclined to purſue [1], were ſhe only allowed

[1] That females are not diſqualified from ſhining in the moſt active and laborious ſpheres of life, the following intereſting biographical ſketch, which was obligingly communicated to me by a friend, ſeems to afford very ſatisfactory evidence:

"Mrs. Sarah Spencer was the daughter of a gentleman in Suſſex; her brother having once been high ſheriff of the county. But, her family poſſeſſing only a competent landed eſtate, and being neither engaged, nor in circumſtances to engage, in any lucrative profeſſion, like too many others in this age of univerſal commerce, inſenſibly dwindled to nothing; and though ſhe had been well, and genteelly, educated, and with ſuch views as are common to people in her ſphere of life, yet, on the demiſe of her father, ſhe found her whole fortune did not amount to quite £300. Her ſiſter Mary, a woman of perhaps not inferior goodneſs of heart, though certainly of very inferior abilities, was left in a ſimilar predicament.

"Their perſons, though not uncomely, were not ſo attractive as to flatter them that, without fortunes, they could marry advantageouſly; and a mere clown was not much more likely to be happy with them, than they could have been with him. They either had no relations, on whom they would have been permitted to quarter themſelves; or they thought ſuch a ſtate of dependence but a more ſpecious kind of beggary. Yet, living in an age and country, in which well-educated women not born to fortunes are peculiarly forlorn; with no habits of exertion, nor even of a rigid frugality; they ſoon found, that, being thus unable to work, and aſhamed to beg, they had no proſpect but that of pining to death in helpleſs and hopeleſs penury.

"It may be queſtioned, perhaps, whether even the moſt reſolute ſpirits have virtue enough to embrace a life of labour, till driven to it by neceſſity: but it is no ordinary effort of virtue to ſubmit to ſuch a neceſſity with a becoming dignity. This virtue theſe ſiſters poſſeſſed: at a loſs what elſe to do, they took a farm; and, without ceaſing to be gentlewomen, commenced farmers. This farm they carried on for many years, much to their credit and advantage;

allowed to have a voice as to the diſpoſal of her earnings [1]. As the Law now ſtands, the moment ſhe acquires them, they become the abſolute property of her huſband; ſo that it is not to be wondered at, that ſhe conceives ſhe has fulfilled her duty in attending to the children; and that he, conſcious that the ſupport of the family depends on his exertions, ſhould ſo often become imperious and tyrannical [2]. The inſtances are not few, where a ſtupid, drunken, and idle man, has an intelligent and induſtrious wife, with perhaps both the opportunity and the ability to earn enough to feed her children; but who yet is deterred

vantage; and, as far as example goes, in an inſtance where example is certainly of moſt effect, not leſs to the advantage of their neighbourhood. To this day the marks of their good huſbandry are to be ſeen in the village of Rottington.

"How it is to be accounted for, without reflecting on both the good ſenſe and the virtue of thoſe perſons in the community, whom a real patriot is the moſt diſpoſed to reſpect, I mean the yeomanry and the peaſantry of our villages, it might not be eaſy to ſay; but the fact is indiſputable, that thoſe who have been moſt diſtinguiſhed for their endeavours to promote improvements in agriculture, have but rarely been popular characters. This was the hard fate of the Spencers; who, inſtead of gratitude, long experienced little elſe than diſcourteſies and oppoſition in their neighbourhood. The more active of them was called *Captain Sally*; and her ſiſter, her *Man Mary*. With the Gentry around them, this was not the caſe: by theſe they were viſited and reſpected as they deſerved to be; and, not ſeldom, in one and the ſame day, have they divided their hours in helping to fill the dung-cart, and receiving company of the higheſt rank and diſtinction. And, it was hard to ſay, which of theſe offices they performed with moſt intelligence and grace; for, as has been obſerved of Virgil, they even handled the dung-fork with an air of elegance.

"To many of their poorer relations they were not only kind, but uſeful. Towards the cloſe of their lives, which happened 14 or 15 years ago, even the moſt perverſe of their neighbours ſaw their error; and though they continued not to court popularity, they at length became popular; and when they died, they were very ſincerely regretted."

[1] The abſolute power, which a huſband acquires over the property of his wife, is not only a check upon her induſtry, but often extremely detrimental to *her* children; as in the caſe of ſecond marriages. A widow, with children, who marries again, ſeldom continues to preſerve a parental affection for the offſpring by her firſt huſband, more eſpecially if ſhe has children by the ſecond. And the misfortune is, that the ſecond marriage not only often deſtroys all maternal feelings, but annuls the obligation to provide for her firſt iſſue. The ſecond huſband conſiders her children as intruders, and ill-treats or neglects them in ſuch a manner that they are at laſt thrown on the pariſh.

[2] It is not a very uncommon article of information in the news-paper, that a labourer has exchanged wives with his neighbour, or carried his bedfellow to market with a halter about her neck, and ſold her for the moderate price of five ſhillings.

from working, from a thorough conviction that her mate would, too probably, ſtrip her of every farthing which ſhe had not the ingenuity to conceal. There is, perhaps, no better mode of aſcertaining what degree of comfort is enjoyed by a labourer's family, than by learning what portion of his weekly earnings he commits to his wife's diſpoſal. It makes a very material difference whether he or ſhe holds the purſe-ſtrings. That he can earn the moſt, is granted; but ſhe can make thoſe earnings go the fartheſt. I have often obſerved, that when the circumſtances of a labouring family have enabled them to purchaſe a cow, the good management of the wife has preſerved them from the pariſh as long as the cow laſted; and this even in caſes where the huſband was improvident and diſſolute[1].

It

[1] Mr. Pitt's Bill * authorizes the perſons intruſted with the management of the Poor, to ſupply an induſtrious poor family with a cow: but when this cow dies, and they apply for another, it will be extremely difficult for the pariſh-officers to determine whether the animal has periſhed by neglect. If the cow ſhould turn out a bad one, the poor people will endeavour to get rid of her, in ſuch a manner as ſhall not preclude their claim on the pariſh for another. So that it appears to me, that this ſcheme of furniſhing the Poor with cows will create improvidence and unthriftineſs; and too probably, alſo, artifice and fraud. Neither do I ſee, who is to prevent the cow being ſold. An inſurance for cows is leſs liable to objection: every ſubſcriber would be ſo much intereſted in the prevention of fraud, that every ſuſpicious caſe would be fully inveſtigated; beſides which, there is little doubt but that many perſons, who would ſcruple to cheat a neighbour of a farthing, would not heſitate to impoſe on a pariſh-officer. Public money is too often conſidered as lawful plunder. It may indeed be objected, that few labourers could raiſe a ſufficient ſum to purchaſe a cow: but the following very judicious obſervations of a Noble Lord, who has turned his attention to this ſubject, ſhew the weakneſs of any ſuch objection. "When the labourer has the offer of a cow-"gait, and land for winter proviſion, and has not money enough to purchaſe a cow, he gene-"rally applies to his employer, who will in all probability advance him ſome money; and "the inhabitants of the pariſh, if the man has a good character, frequently ſubſcribe to ſet "him up, from charitable motives, and from a perſuaſion that by this means his family will "never want relief from the pariſh; and this is ſo much the caſe, that, when a labourer "dies, and his ſon takes his land and ſtock, he, in ſome caſes, maintains the widow." His Lordſhip adds: "I know of ſeveral inſtances of labourers' widows, paſt work, who are main-"tained by their ſons, who could not otherwiſe have lived without pariſh relief. In a village "near me, where there are a great number of labourers who keep cows, the Poor's Rate is "not at this time, (Jan. 1796,) above 6d. in the pound: the number of inhabitants 335.

* See App. No. xxi. § 3.

"When

It may indeed be urged, that, although the *lords of the creation* have, almoſt excluſively, appropriated to themſelves the direction of public concerns, and the adminiſtration of property, yet, in the conduct of private life, (which, after all, is the chief buſineſs of mankind,) the female ſex have borne, and ever will bear, ſuperior ſway. Their power, however, as it in a great meaſure depends on opinion, is liable to be overthrown by the caprices and miſconduct of thoſe under whoſe protection the Law has placed them. An amiable married woman, although diſpoſed to practiſe the ſofter virtues, which are moſt congenial to her, and (as Milton expreſſes it,) "to ſtudy houſhold good;"—which conſtitutes

"Woman's domeſtic honour and chief praiſe;"

cannot render her family thriving and happy, unleſs ſhe is, in ſome meaſure, countenanced and aſſiſted by her huſband. If we might form a general eſtimate from what occurs in the higher ſtations of life, it would ſeem, that children would not ſo often have to lament the prodigality of their parents, if more of the common ſtock were veſted in the wife, and leſs in the huſband, than is uſually the caſe. For one extravagant mother, I am perſuaded, there are at leaſt twenty improvident fathers. In the humbler ſpheres of ſociety, it ſtill ſeldomer happens, that the welfare of a family is affected by the miſconduct of a mother. That they, too often, want induſtry, muſt be acknowledged; but it alſo ought to be remembered, that they want thoſe motives which ſtimulate to induſtry.

"When a poor man's cow dies, it is certainly a great diſtreſs; and ſometimes the owner is ob-
"liged to aſk aſſiſtance to replace her, and ſomehow or other they always contrive to get
"one; as I ſcarcely ever knew a cow-gait given up for want of ability to maintain a cow,
"except in the caſe of old and infirm women, who are left without children; they, (unleſs
"they have ſome aſſiſtance from the pariſh,) cannot live upon the profits of a cow, nor can
"they manage it properly. Should a caſe of this ſort occur, the pariſh-officers would act
"very unwiſely in refuſing aſſiſtance, as a very trifling allowance, together with the cow,
"would enable a woman to live; whereas, by refuſing any aſſiſtance, they oblige the woman
"to part with her cow, and then ſhe muſt have her whole ſubſiſtence from the pariſh."
Remarks on the Advantages of Cottagers renting Land, by the Earl of Winchelſea. Ann. of Agric. xxvi. 232.

I have been led to theſe reflections, by inveſtigating the ſituation of ſome Female Benefit Clubs, which ſeem to be expoſed to peculiar diſadvantages, in conſequence of the legal diſability which married women labour under, of retaining the earnings of their labour in their own hands. Moſt of theſe Clubs are chiefly compoſed of married women: as the principal inducement to enter into them, is, to inſure a decent ſubſiſtence during the lying-in month; a period, in which, of all others, a labourer's wife is in moſt need of extrinſic aſſiſtance. The laudable objects, however, of theſe excellent inſtitutions, may be entirely fruſtrated by the exerciſe of that legal authority with which a huſband is inveſted. As he is entitled to receive his wife's earnings, he can not only prevent her from paying her regular ſubſcription to the Club; but if ſhe falls ſick, he is, I conceive, no leſs authorized by law to demand the allowance which is granted by the Society, and to appropriate it to his own uſe.

This hardſhip, to which females are expoſed, has been ſo often ſtated, and ſo ſtrongly repreſented to me, in the courſe of my enquiries, that I am confident I could, if it were neceſſary, procure ſufficient evidence, that it has actually been experienced by not a few members of Female Friendly Societies. It requires, however, no great knowledge of human nature, to determine, even without ſuch evidence, that, where man is inveſted with arbitrary power, he will frequently abuſe it. But whether this evil admits of correction, and what that correction ſhould be, I leave to the conſideration of thoſe ſuperior underſtandings, who can, almoſt intuitively, comprehend the various bearings, nice relations, and apt dependencies, of political inſtitutions; and can determine, from practical experience, whether the ſubordination of the female ſex is a neceſſary conſequence of the moral conſtitution of the world, or merely a defect of poſitive law.

Many other imperfections in Friendly Societies might be pointed out, which, it might ſeem, would admit of a cure from legiſlative interference. I am, however, thoroughly convinced, that if Parliament attempts any farther regulation of theſe uſeful eſtabliſhments, the incli-

nation of the labouring claſſes to enter into them will be greatly damped, if not entirely repreſſed. The Acts already paſſed, although they are known, and generally underſtood, to have been framed with the moſt benevolent notions, and do really confer ſubſtantial benefits on theſe inſtitutions, have created much alarm. Nay, they have certainly annihilated many Societies. At the ſame time it is but fair to confeſs, that they *may* have raiſed others. This, however, is more difficult to aſcertain. Any farther favours from Parliament would irretrievably leſſen the confidence which is ſtill entertained by the members of moſt Benefit Clubs, that the Legiſlature will not interfere in controuling aſſociations, which do not appear, from any evidence which has as yet been laid before the Public, to be adverſe to economy, good morals, or public tranquillity[1]. I have indeed more than once heard it inſinuated, that Friendly Societies are apt to degenerate into Debating Clubs, and that convivial meetings on a Saturday night become the apteſt vehicles for diſſeminating principles ſubverſive of ſubordination and ſubmiſſion to the laws of our country. I have alſo heard it aſſerted, that the members of Friendly Societies, from being accuſtomed to aſſemble at ale-houſes, are not only ſtimulated by intereſted landlords, but encouraged by the contagion of ill examples, in habits of drunkenneſs; that the money which is ſpent on a club-night, is entirely loſt to a labourer's family; and that there are various ways in which the earnings of induſtry might be applied more advantageouſly to the morals of the labourer, and the comfort of his family. Friendly Societies, it is true, like all other human contrivances, have their defects. It is, however, though a ſhort, a ſufficient anſwer to ſuch objections as I have noticed, and to ſome others which it is unneceſſary to enumerate, that theſe inſtitutions do not aim at *perfection*, but *improvement*. They are not intended to be that "faultleſs monſter which the world ne'er ſaw;" but it is a ſufficient proof of their ex-

[1] Any attempt to combine theſe *voluntary* aſſociations with parochial *taxes*, will, I am perſuaded, do much harm; and leſſen that ſenſe of independence, which a member of a Benefit Club, totally unconnected with a Poor's Rate, now enjoys.

cellence,

cellence, that they are congenial to the ſocial habitudes and prejudices of the labourer; and that, if they cannot correct the inclination, (which is too often cauſed by hard labour,) for conviviality and diſſipation, they at leaſt convert a vicious propenſity into an uſeful inſtrument of economy and induſtry, and ſecure to their members, (what can ſeldom be purchaſed at too dear a rate,) ſubſiſtence during ſickneſs, and independence in old age.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM